

# **Voicing the Lived Experiences of Young Men Incarcerated for Raping Elderly Women**

by

**ZAMANGWANE KHANYILE**

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree in

**PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTOR**

(Educational Psychology)

in the

Department of Educational Psychology

Faculty of Education

University of Pretoria

**Supervisor: Prof. M. R. Mampane**

**Co-Supervisor: Prof. L. Lopez Levers**

**PRETORIA**

September 2022

## DECLARATION

I, Zamangwane Khanyile, declare that the dissertation/thesis, which I hereby submit for the degree PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTOR, in the Faculty of Education at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other tertiary institution.

---

Zamangwane Khanyile

---

Date

---

Prof. R. Mampane

---

Date

---

Prof. L. Lopez Levers

---

Date

## ETHICS CERTIFICATE



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA  
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA  
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA  
Faculty of Education

### RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

**CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE**

CLEARANCE NUMBER: EDU073/19

**DEGREE AND PROJECT**

PhD

Voicing the lived experiences of young men  
incarcerated for raping elderly women

**INVESTIGATOR**

Ms Cynthia Zamangwane Khanyile

**DEPARTMENT**

Educational Psychology

**APPROVAL TO COMMENCE STUDY**

12 November 2019

**DATE OF CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE**

04 October 2022

**CHAIRPERSON OF ETHICS COMMITTEE:** Prof Funke Omidire

  
\_\_\_\_\_

**CC**

Mr Simon Jiane  
Prof Ruth Mampane  
Prof Lisa Lopez-Levers

This Ethics Clearance Certificate should be read in conjunction with the Integrated Declaration Form (D08) which specifies details regarding:

- Compliance with approved research protocol,
- No significant changes,
- Informed consent/assent,
- Adverse experience or undue risk,
- Registered title, and
- Data storage requirements.

## ETHICS STATEMENT

The author, whose name appears on the title page of this thesis, has obtained, for the research described in this work, the applicable research ethics approval. The author declares that she has observed the ethical standards required in terms of the University of Pretoria's *Code of Ethics for researchers and the Policy guidelines for responsible research*.

## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my late father, Mandlakayise Khanyile. I thank you for investing in my education!

And to my sons Ayanda, Mawande, and Sisanda, I thank you for your unwavering support.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank the Almighty God for giving me the strength, wisdom, and perseverance to complete this study.

I am most grateful to the following individuals:

My supervisor, Prof. Ruth Mampane, your belief in me made me undertake this study and kept me going. I appreciate your significant contribution to this study. Without your support, critical comments, and constructive feedback, this research would not have been realised. Ngiyabonga Solwazi (Prof).

My co-supervisor, Prof. Lisa Lopez Levers, I am profoundly thankful for the time you dedicated to this study. I have learned so much from your insights. I thank you for your unwavering support, guidance, and encouragement. Ngiyabonga Solwazi (Prof).

The Department of Correctional Services, I thank you for granting me permission to conduct this research within your facilities and providing me with the necessary assistance and support whenever I needed it. I would like to convey special thanks to my Internal Guide for assisting me navigate the Correctional Services environment. Furthermore, my heartfelt appreciation goes to the staff at the Correctional Centre, where data were collected. You patiently facilitated my transition into the Correctional Services environment.

My deepest gratitude goes to the participants of this study, who entrusted me with their experiences.

My family: Shenge, thank you for being a constant source of support. My sons Ayanda, Mawande, and Sisanda, I thank you for recognising the importance of this intellectual journey and for your unwavering support and encouragement. Ngiyabonga. My daughters, Mbalenhle, Zodwa, and Asanda, I am blessed that my sons chose you as wives. Our family would not have been complete without you. Nginyanithanda. My grandchildren, it is time to celebrate; Gogo is now available! I love you. My brother, Mzukulu, I thank you for your tremendous support.

Dr. Buhle Khanyile, Dr. William Dansoh, Professor Hannah Bows, and Dr. Noleen Loubser, I thank you for your mentorship and guidance.

My colleagues at the University of KwaZulu-Natal Student Support Services, Ms. Cebisile Kubeka, Ms. Ishara Maharaj, Dr. Margot Sennett Freedman, and Ms. Candice Mc Cain, for providing me with a sounding board when I attempted to grapple with the complex and confusing subject matter. In addition, I would like to thank Ms. Nomathemba Makhathini for her assistance with the reference list.

My friends, Prof Joyce Chitja, Ms. Reinette Harris, Dr. Jabulile Nkehli, Mrs. Vivienne Tutshana and Mrs Cornelia Mcunu. I thank you for all your support. May God abundantly bless you all.

Finally, I would like to thank Kemist Shumba (PhD) for editing this thesis.

## ABSTRACT

Despite the fact that sexual violence affects its victims regardless of age, race, and physical appearance, literature on sexual assault has predominantly focused on young female victims of this form of violence. Rape perpetrated against elderly women is rarely reported in the literature; however, recent media reports in South Africa have increasingly focused on such sexual assaults. Rape has an enduring impact on the lives and health of the victims, their families, and their communities. Jones and Powell (2006, p. 212) noted that "The age of the victim should not reduce societal response to the problem." The invisibility of elderly women as victims of sexual abuse needs urgent redress, both in research and clinical practice.

The purpose of this study was to illuminate the lived experiences of young isiZulu-speaking South African men who had raped elderly women in KwaZulu-Natal Province. It was an attempt to unveil the world as experienced by the young perpetrators of sexual violence against elderly women through an interpretation of their lifeworld stories. This included exploring and understanding the situations they have faced and how they have made sense of their personal and social worlds.

This research was guided by van Manen's hermeneutic phenomenology. More specifically, van Manen's lifeworld existentials were used as a theoretical and methodological framework to fully illuminate the lived experiences of the young perpetrators of sexual violence against elderly women. The four lifeworld existentials that guided this inquiry were lived body (corporeality), lived space (spatiality), lived time (temporality), and lived other (human relations). Van Manen (1997, 2016) contends that the lived experiences of all human beings can be understood as corresponding to these four lifeworld existentials, regardless of cultural, historical, or social contexts.

This qualitative interpretive study was informed by social constructivist principles. The researcher used purposive sampling to recruit ten young isiZulu-speaking South African men between the ages of 18 and 30 years, who are incarcerated for raping elderly women in KwaZulu-Natal Province to share their life stories. Semi-structured interviews, which were conducted in isiZulu, were used to collect data from the research participants. Only offenders whose cases had been finalised, and were not



appealing their sentences, were interviewed. All the interviews took place at the Correctional Centre.

According to van Manen (1997, 2016), hermeneutic phenomenology is not only a method of research but rather both a theoretical perspective and a research methodology; it is a strategy or plan that lies behind the methods employed in a particular study. Therefore, van Manen's lifeworld existentials were used as a thematic method of analysis to gain a deeper understanding of the lived experiences of the participants in this study. The key themes that emerged were: (1) multiple losses that disrupt secure attachment; (2) abuse by family members after the death of a parental figure; (3) abject food insecurity, leading to theft and other criminal activities; (4) polygamy, resulting in conflict and fear of witchcraft; (5) anger and displaced aggression; (6) gradual desensitisation; (7) gerontophilia; and (8) use of shame to disempower and manipulate victims.

***Keywords:*** *Lived experiences, young men, rape, elderly women*



19 September 2022

To Whom It May Concern,

**Re: Editor's Letter**

**Voicing the Lived Experiences of Young Men Incarcerated for Raping Elderly Women**

Below is the scope considered during language editing of the above titled doctoral thesis:

- Grammar check
- Sentence construction
- Spelling check
- Punctuation
- In-text referencing
- Formatting/document layout

As a professional editor, I pledge that the above aspects of the doctoral thesis were, to the best of my knowledge, meticulously and correctly done at the time the work was sent to the candidate. However, I am not responsible for any corrections that were made after the editing process finalised.

Yours faithfully,



Kemist Shumba (PhD)

PhD in Health Promotion: University of KwaZulu-Natal [UKZN]  
Master of Social Science in Health Promotion (*Cum laude*): UKZN  
Bachelor of Social Science Honours in Cultural & Media Studies: UKZN  
Postgraduate Certificate in Education: Great Zimbabwe University  
Bachelor of Arts (English): University of Zimbabwe

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACEs	Adverse Childhood Experiences
DCS	Department of Correctional Services
Interpol	The International Police Organisation
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SGBV	Sexual and Gender-Based Violence
StatsSA	Statistics South Africa
The Constitution	The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996
WHO	World Health Organization

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....	ii
ETHICS CERTIFICATE.....	iii
ETHICS STATEMENT .....	iv
DEDICATION .....	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	vi
ABSTRACT .....	viii
LANGUAGE EDITOR.....	x
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xi
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	xii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xix
LIST OF TABLES.....	xx
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background.....	1
1.2 Research Problem .....	4
1.3 Rationale for the Research .....	5
1.4 Research Aims and Purpose .....	6
1.4.1 Main Aim.....	6
1.4.2 Secondary Aims.....	6
1.5 Research Questions .....	6
1.5.1 Primary Research Question.....	6
1.5.2 Secondary Questions .....	6
1.6 Significance of the Study.....	7
1.7 Operational Definition of Terms .....	7
1.7.1 Lived Experiences .....	7
1.7.2 Rape.....	7
1.7.3 Elderly.....	8
1.7.4 Sexual Offenders or Perpetrators of Rape.....	8
1.7.5 Correctional Centres.....	8
1.7.6 Internal Guide .....	9
1.8 Theoretical Framework .....	9

1.9 Research Paradigm and Design .....	10
1.9.1 Research Paradigm .....	10
1.9.2 Research Design: Hermeneutic Phenomenology .....	11
1.10 Delimitations .....	15
1.11 Conclusion .....	15
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW .....	16
2.1 Introduction .....	16
2.2 Personal factors .....	16
2.2.1 Gerontophilia .....	16
2.2.2 Sexual Gratification.....	17
2.2.3 Sexual Inadequacy in Age-Appropriate Relationships .....	18
2.2.4 Power, Anger, and Control .....	19
2.2.5 Drug and Alcohol use .....	20
2.2.6 History of Antisocial Behaviour .....	21
2.2.7 Financial Motivation – Theft.....	22
2.2.8 Preoccupation with Pornographic Material .....	23
2.2.9 Adverse Childhood Experiences.....	23
2.2.10 Celibate or Virgin- Cure Myth.....	26
2.2.11 Getting rid of the Taint of Boyhood .....	26
2.2.12 History of Sexual Violence .....	27
2.3 Contextual Factors .....	27
2.3.1 Poor Parenting and Attachment in Early Childhood.....	27
2.3.2 Death of a significant other .....	28
2.3.3 Racial Hostility .....	28
2.3.4 Unemployment.....	29
2.4 Conclusion .....	30
CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK.....	31
3.1 Introduction .....	31
3.2 The four existential themes .....	32
3.2.1 Lived Body (Corporeality) .....	32
3.2.2 Lived Space (Spatiality) .....	32

3.2.3 Lived Time (Temporality) .....	33
3.2.4 Lived Other (Relationality or Communality) .....	33
3.3 The Conceptual Framework.....	34
3.3.1 Explanation of the Integrated Conceptual Model of van Manen's as Applied to the Study .....	35
3.3.2 How Hermeneutic Phenomenology Has Been Used in Other Studies.....	36
3.4 Conclusion .....	36
CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND PARADIGM .....	38
4.1 Introduction .....	38
4.2 Research Approach .....	38
4.3 Research Design .....	39
4.3.1 Hermeneutic Phenomenology.....	39
4.3.2 Research Paradigm .....	42
4.3.3 Ontological Assumptions .....	43
4.3.4 Epistemological Assumptions .....	43
4.3.5 Positivist Paradigm .....	44
4.3.6 Interpretivist Paradigm .....	44
4.4 Research Site .....	45
4.5 Target Population.....	47
4.6 Sample.....	48
4.6.1 Sampling Strategy .....	48
4.6.2 Strategy for Recruitment.....	48
4.6.3 Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria.....	50
4.6.4 Sample Size.....	50
4.6.5 Sample Description.....	51
4.7 Data Collection.....	51
4.8 Post- Interview Process .....	54
4.9 Data Analysis .....	54
4.9.1 The detailed or line-by-line approach.....	54
4.9.2 The selective or highlighting approach .....	55
4.9.3 Holistic or sententious approach.....	56
4.9.4 Determining Incidental and Essential Themes.....	57

4.10 Idiography .....	58
4.11 Rigour of the Study .....	59
4.11.1 Credibility .....	59
4.11.2 Dependability .....	60
4.11.3 Transferability .....	60
4.11.4 Confirmability .....	60
4.11.5 Reflexivity .....	61
4.12 Ethical Considerations .....	62
4.13 Conclusion .....	64
CHAPTER 5: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS .....	65
5.1 Introduction .....	65
5.2 Lived Experience of Participant One .....	65
5.2.2 Lived body .....	66
5.2.3 Lived Other .....	69
5.2.4 Lived Space .....	71
5.2.5 Lived Time .....	71
5.2.6 Other .....	73
5.3 Lived Experience of Participant Two .....	75
5.3.1 Lived Body .....	75
5.3.2 Lived Other .....	77
5.3.3 Lived Space .....	82
5.3.4 Lived Time .....	83
5.4 Lived Experience of Participant Three .....	87
5.4.1 Lived Body .....	87
5.4.2 Lived Other .....	90
5.4.3 Lived Space .....	94
5.4.4 Lived Time .....	95
5.4.5 Other .....	96
5.5 Lived Experience of Participant Four .....	98
5.5.1 Lived Space .....	99
5.5.2 Lived Body .....	102
5.5.3 Lived Other .....	108

5.5.4 Lived Time .....	114
5.5.5 Other.....	115
5.6 Lived Experience of Participant Five.....	118
5.6.1 Lived Body.....	119
5.6.2 Lived Other .....	122
5.6.3 Lived Space.....	127
5.6.4 Lived Time .....	129
5.6.5 Other.....	130
5.7 Lived Experience of Participant Six.....	133
5.7.1 Lived Body.....	133
5.7.2 Lived Other .....	137
5.7.3 Lived Time .....	140
5.7.4 Lived Space.....	142
5.7.5 Other.....	144
5.8 Lived Experience of Participant Seven.....	146
5.8.1 Lived Body.....	146
5.8.2 Lived Time .....	148
5.8.3 Lived Space.....	149
5.8.4 Lived Other .....	150
5.9 Lived Experience of Participant Eight .....	156
5.9.1 Lived Body.....	156
5.9.2 Lived Space.....	160
5.9.3 Lived Time .....	161
5.9.4 Lived Other .....	163
5.9.5 Other.....	166
5.10 Lived Experience of Participant Nine .....	169
5.10.1 Lived Body.....	169
5.10.2 Lived Other .....	174
5.10.3 Lived Space.....	177
5.10.4 Lived Time .....	178
5.10.5 Other.....	180
5.11 Lived Experience of Participant Ten .....	182
5.11.1 Lived Body.....	183
5.11.2 Lived Time .....	187



5.11.3 Lived Other .....	190
5.11.4 Lived Space .....	192
5.11.5 Other.....	193
5.12 Cross-Case Analysis: Themes .....	196
5.13 Conclusion .....	197
CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS .....	199
6.1 Introduction .....	199
6.2. Primary Research Question: What are the Lived Experiences of Young men who Rape Elderly Women?.....	201
6.2.1 Multiple Losses that Disrupt Secure Attachment .....	201
6.2.2 Abuse by Family Members After the Death of a Parental Figure .....	203
6.2.3 Abject Food Insecurity, Leading to Theft and Other Forms of Criminal Activities .....	207
6.2.5 Anger and Displaced Aggression.....	213
6.2.6 Gradual Desensitisation.....	215
6.2.7 Gerontophilia .....	217
6.2.8 Use of Shame to Disempower and Manipulate Victims .....	219
6.3 Secondary Research Question: How did These Young men come to be the way they are?.....	222
6.3.1 Personal and Contextual Factors That Seem to Contribute to The Rape of Elderly Women by Young Men .....	241
6.3.1.2 Adverse Childhood Experiences.....	241
6.3.1.3 Self-Regulation Challenges -The Neurobiology of Trauma.....	242
6.4 Conclusion .....	244
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND LIMITATIONS .....	246
7.1 Introduction .....	246
7.2 Research Question 1 .....	246
7.3 Research Question 2 .....	246
7.4 Summary of the Findings .....	247
7.5 The Study Implications.....	249
7.6 Recommendations .....	250

7.7 Limitations of the Study.....	252
7.8 Opportunities for Future Research.....	253
7.9 General Conclusion .....	254
References.....	256
Appendix A: Permission to Conduct Study.....	275
Appendix B: Informed Consent in English.....	276
Appendix C: Informed Consent in isiZulu .....	279
Appendix D: Demographics in English .....	282
Appendix E: Demographics in isiZulu.....	283
Appendix F: Interview Schedule in English .....	284
Appendix G: Interview Schedule in isiZulu .....	286
Appendix H : Detailed Sample Description.....	289
Appendix I: COVID-19 Safety and Hygiene.....	291

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1: Epistemologies with positivist and Interpretivist influence O'Gorman & McIntosh, 2015) -----	11
Figure 3.1: Integrated conceptual model -----	35
Figure 4.1: Map of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa -----	47
Figure 7.1: Integrated conceptual model -----	248

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.1: van Manen’s Six Methodological Activities .....	41
Table 4.2 Summary of the examples.....	55
Table 5.1: Summary of Lived Experience of Participant One .....	74
Table 5.2: Summary of Lived Experience of Participant Two .....	85
Table 5.3: Summary of Lived Experience of Participant Number Three.....	96
Table 5.4: Summary of Lived Experience of Participant Number Four.....	115
Table 5.5: Summary of Lived Experience of Participant Number Five .....	131
Table 5.6: Summary of Lived Experience of Participant Number Six .....	144
Table 5.7: Summary of Lived Experience of Participant Number Seven.....	154
Table 5.8: Summary of Lived Experience of Participant Number Eight.....	167
Table 5.9: Summary of Lived Experience of Participant Number Nine.....	180
Table 5.10: Summary of Lived Experience of Participant Number Ten .....	193
Table 5.11: Cross-Case Analysis: Lived Existentials.....	195
Table 5.12: Cross-Case Analysis: Themes .....	197

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background

The International Police Organisation (Interpol) dubbed South Africa the world's capital of rape, by stating that in South Africa, women were more likely to be raped than educated (Jacobs, 2017). Bowman et al. (2015), and Lamb and Warton (2016) concurred with this observation, citing South Africa as having the highest rates of rape, murder, and violent assault in the world. Additionally, the history of South Africa is characterised by oppression and violence, including rape (Jewkes et al., 2011; Dartnall & Jewkes, 2013). Evidence suggests that the slow socio-economic changes that occurred during the early years of democracy in South Africa have contributed to lawlessness, which manifested in crime and violence, including gender-based violence (Maitse & Majake, 2005). Research also shows that South Africa is among the countries with the highest levels of reported cases of rape worldwide (Johnson et al., 2017). At least a third of the women in South Africa experience rape in their lifetime (Moffett, 2006). Notwithstanding the fact that the country is not at war, South Africa continues to record the worst statistics of gender-based violence (Enaifoghe et al., 2021; Moffett, 2009; Rapanyane, 2021; Seedat et al., 2009).

Despite South Africa having such a high prevalence of rape, international studies depict rape as an international problem (World Health Organization, 2021). In a report published in September 2013, The United Nations established that in six South Asian countries, a quarter of the men that were surveyed had, at some point in their lives, committed rape (World Health Organization, 2013). The prevalence of rape in these countries is comparable to other countries where similar research has been conducted, including in South Africa (World Health Organization, 2021), with the results confirming that rape is a worldwide problem (Burnett, 2016; Powell & Henry, 2017; Steinbrenner et al., 2017).

The evidence cited above indicates that rape and sexual violence occur across most cultures and social classes. Furthermore, rape occurs in both peaceful and conflict settings, but estimates of rape perpetration in low-income and middle-income countries are reportedly higher than those in high-income countries (Abbey et al., 2006; Casey et al., 2008; Dartnall & Jewkes, 2013).

In a study involving a randomly-selected sample of men aged 18–49 years living in the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal Provinces in South Africa, the participants were asked in anonymous surveys about their rape perpetration and motivations. The findings indicated that 27.6 per cent (1 in 4 men) and 37 per cent (1 in 3 men), respectively, had perpetrated rape. The victims of rape ranged from an intimate partner of the perpetrator to strangers or acquaintances. Most men who had raped reported having started raping when they were teenagers and confirmed having done so more than once (Jewkes et al., 2010). In a study conducted in North America, White and Smith (2004) obtained similar findings.

Even though sexual violence affects its victims regardless of their age, race, and physical appearance, literature on sexual assault primarily focuses on young female victims (Fileborn, 2017; Lea et al., 2011; Nóbrega Pinto et al., 2014; Payne, 2010). Rape perpetrated against elderly women is rarely reported in extant literature (Del Bove et al., 2005; Bows, 2017; Bows & Westmarland, 2017; Eckert & Sugar, 2008; Fileborn, 2017; Murphy & Winder, 2016). There is a plethora of societal myths concerning the rape of elderly women; for instance, there is a widely held belief that older women are not sexually desirable (Bows & Westmarland, 2017; Browne et al., 2018; Connolly et al., 2012; Goldblatt et al., 2022; Malmedal et al., 2015; Mann et al., 2014; Montemurro & Siefken, 2014), thus depicting them as not capable of being sexually victimised (Bows & Westmarland, 2017; Predali, (2021) ). Such myths have exacerbated the difficulties elderly women, and their families face in disclosing their experiences of sexual assault (Burgess et al., 2007; Lea et al., 2011; Nóbrega Pinto et al., 2014). Burgess et al. (2000) indicated that even some health professionals tend to refer elderly women who report sexual abuse for psychological interventions because they tend to be skeptical about such reports and avoid referring the victim to rape survivors' supportive services. In all the 20 cases reviewed in the study cited above, the elderly women's reports of sexual abuse were initially treated as delusional stories (Burgess et al., 2000).

The stigma and shame attached to rape, especially the rape of elderly women, hinders further research on this form of violence and the development of appropriate interventions meant to alleviate this phenomenon (Bows, 2017; Bows, 2018b); Bows & Westmarland, 2017; Fileborn, 2017; Ramsey-Klawnsnik et al., 2008). A further level of complexity occurs among elderly victims as discussion on sexuality is taboo (Bows

& Westmarland, 2017). For example, Poulos and Sheridan (2008) and Mann et al. (2014) stated that elderly women reported that when they were growing up, rape and sex, in general, were often not openly discussed (Fileborn, 2017). Reporting experiences of rape would therefore bring indignity and embarrassment to the victim (Bows, 2018b; Groth, 1978; Meel, 2017; Speck et al., 2013; Tyra, 1993). The elderly are also held in high regard in indigenous African societies, making the rape of an elderly person both seemingly inconceivable and incomprehensible in these contexts. In these instances, therefore, such rape tends to be attributed to character flaws in the victims rather than to criminality on the part of the perpetrators. The stigma and mortification experienced by the victims also help keep the rape of elderly women invisible (Bows, 2017; Bows & Westmarland, 2017; Brozowski & Hall, 2010; Predali, 2021).

Most case reports in South Africa record only the 'dominant' crime, such as burglary or murder, omitting rape, which is considered a 'secondary offence (Dartnall & Jewkes, 2013; Jewkes et al., 2011). Furthermore, due to under-reporting, current South African statistics do not reflect the actual extent of sexual assault perpetrated on women (Maphanga, 2021). Therefore, numerous offences involving sexual assault may not be recorded and reflected in published statistics. Meel (2017) further noted that South African police officers hardly record the age of the victims of sexual assault when taking statements. This suggests that the estimates of the prevalence of sexual assault against elderly women are likely to underestimate the true extent of the phenomenon as it relates to the South African context.

One of the most common misconceptions about rape is that the rapist's sexual desire is stimulated by the victim's seductive behaviour or clothing (Burgess et al., 2007; Lea et al., 2011; Nóbrega Pinto et al., 2014). Research on sexual assault perpetrated against elderly women indicates that most of the cases occur in the victim's home and that the offenders tend to use physical violence (Ball & Fowler, 2008; Bows, 2018; Burgess et al., 2007; Nóbrega Pinto et al., 2014). Literature on the rape of elderly women aged 60 years and older mainly emanates from research undertaken in high-income countries such as North America, the United Kingdom, and Australia (Bows & Westmarland, 2017; Fattah & Sacco, 2012; Nóbrega Pinto et al., 2014). Comparatively, research on the rape of elderly women is very sparse in low-income

countries, including South Africa (Bows, 2017; Bows & Westmarland, 2017; Murphy & Winder, 2016; Nóbrega Pinto et al., 2014). Hence, further research is needed to enhance the conceptual understanding of young men who rape elderly women.

Rape has an enduring impact on the lives and health of the victims as well as their families and communities (Bows & Westmarland, 2017; Payne & DeMichele, 2011; Womersley & Maw, 2009). Thus, research ought to focus on the lived experiences of young men who commit this crime to inform early prevention programmes, as extant literature indicates that most rapists start raping at an early age (Jewkes, 2012; Jewkes et al., 2010; White & Smith, 2004; Wielstein, 2010).

## **1.2 Research Problem**

Both men and women perpetrate sexual violence; however, men perpetrate most of the sexual offences (Jewkes, 2012). Currently, only a few South African studies focus on the rape of elderly women (Arts et al., 2018; Meel, 2017). The dearth of research focusing on the rape of elderly women is a cause for concern because one cannot extrapolate that research on rape, in general, can be applied to the rape of the elderly in particular. Adedayo and Aborisade (2020) and Band-Winterstein et al. (2021) highlighted the imperativeness of further research to underpin the development of theoretical frameworks that foster a better understanding of those young men who rape elderly women, as these theoretical models would inform prevention programmes. The current study seeks to illuminate the lived experiences of young IsiZulu-speaking men who have raped elderly women in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. The researcher believes that the findings of this study can fill some of the gaps in the body of knowledge on the perpetration of rape in general and the rape of elderly women in particular, within the South African context. It is indeed disturbing to note that such a heinous crime slips under the radar of both the criminal justice system and the mental health professional communities. By illuminating the factors that lead to young men to rape elderly women, psychologists, and other professionals may be better able to construct early mitigation programmes.



### **1.3 Rationale for the Research**

The rationale for undertaking this study relates to the researcher's experiences. In 2009, in the researcher's village in Northern KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), an elderly woman aged about 86 years reported that she was gang-raped by young men in broad daylight when her great-grandchildren were at school. Nobody believed her; instead, she was labelled as delusional and a liar. A few years later, newspapers reported that an elderly nun had been raped and murdered at Ixopo Convent in KZN. These, and many similar incidents, stimulated the researcher's interest in investigating this phenomenon.

Due to the high prevalence of rape perpetrated against elderly women in KZN, the Department of Social Development opened day-care centres to improve the safety of such women. The first multi-million-rand day-care centre was opened on 17 July 2015 at Swayimane, in KZN, where seven elderly women aged between 82 and 94 years, had been raped within a short space of time (KwaZulu-Natal Department of Social Development (2013).

Although the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Government is building day-care centres to protect elderly women from sexual abuse, very little is known about this form of abuse. Arts et al. (2018) indicated that disaggregated statistics on the rape of women are not available in South Africa. Therefore, statistics on the rape of elderly women in KZN are not available.

A few studies have been done on the rape of elderly women in South Africa; hence, the absence of statistics on this phenomenon begs the question: Is this a new phenomenon in South Africa? If not, why has it remained an invisible or silent phenomenon? Jones and Powell (2006, p. 212) noted that "The age of the victim should not reduce societal response to the problem". In the South African society, the invisibility of elderly women as victims of sexual abuse in both research and practice needs urgent redress. There is inadequate research on the rape of elderly women in the South African context; hence, it would be impossible to develop appropriate intervention strategies to address the phenomenon.

In a systematic review on the rape of elderly women, Bows (2018c, p.14) noted that although the rape of the elderly women is an underexplored phenomenon, "Little is

known about perpetrator backgrounds”. It is upon this premise that this study was conducted to voice the lived experiences of the perpetrators of the rape of elderly women. This study seeks to fill the knowledge gap in research that focuses on the perpetrators of the rape of elderly women by young men by delving into the lived experiences of the young men who perpetrate this form of sexual violence against women.

## **1.4 Research Aims and Purpose**

### **1.4.1 Main Aim**

The aim of this research was to illuminate the lived experiences of young isiZulu speaking South African men who have raped elderly women in KwaZulu-Natal Province. It was an attempt to unveil the world as experienced by the young perpetrators of this violence through their lifeworld stories. This included exploring and understanding the situations they have faced and how they made sense of their personal and social world.

### **1.4.2 Secondary Aims**

1. To explore the lived experiences of young men who have raped elderly women, using van Manen’s four lived existentials (lived time, lived place or space, lived person or body, and lived relationship).
2. To identify and examine the personal factors that could be attributed to the rape of elderly women by young men.
3. To identify and examine the systemic or contextual factors that could be attributed to the rape of elderly women by young men.

## **1.5 Research Questions**

### **1.5.1 Primary Research Question**

What are the lived experiences of young men who have raped elderly women?

### **1.5.2 Secondary Questions**

How did these young men come to be the way they are?

1. What personal factors seem to contribute to the rape of elderly women by young men?

2. What systemic or contextual factors seem to contribute to the rape of elderly women by young men?

## **1.6 Significance of the Study**

Rape is violence against the dignity of humanity, and violence is a threat to public health. The World Health Assembly (1996) declared violence a public health challenge (Bowman et al., 2015). Therefore, this research is significant in that it attempts to anchor the development of theoretical frameworks to provide a more nuanced understanding of the young men who rape elderly women.

In addition, this study is bent on fostering a clearer understanding of young male sexual offenders, who target elderly women. This is significant so that the psychosocial intervention programmes adopted by psychologists and other stakeholders can be effectively implemented with this group of offenders.

Furthermore, research of this nature could also assist institutions that work with children to plan prevention activities and early interventions that are aimed at minimising the occurrence of this offence because literature indicates that most rapists start raping at an early age (Jewkes, 2012; Jewkes et al., 2010; White & Smith, 2004; Wielstein, 2010).

## **1.7 Operational Definition of Terms**

### **1.7.1 Lived Experiences**

Lived experience has been defined as “what men (human beings) do and suffer, what they strive for, love, believe and endure, and also how men act and are acted upon, the ways in which they do and suffer, desire and enjoy, see, believe, imagine – in short processes of experiencing” (Dewey, 1958, p.8).

### **1.7.2 Rape**

In terms of the Criminal Law Sexual Offences and Related Matters Amendment Act Number 32 of 2007, “any person (A) who unlawfully or intentionally commits an act of sexual penetration with a complainant (B) without the consent of (B), is guilty of the offence of rape.” The act of sexual penetration is defined in Chapter 1, Sub-section 1 of the Act as:

“... Any act which causes penetration by any extent whatsoever by –

- (a) the genital organs of one person into or beyond the genital organs, anus, or mouth, of another person;
- (b) any other part of the body of one person or, any object, including any part of the body of an animal, into or beyond the genital organs or anus of another person; or
- (c) the genital organs of an animal into or beyond the mouth of another person.”

For purposes of this study, the definition of rape was limited to a non-consensual sexual act that causes penetration by any extent whatsoever by the genital organs of one person into or beyond the genital organs, anus, or mouth, of another person.

### **1.7.3 Elderly**

According to the United Nations (UN), the word ‘elderly’ refers to persons who are 60 years old, or older. However, this chronological classification of the elderly does not hold true in the African context because it disregards very important realities (Nhongo, 2004). For example, several elderly people in Africa are unable to provide accurate dates of their births. They have to remember events that occurred in their birth year to determine their ages; for example World War II (from 1939-1945). Their ages are thus either under-estimated or over-estimated. Secondly, the concept of elderly people varies across societies. For the purpose of this research, elderly women refer to women who are aged 60 years and older. The South African Older Persons Act No. 13 of 2006 defines older people as those aged 65 years in case of males and 60 years old in the case of females). This seems to be the most practical definition, but it seemingly leaves out some of the Africans that should be classified as senior citizens because their identity documents deny them this attribute.

### **1.7.4 Sexual Offenders or Perpetrators of Rape**

For purposes of this research, sexual offenders or rape perpetrators refer to male offenders, specifically young South African men, who forcefully engage in non-consensual sex with elderly women.

### **1.7.5 Correctional Centres**

In South Africa, correctional centres are facilities where sentenced individuals are housed with the aim of rehabilitating them through correctional and life-skills

programmes offered through the correctional centre. These programmes aim to facilitate the rehabilitation and subsequent restoration of the offenders as appropriate functioning members of society upon their release.

### **1.7.6 Internal Guide**

The Internal Guide is the Correctional Services officer assigned by the Department of Correctional Services Research Ethics Committee to orientate, support, and assist the researcher in navigating the Correctional Services Centre thus enabling the data collection process.

### **1.8 Theoretical Framework**

The study adopted a sensitive hermeneutical phenomenologically oriented theoretical framework to make explicit the very subjective nature of the lived experiences of young perpetrators of the rape of elderly women in South Africa. Van Manen's lifeworld existentials provide the researcher with a framework appropriate to address the topic under investigation; as van Manen (1997, p.6) puts it, "I remain sensitive to the uniqueness of the person in this particular situation." The four lifeworld existentials that guided this inquiry are: "lived body (corporeality), lived other (relationality or communality) lived space (spatiality), and lived time (temporality).

The existential of lived body (corporeality) refers to the physical human body. This aspect of the lifeworld existentials includes an individual's bodily experiences in their daily lives, including the individual's feelings, what they reveal, conceal, and share through their lived body. It is through the body that an individual's presence manifests in the world. People experience the world through the lived body when they feel, communicate, and interact with others.

The existential of the lived space (spatiality) refers to the felt space, that is, an individual's subjective experiences of the spaces in which they find themselves. The existential of the lived space explores how the space individuals find themselves in affects the way they feel and, similarly, how the individuals feel affects the way they experience a particular space (van Manen, 1997/2016).

The existential of the lived time (temporality) can be defined as time as individuals experience it. It is an individual's subjective perception of time, instead of the objective, "factual," or clock time. It refers to how people experience their world at the temporal

level. How individuals feel can influence how they experience time and moments. The demands and constraints time places on individuals can affect how the individuals feel, think, and behave. Together, the past, present, and future form individuals' temporal landscapes. The existential of lived time assists researchers in exploring how participants' past experiences shape and impact their behaviour and future (van Manen, 1997/2016).

The existential of the lived other, or the lived human relations (relationality or communality) refers to the relations individuals form and or maintain with others in their lifeworld. Human relations include the communications and relationships individuals experience with others through the interpersonal spaces they create and share (van Manen, 1997). The existential of the lived other explores how the "self" and others are experienced regarding the phenomenon being studied (van Manen, 1997/2016).

Although each of the four lifeworld existentials offers distinct focal areas, they are intertwined and interact with one another through the hermeneutic circle (a cyclical process involving movement between parts and the whole) as the lifeworld is explored. Regardless of an individuals' cultural, historical, or social situatedness, the lived experiences of all human beings may be interpreted as correlating to these four lifeworld existentials (van Manen, 1997). They offer helpful guides that may be used to explore the phenomenon being studied.

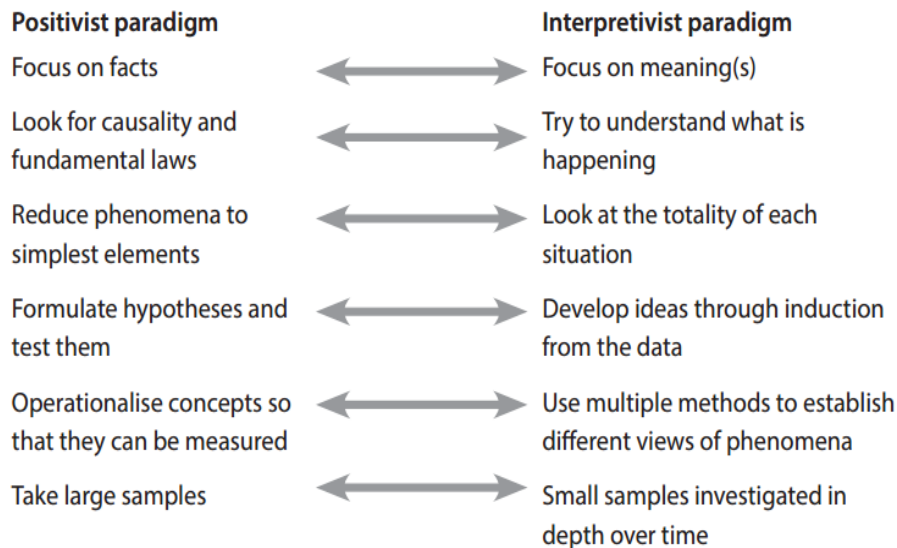
## **1.9 Research Paradigm and Design**

### **1.9.1 Research Paradigm**

A research paradigm defines a particular researcher's philosophical positioning (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). This has important implications for every decision the researcher makes during the research process, including the researcher's choice of methodology and practical methods. A research paradigm specifies how meaning is constructed from data derived from individual participants' experiences (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017). Therefore, researchers ought to recognise and understand their philosophical orientations within the context of the paradigm adopted for a particular research project (Ngulube, 2017).

In social sciences, paradigms help categorise research. Social science is based on two major research paradigms, namely, interpretivism and positivism (Ngulube, 2016).

This study was qualitative in nature and was positioned within the confines of the interpretivist paradigm. By virtue of being qualitative in nature, this study was guided by the ontological and epistemological assumptions of the interpretivist /constructivist paradigm, which informed the methodology of the study. The illustration below distinguishes the positivist and interpretivist paradigms. It was necessary to clarify why the interpretivist paradigm was deemed appropriate for this study.



**Figure 1.1: Epistemologies with positivist and Interpretivist influence (O’Gorman & McIntosh, 2015)**

There is a significant relationship between the research paradigm and the methodology. The methodological implications of the chosen paradigm permeate the research questions, the selection of participants, and data collection strategies, as well as the data analysis method (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017). The researcher’s choice of a positivist paradigm would imply that the data collection and analysis procedures would be quantitative in nature. In contrast, the choice of the interpretivist paradigm implies that the data collection and analysis processes would be qualitative in nature. The aim of this inquiry was to unveil the lived experiences of young men found guilty of and therefore incarcerated for raping elderly women. Therefore, the interpretivist perspective clearly resonated with my study.

### **1.9.2 Research Design: Hermeneutic Phenomenology**

This study aimed to illuminate the lived experiences of young men who have been incarcerated for raping elderly women. It was an attempt to unveil the world as

experienced by the young perpetrators of sexual violence, through their lifeworld stories. Heidegger et al. (1962) used the term 'lifeworld' to emphasise the idea that for human beings, reality is invariably influenced by the world in which they live. He coined the term 'being-in-the-world', to highlight the notion that human beings cannot abstract themselves from the world in which they live. This embeddedness means that people's understanding of the world cannot be isolated from their social, cultural, or historical period (Heidegger, 2002). Van Manen's hermeneutic phenomenological inquiry was used to gain a deeper understanding of the lived experiences of young men who had raped elderly women in KZN. Hermeneutic phenomenology was chosen to guide and ground this study because it is not only descriptive but also interpretive (van Manen, 2016). In other words, hermeneutic phenomenology goes beyond describing the human experience by focusing on "the meanings of the individual's being-in-the-world, and on how these meanings influence the choices that the individual makes" (Lopez & Willis, 2004, p. 729). The study was an attempt to understand the individual's behaviour through the meanings that the individual attaches to being-in-the-world; it was an attempt to interpret the participants' interpretations of their lifeworld. How individuals define their situations becomes the reality through which they perform concrete acts. This involves an analysis of the cultural, social, and historical factors that shape the individuals' lived experiences (Heidegger, 2002).

According to van Manen (2007, p.16), "Lived experience is simply experience-as-we-live-through-it in our actions, relations, and situations". Our everyday way of being-in-the-world is not one of detachment but rather of engagement. Humans are hermeneutic beings; hence, they are capable of finding meaning in their own lives. In essence, people's perception of the world cannot be isolated from their cultural, social and the historical period in which they live. Van Manen's hermeneutic phenomenological inquiry was used to gain insight into the lived experiences of young men who have raped elderly women in KZN, South Africa.

Hermeneutic phenomenology is an exploration of the lifeworld; it facilitates the study of lived experience with the aim of creating meaning and reaching insights (Laverty, 2003). Hermeneutic phenomenology originated from the philosophical work of Heidegger et al. (1962), a student of Husserl (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). The combination of hermeneutic and phenomenological traditions means that a



“phenomenological text is descriptive in the sense that it names something. And in this naming, it points to something and aims at letting something show itself. Phenomenological text is interpretative in the sense that it mediates. It mediates between interpreted meaning and the thing toward which the interpretation points” (van Manen, 1997, p. 26). Hermeneutics is concerned more with lived human experience than with technical issues. Understanding involves gaining access to another person's lived experience. To foster a proper understanding of human behaviour, the interpreter should consider the narrator's meaning, objectives, and intents (Tappan, 1997). Furthermore, hermeneutics considers the psychological and historical realities of the individual whose life is being interpreted (Mkhize & Frizelle, 2000).

A hermeneutic inquiry aims to “identify the participants’ meanings from the blend of the researcher’s understanding of the phenomenon and participant-generated knowledge” (Wojnar & Swanson, 2007, p. 175). From the hermeneutic perspective, people’s primary ability to understand their world arises from language, literature, religion, and behavioural norms, which form the basis of people’s cultural structure and context (Dilthey, 1976). Furthermore, the researcher's own point of view, from which the inquiry is undertaken, brings with it its own biases, assumptions, and theoretical knowledge. Identifying prejudices or preconceptions is critical for the interpretation of the lived world. This means that the researcher must examine his or her own preconceived notions. Ignoring the identification of the preconceived notions would result in the formation of ideas about the text rather than an openness of what the text is revealing (van Manen, 1997). According to Gadamer (1975), comprehension occurs when the researcher’s horizon merges with the horizon of the participant, which enhances the understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. According to Vessey (2009, p. 534), “The horizon is everything of which we are aware of in the perception of an object, above and beyond that which is given directly to our senses”. In hermeneutics, understanding the lifeworld of individuals, occurs through the hermeneutic circle. The hermeneutic circle comprises processes such as reading, reflective writing, and rigorous interpretation (Heidegger et al., 1962).

Hermeneutic phenomenology does not strive to be the last word on any given research question, as this would be in conflict with the concept that people’s interpretations of experience are always inextricably linked to a specific historical context, hence this is

open to new interpretations (Gadamer et al., 2004). Similarly, the hermeneutic phenomenological study is interested in the nature of the lived experiences rather than in a theoretical or causal explanation of the phenomenon (van Manen, 1997).

The researcher worked within the hermeneutic phenomenological paradigm, thus acknowledging that a hermeneutic phenomenological study offers one possible interpretation of the phenomena under investigation (Smith, 2004; van Manen, 1997). This means that various researchers reading the same text at different times may come up with different interpretations (Gadamer et al., 2004).

Van Manen (2016, p. 30-31), defines a research methodology as the philosophical framework, the theory underlying the approach, and an explanation of the reason for following the method. He states that hermeneutic phenomenological research is a dynamic interplay among the six methodological activities that are cited below:

1. *Turning to the nature of the lived experience* by committing oneself to the fullness of thinking.
2. *Investigating an experience as it is lived*, which requires the researcher to stand in the fullness of life and explore the lived experience in its entirety.
3. *Reflecting on essential themes*, which requires reflection on elements which make a particular experience significant.
4. The art of writing and rewriting, which is also explained as the application of the *logos* - language and thoughtfulness.
5. *Maintaining a strong and oriented relation to the phenomenon*; this requires the researcher to be focused on orientation so as not to be side-tracked and fall victim to superficialities and falsities.
6. *Balancing the research context by considering parts and the whole* so that the researcher does not get so preoccupied with the "What is it?" (van Manen, 2016, p. 33), resulting in the researcher losing sight of the end goal of the hermeneutic phenomenological research.

These six themes can be used to guide the hermeneutic phenomenological research, since there are no specific methods that can be used; rather, there are traditions, insights, and a body of knowledge that can be used as a model when conducting human science research (van Manen, 2016).

This brief discussion of the origins and tenets of the hermeneutic phenomenology serves as the foundation for the theoretical framework used to facilitate the data collection and analysis processes. The researcher employed the six methodological themes to collect data and to explore the lived experiences of young men who had raped elderly women in KZN.

### **1.10 Delimitations**

This research was conducted in KZN, South Africa. The sample comprised young South African men aged between 18 and 30 years, who were fluent speakers of IsiZulu. This research qualitatively explored the lived experiences of 10 young IsiZulu-speaking men who had raped elderly women in KZN. Therefore, the lived experiences of non-IsiZulu-speaking young men who do not live in KZN, were not studied, and the findings are not intended to be applicable to any other men other than the designated young IsiZulu-speaking South African males. The victims or survivors of the rape could be from any racial group, provided they were 60 years old and above at the time of their subjection to acts of sexual assault. Van Manen's (1997) hermeneutic phenomenology was used as the key theoretical and methodological framework underpinning this study.

### **1.11 Conclusion**

This chapter introduced the study. It exposed the scarcity of literature on sexual assault and the rape of the elderly, as there are relatively few studies on the phenomenon in South Africa. The chapter also presented the theoretical framework, research paradigm, and design underpinning the study. Chapter Two reviews the literature on the phenomenon, and Chapter Three presents a discussion of the theoretical and conceptual framework used to interpret the data. Chapter Four presents the methodology, while Chapter Five presents the findings and analysis of the data on the lived experiences of the perpetrators of the rape of elderly women. Chapter Six presents the discussion of findings, and Chapter Seven presents the conclusion and recommendations arising from the study.

## CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 Introduction

The literature review presented in this chapter has been heavily filtered, as it only considered those topics that advance an in-depth understanding of the lived experiences of young men who have raped elderly women. This chapter discusses the factors contributing to the rape of elderly women. However, this literature review is mostly based on international studies, as only a few studies were conducted in South Africa and other African countries to determine the experiences of young men who have raped elderly women. Notwithstanding the scarcity of scientific studies on the phenomenon, numerous newspaper articles have been published on this issue. The literature review has been classified into personal and contextual factors that seem to contribute to the rape of elderly women.

### 2.2 Personal factors

#### 2.2.1 Gerontophilia

Gerontophilia has been identified as one of the theories researchers have used to explain the rape of elderly women. The theory contends that the sexual offender is viewed as sexually deviant or as having an abnormal sexual preference for significantly older females (Ball, 2005; Ball & Fowler, 2008; Burgess et al., 2007; Janssen, 2014).

Gerontophilia means having "paraphilic" interest in the elderly. In the forensic context, the condition might be fitted into the diagnostic slots of DSM-5 - "Other Specified" or "Unspecified Paraphilic Disorder" (American Psychiatric Association, 2013, p. 705). Gerontophilia has neither been included in the APA's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, nor the WHO's *International Classification of Diseases* has ever included a specific reference to it. However, there are varied definitions and case histories of gerontophilia, and medical and historical reflections of the condition are sparse. News reports have applied the term to any suspected serial offence perpetrated against the elderly (Ball, 2005; Janssen, 2014).

Offenders have often reported that they find sex with older women pleasurable (Ball, 2005; Browne et al., 2018; Burgess et al., 2007; Groth, 1978). For example, in a study conducted by Murphy and Winder (2016) in the United Kingdom, one participant reportedly offended against his father's wife and another against his girlfriend's

mother. This indicates that sexual preference did not only cross social boundaries, but indicated older partner preference. This may suggest the offenders' inappropriate sexual preferences in terms of the generational divide and the incestuous nature of the sexual preference. A study conducted by Meel (2017) in South Africa also noted the crossing of boundaries among such offenders. The study indicated that a high number of elderly women were being raped in their own homes by their own grandsons:

“Sometimes they were raped by their own grandsons. It is sad that those grannies who brought up young boys with their pension money and a lot of hardship, were raped by the same boys at their homes. In this study, 117 (83%) elderly women were raped in their own homes. The home should be the safest place – a place of comfort and freedom from fear. Yet, a high number of women were raped in their homes, often by people who are supposed to protect them” (Meel, 2017, p.73).

The fact that these offenders targeted elderly women, some of whom were extended family members, seems to indicate a lack of understanding of the social boundaries that would inhibit this type of sexual activity (Murphy & Winder, 2016). Adedayo and Aborisade (2020) mentioned that most offenders that were familiar with their victims had, at some point, regarded their victims as “beautiful”, “sexy”, or “good-looking”, prior to the perpetration of sexual violence on their elderly victims.

### **2.2.2 Sexual Gratification**

Other studies have revealed that sexual gratification is one of the factors instigating the sexual abuse of elderly women (Burgess et al., 2007; Del Bove et al., 2005; Fileborn, 2017; Jeary, 2005; Murphy & Winder, 2016). The offenders described sex as a “frustration release, something they needed to deal with their day-to-day lives or to release a build-up of emotions. They referred to sex as a medication” (Murphy & Winder, 2016, p. 810).

Literature indicates that one in five men convicted of raping an elderly woman had previously been convicted of raping children (Browne et al., 2018; Burgess et al., 2007; Lea et al., 2011; Ramsey-Klawnsnik et al., 2008). Elderly women and children seem to be easy targets for men seeking sexual gratification through rape because they are

thought to be less likely to report or fight back (Brozowski & Hall, 2010; Burgess et al., 2007; Meel, 2017; Ramsey-Klawnsnik et al., 2008). The sexual assaults perpetrated by these offenders are often well-planned, and the victims are carefully chosen. Both the elderly and children seem to share an aspect of vulnerability that attracts perpetrators of sexual violence (Adedayo & Aborisade, 2020; Patel, 2021). There seems to be a deliberate attempt to target the most vulnerable victims who are less likely to resist them (Bows, 2018c; Bows & Westmarland, 2017; Burgess et al., 2007; Chopin & Beauregard, 2021; Del Bove et al., 2005; Jeary, 2005; Meel, 2017; Murphy & Winder, 2016).

Furthermore, some studies found that while most intra-familial offenders stated that their actions were spontaneous and not premeditated, their familiarity with the victim and her environment aided their decision to commit the act of sexual violence, thus bringing their spontaneous motive into question (Adedayo & Aborisade, 2020; Bows, 2018a).

Although the above-mentioned studies have highlighted opportunity and vulnerability as key factors in the rape of elderly women, Cartwright and Moore (1989), Muram and Cutler (1992), and Murphy and Winder (2016) questioned this explanation and queried whether or not this is rather an indication of gerontophilia.

### **2.2.3 Sexual Inadequacy in Age-Appropriate Relationships**

A research study undertaken at the University of Nottingham in the United Kingdom, involving 52 offenders, found that the recurring theme amongst the perpetrators of the rape of elderly women was one of an inability to perform sexually in age-appropriate relationships (Murphy & Winder, 2016). The offenders reported an inability to sustain an erection or an inability to ejaculate during consensual sex. The participants further reported that such inabilities led to them testing out their sexual performance with a woman who is unlikely to mock them or report on their perceived poor sexual performance. The perpetrators' failure to sexually perform even with an elderly woman triggered excessive anger and violence towards the elderly woman, which, in some cases, resulted in the death of the victim. In some instances, the attempt to achieve penetration would continue even after the victim's death (Jeary, 2005). A study conducted by Burgess (2006) in the United States of America for the Department of Justice, had similar findings.

The target population in all the three studies mentioned above was the same (elderly women), but the motivation to commit the offences differed. Gerontophilia posits that the offenders find pleasure in having sex with elderly women, whereas in sexual gratification, the offenders seek out easy targets. Finally, sexual offenders who struggle with sexual performance in age-appropriate or peer relationships often target elderly women because they do not pose a threat to their self-esteem.

#### **2.2.4 Power, Anger, and Control**

Research indicates that when a victim of sexual assault is elderly, the assault is likely to be particularly brutal (Ball & Fowler, 2008; Browne et al., 2018; Burgess et al., 2007; Chopin & Beauregard, 2020; Chopin & Beauregard, 2021; Nóbrega Pinto et al., 2014). Offenders also tend to use weapons such as knives, walking sticks, hammers, guns, and ropes to strangle victims, and are more likely to kill or mutilate their victims compared to a scenario where the victim is younger (Ball & Fowler, 2008; Burgess, 2007; Groth & Birnbaum, 2013; Jordan et al., 2010). A study conducted in South-West Nigeria (Africa) had similar findings. Their participants mainly used physical strength to subdue their elderly victims. One of the twenty-one participants in the study admitted to using a lethal weapon to subdue his victim, while another admitted to hitting his victim to ensure compliance (Beauregard et al., 2020; Adedayo & Aborisade, 2020).

The recurring theme in respect of sexual offences, whether the victim is killed at the time of the act, is the excessive violence to which the victim is subjected (Chopin & Beauregard, 2021). As described in assessments and reports, the physical force used is far beyond what is necessary to force the victim to comply with the offender's sexual demands. Frequently, the elderly victim's clothing is used to tie her hands, gag her, or drag her from one place to another. Hitting, biting, or scratching is used to inflict pain on the victim and subdue her. Most of the elderly women who survive the sexual assault suffer severe injuries such as broken bones, extensive bruising, particularly to the face and neck, tears to the vagina or anus, and sometimes considerable blood loss (Chopin & Beauregard, 2021). Those who are fatally wounded are sometimes left to die due to the injuries (Groth & Birnbaum, 2013; Jeary, 2005; Safarik et al., 2002).

The trauma caused by the physical violence is often compounded by the deliberate humiliation to which the victim is also subjected. The humiliation results from being stripped naked or partially naked in front of a stranger, being forced to masturbate the

offender either by hand or orally, the offender ejaculating into the victim's mouth, and so on. Only a few references to accompanying verbal humiliation were reported in the literature (Chopin & Beauregard, 2021; Jeary, 2005).

The psychodynamic explanation of the violent rapes described above involves the construct of “anger rape” (Ball, 2005; Burgess et al., 2007; Groth, 1978; Groth & Birnbaum, 2013; Lanyon, 1991), where the offender offends as a way of directing feelings of rage onto the victim. The resultant offence is not primarily a sexual act, but an act occurring within a sexual context in which feelings of anger and control are exerted onto the victim. Most researchers established that here, the victim represents an authority figure, such as a teacher, mother, or grandmother, who needs to be controlled, hurt, or degraded; hence, the offender would have been motivated to commit the offence by power and control, and not by sexual desire (Ball & Fowler, 2008; Burgess et al., 2007; Groth & Birnbaum, 2013; Murphy & Winder, 2016; Nóbrega Pinto et al., 2014; Payne, 2010; Pollock, 1988; Safarik et al., 2002).

Browne et al. (2018) and Groth and Birnbaum (2013) mentioned that men who sexually assault elderly women show little or no sense of compassion, empathy, trust, and warmth. These researchers further stated that generally, the perpetrators' relationships with women are devoid of a genuine sense of sharing, reciprocity, and mutuality.

This study explores the rape of elderly women by young South African men. From a traditional African perspective, age is one of the most important determinants of status within the family (Mbele et al., 2015). Younger people in the family and the community are expected to respect elders; the Zulu culture prohibits younger people from even addressing elders by their first names. Elders are valued for their experience, wisdom, leadership, and teaching roles (Mbele et al., 2015). What could crush these young perpetrators' empathy, compassion, and respect for elderly women to this level? This daring question begs investigation.

### **2.2.5 Drug and Alcohol use**

Sexual offenders who target elderly women often do so after drug or alcohol use (Jeary, 2005; Meel, 2017). However, the sexual offenders who were interviewed indicated that drug and alcohol use was not the underlying cause of the sexual attack



but that these substances acted as disinhibition, thus giving them the courage to sexually abuse their victims (Jeary, 2005). Research on rape links alcohol and drug use to disinhibition and sexual desire and performance, thus giving courage to and heightening antisocial or aggressive behaviour in men who are irritable, prone to anger, and have low levels of anger control (Abbey, 2011; Abbey et al., 2014; Jewkes et al., 2011). A study conducted by Adedayo and Aborisade (2020) on the rape of elderly women also found that most of the participants in their study were under the influence of alcohol when they sexually abused elderly women, which severely reduced their level of composure and rationality.

In a study conducted by Murphy and Winder (2016, p. 811), the participants reported “using alcohol to try and escape from problems or emotions that they felt unable to manage”. Drug and alcohol abuse seem to be a significant risk factor among men who sexually abuse elderly women (Brozowski & Hall, 2010; Meel, 2017; Naughton et al., 2010; Roberto & Teaster, 2005). Meel (2017) posited that alcoholism and drug use among South African youths has often resulted in sexual assaults involving unprotected sex with elderly women, which leads to a high risk of contracting HIV. The relationship between drug misuse, alcohol consumption, and rape perpetrated against elderly women, however, is not clearly defined in his study. Meel’s (2017) study was conducted in the Eastern Cape Province, Mthatha (South Africa), and it is also the only one that reported HIV prevalence amongst sexually-assaulted elderly women.

### **2.2.6 History of Antisocial Behaviour**

Research has also indicates that sexual offenders who assault elderly women have significantly higher chances of previous convictions (theft, house break-ins, sexual offences) compared to those who assault younger women (Beauregard et al., 2018; Bows & Westmarland, 2017; Lea et al., 2011; Murphy & Winder, 2016; Nóbrega Pinto et al., 2014; Ramsey-Klawnsnik et al., 2008). Antisocial orientation, such as impulsivity, substance abuse, and a history of rule violation, are common amongst these offenders (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2019). Furthermore, Hanson and Morton-Bourgon (2019) found a strong association between rule violation and impulsive, reckless behaviour such as drinking, and committing sexual offences.

Antisocial behaviour is also associated with hedonistic values and a lack of interest in conventional and communal values. This results in the potential sexual offender

lacking nurturance and guidance, and developing problems in social functioning (for example, mistrust, hostility, and insecure attachment). This, in turn, may contribute to negative peer associations, social rejection, and loneliness (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2019).

Perez et al. (2018) contended that chronic delinquency is often accompanied by other serious disruptions in an individual's life, such as involvement in gang activity, substance use, and dropping out of school. Levenson and Socia (2016) asserted that children constantly receiving negative feedback from teachers, classmates, and schoolmates are at a higher risk of associating with delinquent peers, in pursuit of social acceptance. However, this association tends to reinforce antisocial behaviour which then compromises their academic and social competence.

Antisocial behaviour is often associated with failure to master normal life transitions into responsible and productive adulthood (Bacchini & Esposito, 2020). A study conducted by Ramsey-Klawnsnik (2004b) also found that the typical profile of these perpetrators is that they are unmarried, live with a parent, are unemployed or underemployed, and are financially dependent on an elderly parent. Bows (2018) also noted that most of the perpetrators of this form of sexual violence have "low levels of education and high levels of unemployment" (Bows, 2018, p.70).

### **2.2.7 Financial Motivation – Theft**

Research indicates that initially, most offences appear to have been linked to burglaries that are instigated by financial reasons, but that theft (often of insignificant amounts of money or other items) happens after the sexual assault (Jeary, 2005; Lea et al., 2011). The extent of brutality directed at the victim, compared to the amount of money that is stolen, supports the view that theft is secondary to the sexual assault and the degree of violent behaviour during the assault (Lea et al., 2011; Safarik et al., 2002).

Case records reviewed in research conducted in the United States of America and the United Kingdom indicated that most of the violent behaviour was directed at the victim during the assault in furtherance of not only the sexual assault, but also the effort to kill the victim. Furthermore, not only was much of the interaction happening with the victim, but chronologically, it was happening before the assault. The removal of stolen

property was reported to occur after the killing of the rape victim (Jeary, 2005; Lea et al., 2011; Safarik et al., 2002).

### **2.2.8 Preoccupation with Pornographic Material**

Studies indicate that preoccupation with pornographic material was also prevalent amongst this group of offenders (Burgess et al., 2007; Murphy & Winder, 2016). Some feminists theorise that pornography motivates men to rape women. The feminists assume that sexism and male dominance are illustrated and celebrated through pornography (Jeary, 2005; Jewkes, 2012). Consequently, such images that portray women as objects of sexual exploitation tend to promote and condone sexual violence perpetrated by men (Jewkes, 2012). Again, elderly women and children seem to be easy targets for men seeking sexual gratification through rape, because they are less likely to disclose or resist the attack (Bows, 2017; Bows & Westmarland, 2017; Burgess et al., 2007; Jeary, 2005).

### **2.2.9 Adverse Childhood Experiences**

In other studies, participants reported multiple instances of destructive experiences in childhood, including sexual abuse, witnessing violence, racial abuse, neglect, physical abuse, instability, poor performance at school, and illness (Jeary, 2005; Leibowitz et al., 2010; Murphy & Winder, 2016). These childhood experiences seem to have predisposed them to maladaptive responses in interpersonal relationships, later in life (Murphy & Winder, 2016). Developmental Psychopathology theorists argue that child maltreatment tends to create a pathogenic relational environment which deprives children of experiences that promote adaptive functioning, across the individual's lifespan (Cicchetti & Banny, 2014).

Although the types of negative experiences varied, all the participants reported that they were damaged by their adverse childhood experiences. Participants who disclosed childhood sexual abuse described how the unresolved trauma of sexual abuse affected their behaviour throughout life. They reported that they were unable to manage the impact the trauma had on them (Murphy & Winder, 2016). Most of the reported abuse was intra-familial, while a few participants reported sexual abuse by adult family, friends, and teachers (Jeary, 2005). This may be attributed to the relative ease in determining the vulnerability of their victims (Adedayo & Aborisade, 2020).

Studies on rape generally showed a link between adverse childhood experiences and sexual aggression (Abbiati et al., 2014; Casey et al., 2008; Delisi & Beauregard., 2018; Leibowitz et al., 2010; Levenson et al., 2016; Marini, et al., 2014; Morris et al., 2002; Seto & Lalumiere, 2010; Whitaker et al., 2014; Wood et al., 2007). A study done by Levenson et al. (2016) on adverse childhood experiences in the lives of male sexual offenders indicated that, compared with males in the general population, the perpetrators of rape had more than three times the odds of childhood sexual abuse, twice the odds of physical abuse, thirteen times the odds of verbal abuse and more than four times the odds of emotional neglect and coming from broken homes. The findings further revealed that “multiple maltreatments often co-occurred with other types of household dysfunction, suggesting that many sex offenders were raised within a disordered social environment” (Levenson et al., 2016, p. 351-352).

Murphy and Winder (2016) indicated that several perpetrators reported living in foster homes during their childhood; these perpetrators described how they were abused in their families, and then sent to foster homes where they were further abused (Murphy & Winder, 2016). Hanson and Morton-Bourgon (2005, p. 1154-1155) contend that:

“The form of sexuality that develops in the context of pervasive intimacy deficits is likely to be impersonal and selfish and may even be adversarial. Further contributing to the risk of sexual offending are beliefs that permit nonconsenting sex. Attitudes allowing nonconsenting sex can develop through the individuals’ trying to understand their own experiences and adopting the attitudes of their significant others (friends, family, and abusers)”.

Research further indicated that sexual abuse perpetrated by a child’s caregiver leads to a greater level of betrayal compared to the abuse perpetrated by someone who is less central to the child’s well-being (Edwards et al., 2012; Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2019; Levenson et al., 2016).

Unresolved childhood trauma may result in disordered attachment, with the affected men becoming unable to form healthy attachments with female partners, being unable to respond empathically, experiencing mood disturbances, and having poor self-esteem (Fonagy & Target, 2003). A study conducted in South Africa by Locher et al.

(2014) indicated that impaired empathy is a result of childhood maltreatment, and that such impairment may differ depending on the level of the child's maltreatment. Whereas severe maltreatment is associated with emotional over-arousal and diminished cognitive insight, moderate maltreatment is associated with impaired cognitive empathy and emotional blunting (Locher et al., 2014). Family dysfunction, abuse, and neglect often lead to hostility, mistrust, and insecure attachment, which may consequently contribute to negative peer associations, social rejection, loneliness, and delinquent behaviour (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2019).

Although studies have highlighted sexual abuse in childhood as the major cause of the perpetration of rape, it is however important to note that physical abuse is equally an important factor. Research has also established that the impact of physical abuse is mediated by delinquent activities in adolescence (Courtney & Maschi, 2013; Fonseka et al., 2015; Maschi et al., 2011).

In addition, the Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) study, (1995-1997), the largest study to date involving more than 17,000 participants, revealed a significant and positive relationship between ACEs and perpetration of sexual violence. In this study, the categories of ACE included childhood emotional, physical, and sexual abuse, and other factors that include household dysfunction, parental separation or divorce, having a caregiver in prison, witnessing abuse of one's mother, and living with a mentally ill family member (Felitti et al., 1998). Over time, this list was expanded to include physical and emotional neglect in childhood (Fonseka et al., 2015).

Other researchers have added non-household factors, such as peer victimisation or bullying (Finkelhor et al., 2013). Killian (2004) included loss of educational opportunities, poverty, exposure to political violence and discrimination, and understanding of illness and death as risk factors instigating violence. Exposure to a large number of ACE categories has been linked to poor mental health outcomes in adulthood, as well as health-risk behaviours such as drug use and alcoholism (Dube et al., 2003; Felitti & Anda, 2010; Fonseka et al., 2015; Font & Maguire-Jack, 2016; Fox et al., 2015; Middlebrooks & Audage, 2008; Patel et al., 2007). Manyema and Richter (2019) added parental death, parental unemployment, and chronic illness in the household to the matrix of ACEs. The three ACEs were prevalent in their study, which was conducted in Soweto, South Africa.

A clear understanding of the scope and impact of adverse childhood experiences is crucial in the development of interventions and social policies designed to control sexual violence (Felitti & Anda, 2010; Levenson et al., 2016).

### **2.2.10 Celibate or Virgin- Cure Myth**

The belief held by some men that having sex with a celibate woman or virgin can cure HIV and AIDS seems to be driving the perpetration of rape against women in South Africa (Frisoli, 2016; Phakathi, 2011). In most societies, it is assumed that elderly women are celibate, which puts them at higher risk of being targeted by men who are desperately seeking a cure for HIV and AIDS. Meel's (2017) study, which was conducted at Mthatha (South Africa), is currently the only one that reported on HIV prevalence amongst sexually assaulted elderly women in the South African context.

However, Meel (2017) attributed the prevalence of HIV infection to drug and alcohol use among the perpetrators of sexual violence perpetrated against women. The study mentioned that drug and alcohol use among the youth has often resulted in sexual assaults involving unprotected sex, which leads to a high risk of contracting HIV. The study further stated that elderly women are not immune to sexual assault and HIV infection, as alluded to in the previous section.

### **2.2.11 Getting rid of the Taint of Boyhood**

Phakathi (2011, p. 6) reported that the South African Broadcasting Cooperation (SABC) News (2009) aired that "young men who come back from traditional circumcision in the mountains, especially in the Eastern Cape, came back and raped elderly women in the belief that doing this would rid them of any bad luck". Elderly women in that province live in constant fear of being raped by these young men (SABC News, 2009). This information was supported by a public lecture presented by Nambitha Dambuza, Judge of the Supreme Court of South Africa in Bloemfontein and the Visiting Professor at Rhodes University. She mentioned that women fear for their lives due to the violent behaviour exhibited by initiates in the Eastern Cape communities. Women, especially young women, dread the violence perpetrated by initiates on communities after returning from the initiation school.

The practice (rape) is called "to wipe yourself clean". In many instances, this is an allusion to rape. Soga (2013) has written that it is impressed upon the initiates that to

get rid of the taint of boyhood, they should, upon conclusion of their seclusion period, have sexual connection with some unattached female. Such a woman would be one of no worth to the young man, one whom he did not love, had no intention of holding a love relationship with, and who would only serve to get rid of all the misfortune from the place of seclusion. Elderly women are therefore vulnerable to sexual violence due to this cultural practice.

Although traditional male circumcision is practiced in South Africa, it is however not part of the Zulu culture. It is mainly practiced by AmaXhosa in the Eastern Cape Province. This study, however, is investigating the rape of elderly women in KZN.

### **2.2.12 History of Sexual Violence**

The study conducted in Nigeria further indicated that the majority of the offenders had previously engaged in sexual violence with a female acquaintance, dating partner, and or stranger (Adedayo & Aborisade, 2020). This seems to indicate that the sexual offenders who rape elderly women have a long history of perpetrating sexual violence against women of different ages.

## **2.3 Contextual Factors**

### **2.3.1 Poor Parenting and Attachment in Early Childhood**

Groth and Burgess (1979) reviewed clinical files of convicted sexual offenders and found that most of these offenders grew up in homes with unstable parental relationships, or where they experienced feelings of rejection, and had a history of lack of respect or resentment toward their mothers. The offenders perceived their mothers as easily agitated, controlling, dictatorial, and confrontational. This experience resulted in the offenders grappling with feelings of helplessness, dependency, and having poor interpersonal and problem-solving skills. The participants also reported that as a result, initiating and sustaining intimate relationships with women was challenging for them.

The lack of positive relationships with their mothers appears to have led to poor attachment and a lack of empathy, the most extreme manifestation of this adversity being uncontrolled anger and vengeful behaviour. The participants further reported that, as a result, they developed a preference for impersonal sex (Murphy & Winder, 2016). This finding was supported by research conducted by Murphy and Winder

(2016) in the United Kingdom, in which the participants (offenders) described situations highlighting how their poor problem-solving and poor interpersonal skills developed as a result of the adversity of their early life experiences.

### **2.3.2 Death of a significant other**

In the same study conducted by Murphy and Winder (2016), the participants reported extreme adverse events that affected them in early adulthood. These adverse events included the death of partners, friends, and family members, all of which seemed to have ruined them further, thus reinforcing their belief that the world is a cruel place. (Murphy & Winder, 2016). Participants who experienced multiple deaths of significant others demonstrated a common belief that, had these events not happened, life could have taken a more positive route for them. Groth and Birbaum (2013) noted that because of the emotional turmoil experienced by the participants who took part in their study, these participants had resorted to rape as the last desperate attempt to ward off stress which they felt would otherwise have destroyed them. The participants further mentioned that, under stress, their judgment was poor, and they lacked insight into the consequences of their behaviour. Thus, imprisonment, disgrace, injury to the victim, and so forth, would not be considered by the offenders at the time of their sexual actions (Groth & Birbaum, 2013; McCombie, 2012).

### **2.3.3 Racial Hostility**

In the study undertaken by Murphy and Winder (2016) in the United Kingdom, the negative events reported by the participants were not limited to abuse or neglect; for example, a Black participant reported the negative impact of racial abuse on his academic achievements. The participant detailed that his worldview was framed by an environment of hostility and oppression. The resultant feelings of helplessness and resentment towards those more fortunate than himself were justified in this way: "Being in a rougher environment in general, I became rougher" (Murphy & Winder, 2016, p. 804). Having experienced racial abuse, the participant reported that he only had one choice, namely, to retaliate by forming a gang and committing crime in his neighbourhood, adding that his morals were "switched off" (Murphy & Winder, 2016, p. 806).

Levenson et al. (2016) found that exposure to persistently harsh conditions could lead to anger, anxiety, depression, and a profound sense of helplessness throughout an



individual's lifespan. The researchers further indicated that individuals could acquire high-risk behaviours such as, substance abuse, intimate partner violence, and early sexual debut etc as coping strategies.

### **2.3.4 Unemployment**

Most participants in the study conducted by Murphy and Winder (2016) reported struggling to find employment or to keep it because of depression. They strongly believed that finding employment was out of their control. They reportedly felt let down by the government, their former employers, prospective employers, and other people in general. This resulted in them struggling with money; therefore, they were living in poverty and were unable to cope with family responsibilities, which also resulted in the build-up of a great deal of anger (Murphy & Winder, 2016).

Based on the 2021 Q1 Labour Force Survey, the unemployment rate in South Africa was 35.3 per cent. Of the 688 000 people who joined the ranks of the unemployed in 2021, approximately 50.1 per cent were youth aged between 18-34 years old, thus increasing the youth unemployment rate by 1.6 percentage points to 38.6 per cent nationally. Furthermore, the survey indicated that there are approximately 3 800 000 discouraged work-seekers in South Africa. These are people who are no longer seeking employment because they have lost hope of finding any kind of work. This reflects a 29.9% year on year growth in discouraged work seekers (Statistics South Africa, 2021).

A study conducted by Meel (2017) in the Eastern Cape, South Africa, mentioned that economically disempowered men seem to be angry and demonstrate their power by sexually abusing women. Langa and Kiguwa (2013) contended that, psychologically, feelings of disempowerment may develop into hatred and anger. The daring question that ought to be examined is: Why is this anger directed to elderly women?

However, not everyone who experiences multiple adversities suffers negative psychological outcomes; thus, some individuals are remarkably resilient. Studies have attested to a diversity of responses to traumatic events, even within similar environments and conditions (Killian, 2004). Outcomes differ because individuals vary in terms of their vulnerability to risks, and because there may be protective factors that help them develop resilience (Killian, 2004).

## **2.4 Conclusion**

The reviewed literature has been divided into two broad categories, which are: personal and contextual factors motivating young men to rape elderly women. The personal factors that were reviewed were further categorised into the following factors: sexual behaviour (sexual gratification, preoccupation with pornographic material), sexual preferences (gerontophilia), sexual beliefs (getting rid of the taint of boyhood), and sexual inadequacies (inadequacy in age-appropriate relationships), among other personal factors. The other personal factors that were discussed included adverse childhood experiences, a history of anti-social behaviour, including anger, a desire to control others, drug and alcohol use, and theft. The contextual factors included poor parenting and attachment in early childhood, the death of a significant other, racial hostility, and the lack of employment opportunities. The next chapter presents the theoretical and conceptual framework underpinning this study.

This study falls within the context of social justice; thus, an ethical being cannot look on the suffering of others and remain unaffected (Mkhize, 2008). In South Africa, elderly women play a crucial role in the lives of young people; ironically, they are being raped by the very young generation they are raising (Arts et al., 2018; Meel, 2017).

## CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

### 3.1 Introduction

The theoretical framework that was used to guide and ground this inquiry was van Manen's hermeneutic phenomenology. To be precise, the researcher used van Manen's lifeworld existentials as a theoretical and methodological framework to unveil the lived experiences of young men incarcerated for raping elderly women in KZN Province. The four lifeworld existentials that guided this inquiry are lived body (corporeality), lived other (human relations), lived space (spatiality), and lived time (temporality). Van Manen (1997, 2016) contends that the lived experiences of all human beings can be understood as corresponding to these four lifeworld existentials regardless of the individuals' cultural, historical, or social contexts.

The main focus of hermeneutic phenomenological research is the relation of the individual with their lifeworld - the world in which they live, which is the world of lived experiences. The researcher strove to unpack the meaning of the lived experiences of individuals. Van Manen (1997) provides a hermeneutic phenomenological framework to guide this type of research. According to van Manen (1997, p. 4), "Phenomenology describes how one orients to lived experience, and hermeneutics describes how one interprets the "texts" of life."

Phenomenology is a human science that seeks to describe and understand, rather than observe and explain, a phenomenon, as natural sciences typically do (Bergum, 1991). Phenomenology emphasises many aspects of human experiences, such as the contexts of these experiences and how they might be articulated (Hammond, 1991; Spiegelberg, 2012). In this sense, it seeks to describe rather than explain a phenomenon; hence, phenomenology is typically descriptive (Finlay, 2009). She further characterises humans as hermeneutic beings capable of discovering meaning in their own lives, which suggests that understanding the lived experiences of the participants cannot occur outside of the cultural, social, contextual, and historical settings in which they live. Van Manen (1997, p.11) stated that "hermeneutic phenomenological research is "explicit in that it attempts to articulate, through the content and form of text, the structures of meaning embedded in lived experience". Van Manen's lifeworld existentials helped the researcher to illuminate the lived experiences of the young perpetrators of sexual violence.

Van Manen's (1997, 2016) lifeworld existentials provides a sensitive methodological approach to the understanding of the subjective nature of the young perpetrators' lived experiences, as well as an understanding of the beliefs and attitudes characterising their behaviour. Since the researcher was the primary data collection and interpretation "tool", he or she is required to interact with the research participants in an empathic way (van Manen, 1997).

### **3.2 The four existential themes**

The existential themes that guided this inquiry are; lived body, lived other, lived space, and lived time (van Manen, 1997/2016). These will be expounded in detail below

#### **3.2.1 Lived Body (Corporeality)**

The term "lived body" refers to an individual's perception of his or her physical presence in the world. It refers to the individual's physical body or bodily presence in daily life, including everything the individual feels, reveals, conceals, and communicates through the lived body. Individuals are always present in the world through their bodies; through their lived bodies, they feel, communicate, interact, and experience the world. Therefore, the existential theme of the lived body could guide the researcher to a deeper comprehension of the young perpetrators' bodily experience of the world around them.

#### **3.2.2 Lived Space (Spatiality)**

The existential theme of lived space refers not only to physical space, but also to how an individual sees himself or herself in daily activities. According to van Manen (1997, p. 102), articulating lived space is challenging since the lived experience of space is "largely pre-verbal". Most individuals do not frequently reflect on their daily interactions with their surroundings, which makes their lived experience of space more pre-reflective in nature, where an emotion is often first experienced, which then reflects a sense of the self in the space. Fear, vulnerability, helplessness, anxiety, powerlessness, hopelessness, confinement, and isolation, all represent the individual's pre-reflective perception of their lived place. Lived space is an inquiry into an individual's lived experience of their environment, for example, home, neighbourhood, school, church, or community, and how this can affect an individual's emotions, identity, and personality characteristics.

### **3.2.3 Lived Time (Temporality)**

The biography of an individual is referred to as lived time. According to van Manen (1997, p. 104), "The temporal dimensions of past, present, and future constitute the horizons of a person's temporal landscape". Whatever an individual has experienced in the past remains with them as a memory that leaves imprints on that individual's being. The existential theme of lived time weaves the past, the present, and the future into one entity. Adverse childhood experiences, as well as the emotional, psychological, and physiological ramifications of those experiences, can have a lifelong impact on an individual. The legacy of trauma can have a direct impact on an individual's future potential and identity formation. The researcher was guided by lived time to thoroughly examine the young perpetrators' biographies.

### **3.2.4 Lived Other (Relationality or Communality)**

The terms "lived other," "relationality," or "lived human relation" refers to an individual's interaction with others. According to Merleau-Ponty (2005), one's view of the world is based on their experience of the social world; thus, being in the world entails being in a reciprocal and communicative connection with it. Lived other unveils interpersonal themes and projections that people create about others in their encounters with them. Traumatic experiences can have a dramatic impact on relationships, thus leading to alienation from others (Herman, 1997). Van Manen (1997) claimed that, existentially, humans seek relationships with others to have a sense of purpose or meaningfulness. The lived other, therefore, guided the researcher to identify and explicitly delineate the young perpetrators' lived experiences of connections across all ecological domains.

This study used the four reflection guides or lifeworld existentials to capture the young perpetrators' meaning behind the existential crisis. Crotty (2003, p.10) posits that "Hermeneutic phenomenology is not a method of research but rather both a theoretical perspective and a methodology, a strategy or plan that lies behind the methods employed in a particular study". As such, a theoretical framework, such as van Manen's lifeworld existentials (lived body, lived other, lived space, and lived time) provided a lens through which to explore the lived experiences of young men who had raped elderly women in KZN. Hermeneutic phenomenology is concerned with the subjective experiences of individuals and groups. This study, therefore, attempted to unveil the world as experienced by these young perpetrators through their lifeworld stories.

Precisely, psychological processes are culture-based; therefore, the hermeneutic inquiry was chosen as a methodology for this study, because it takes into consideration the individual's cultural, social and historical contexts (Heidegger, 2002).

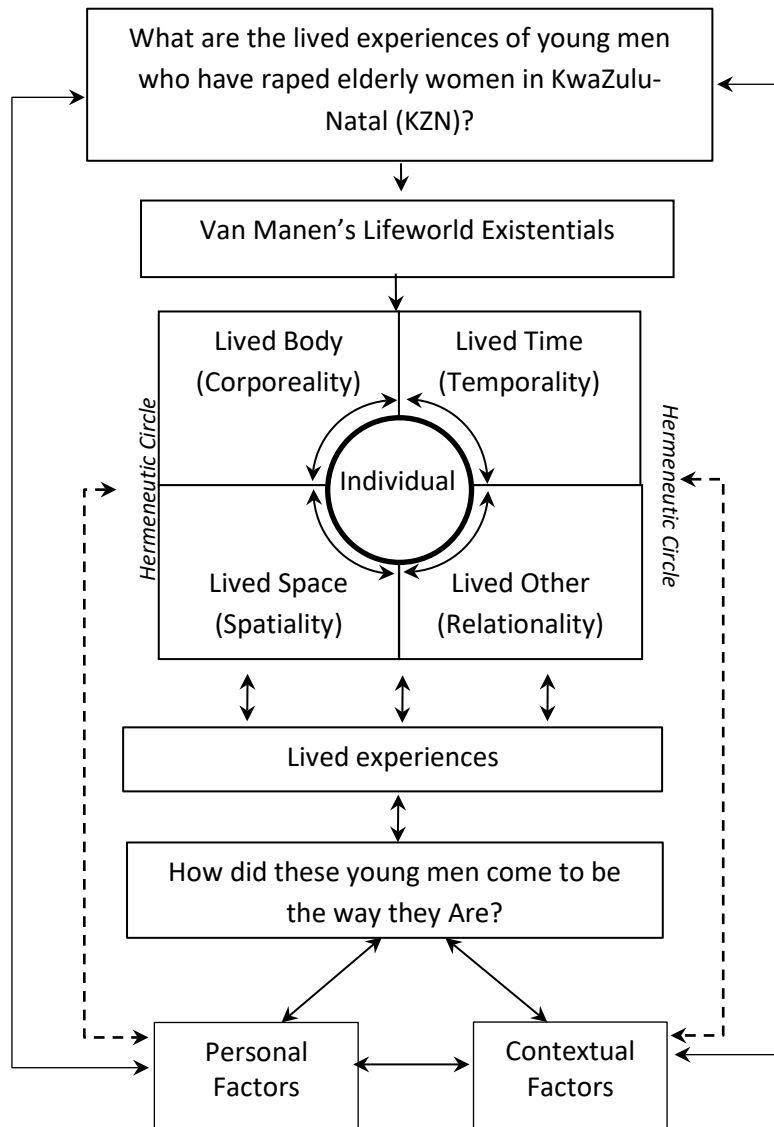
### **3.3 The Conceptual Framework**

The conceptual framework which guided this study was drawn from van Manen's lifeworld existentials (hermeneutic phenomenology). The concepts of this theory highlighted the lived experiences of young men who had raped elderly women in KZN. van Manen's (1997) lifeworld existentials focuses on the individual in the environment and emphasises the notion that it is the individual who experiences the phenomenon.

Van Manen's (1997) approach attempts to understand the individual's lived experiences which include the experience of the feeling body (corporeality), of felt space rather than physical space (spatiality), of relationships that are established in the space that is shared with others (relationality), and of subjective rather than objective time (temporality) (van Manen, 1997). This theory enabled the researcher to understand the salient, underlying meanings of the perpetrator's lived experiences. This is the strength of van Manen's (1997) hermeneutic phenomenology as it answers the question: What is the essence of this phenomenon? Therefore, this theory played an important role in fostering an understanding of the lived experiences of the young men who had raped elderly women in KZN.

Figure 3.1 below presents the integrated conceptual model that was applied to frame this study:

**Figure 3.1: Integrated conceptual model**



### 3.3.1 Explanation of the Integrated Conceptual Model of van Manen's as Applied to the Study

Figure 3.1 above diagrammatically describes how van Manen's (1997) four existentials were applied to participants' lived experiences. These experiences were interpreted through the lenses of the four existentials: they are influenced by both personal and contextual factors. As the diagram illustrates, the meaning-making process of the lived

experiences occurs in the hermeneutic circle. The hermeneutic circle is described as a continuous back-and-forth movement involving the researcher, the accounts of lived experiences, and van Manen's lifeworld existentials, to reveal and deeply understand the participants' experiences. It has also been described as a movement between the part and the whole, with each component giving the other meaning (Miles & Francis, 2015). The metaphor of a circle is explained thus: "It describes the manner in which an interpreter must repeatedly approach the text and the meanings derived from it in a cyclical *conversation*" (Coxon, 2007, p. 98). This cyclical movement enabled the researcher to interpret and understand the layered meanings of the participants' experiences in the same way that data analysis in hermeneutic phenomenology is compared to peeling off the different layers of an onion (Treadwell et al., 2015).

### **3.3.2 How Hermeneutic Phenomenology Has Been Used in Other Studies**

Hermeneutic phenomenology has been used by researchers in many other research studies to interpret and understand participants' lived experiences. Three such studies will be briefly mentioned in this section. Coxon (2007) used the hermeneutic phenomenology approach to explore the experiences of users of a particular form of transport for designers to understand the experiences of transport users in Europe. Del Pilar Plazas et al. (2016) researched the lived experiences of people living with chronic illnesses. Treadwell et al. (2015) conducted a phenomenological study into the Texas A & M Campus in the USA Bonfire Tragedy, to understand the experiences of survivors of that incident. The common thread running through these studies is the unearthing of the deep meanings of the lived experiences in the respective research contexts, in the same way that this study sought to understand the lived experiences of the sexual offenders who raped elderly women.

### **3.4 Conclusion**

Van Manen's (1997) four existentials, namely lived space, lived body, lived time, and lived other were used as the analytical lenses used to describe the lived experiences of the young men incarcerated for raping elderly women in KZN. The four lifeworld existentials enabled the researcher to go beyond merely describing the lived experiences of the young perpetrators by providing a framework for reflecting, interpreting, and gaining insight into their lived experiences.



Figure 2 portrays the Integrated Conceptual Model, which explains how van Manen's (1997) conceptual model and the hermeneutic circle were used to illuminate the phenomenon explored in this study. The next chapter describes the methodology used to collect and analyse data. It also describes the research paradigm informing the methodology used in this study.

## CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND PARADIGM

### 4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the theoretical and conceptual frameworks guiding this study. Van Manen's (1997) four lifeworld existentials were used as an analytical framework to deconstruct and reconstruct the lived experiences of the ten participants chosen for this study in order to understand the phenomenon being investigated. This chapter presents and discusses the research approach, paradigm, and methods used to gather and analyse the data. The interpretivist paradigm was selected to underpin the methodology as it was fit for purpose. The nature of this study informed the researcher's choice of the qualitative approach. The data analysis was informed by van Manen's (1997) hermeneutic phenomenological method of data analysis. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the rigour of this study and the ethical considerations which underpinned this study. The ethical principles guiding this study were particularly important since the participants of the study were in the vulnerable category.

### 4.2 Research Approach

Since this study sought to unveil the lived experiences of young IsiZulu-speaking South African men who were incarcerated for raping elderly women in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), it adopted a qualitative research approach. The qualitative approach was selected because this study was exploratory by nature; that is, little is known about the rape of elderly women in South Africa. Neuman (2011) indicated that an exploratory design is employed when the study topic is either new or when relatively little research has been done on it. Therefore, the researcher had to listen to the participants' lifeworld stories to formulate an understanding based on their lifeworld stories (Miles et al., 2018). Creswell (2016) argued that in a qualitative study, the researcher learns from the participants' perceptions and experiences and how they interpret their lives. Groenewald (2004, p.7) posits that "the principal beliefs in qualitative research are that (a) data are contained within the perspectives of people, (or in existing documents) and (b) because of this, the researcher should engage with the participants (or consult the relevant documents) in collecting the data."

The qualitative research approach is typically humanistic and subjective. It accepts that realities are socially constructed and subjectively known (Creswell, 2016; Guba &

Lincoln, 1994). Accordingly, qualitative research approaches explicitly rely on participants' subjective perspectives to understand the phenomenon being investigated (Creswell & Poth, 2016; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). This subjective stance emanates from the belief that there are multiple truths in qualitative research which means that generated meanings are always context-dependent and can only be understood from cultural, social, and historical perspectives (Creswell & Poth, 2016). This holistic view is consonant with the principles of hermeneutic phenomenology. Furthermore, the inductive and flexible approach taken in qualitative research can prevent the researcher from imposing inappropriate principles or measures (Bryman, 2016).

### **4.3 Research Design**

#### **4.3.1 Hermeneutic Phenomenology**

Lived experience is described by van Manen (2007) as what individuals experience in their lives through their situations, relationships or actions. Van Manen's hermeneutic phenomenological inquiry was used to gain insights into the lived experiences of young men who have raped elderly women in KwaZulu-Natal Province.

Phenomenology is the study of the lifeworld, an inquiry into participants' lived experiences (van Manen, 1997; Richards & Morse, 2012). It is a way of researching the essence of a phenomenon. The term 'essence' refers to the essential meanings of a phenomenon; it is the characteristic that makes a thing what it is (van Manen, 1997). According to van Manen (1997), the aim of phenomenology is to gain an in-depth understanding of the meaning or nature of the daily experiences of an individual or group. The term 'phenomenology' originated from the work of German philosopher and mathematician, Edmund Husserl (van Manen, 1997). As a research method, phenomenology attempts to unveil the essential structures, and meanings of the individual's lived experiences, thus expounding a deeper understanding of the participants' lived experiences (Laverty, 2003; van Manen, 1997). Phenomenology assists the researcher in identifying meanings and structural essences through reflection, communication, and description (Richards & Morse, 2012).

Hermeneutic phenomenology is also an exploration of the lifeworld; it is a study of lived experience, but with the orientation towards creating meaning and achieving understanding of a phenomenon (Laverty, 2003). Hermeneutic phenomenology

originated from the philosophical work of Heidegger (1962), a student of Husserl (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). The integration of hermeneutic and phenomenological traditions means that a “phenomenological text is descriptive in the sense that it names something. And in this naming, it points to something, and it aims at letting something show itself. Phenomenological text is interpretative in the sense that it mediates. It mediates between interpreted meaning and the thing toward which the interpretation points” (van Manen, 1997, p. 26). Hermeneutics is concerned with lived human experience rather than technical concerns. Understanding is the process through which we gain access to an individual's lived experience (Tappan, 1997). To enhance an adequate understanding of human actions, the interpreter should consider the narrator's meaning, purposes, and intentions in their particular contexts (Peavy, 1997). Furthermore, hermeneutics takes cognisance of the historical and psychological realities of the person whose life is being interpreted (Mkhize & Frizelle, 2000). Heidegger (2002) contends that humans are interpretive beings who are capable of finding meaning in their own lives, which implies that the understanding of an individual's experience cannot happen apart from their cultural, social or historical contexts.

A hermeneutic inquiry aims to “identify the participants' meanings from the blend of the researcher's understanding of the phenomenon, and participant-generated knowledge” (Wojnar & Swanson, 2007, p.175). From the hermeneutic perspective, the researcher's primary sources of understanding arise from language, literature, religion, and behavioural norms, which are the bases of people's cultural structure and contexts (Dilthey, 1976). In fact, the researcher's personal viewpoint, from which the inquiry is approached, has its own biases, assumptions, and theoretical knowledge. Identifying prejudices or pre-understandings aids interpretation of the data. This means that the researcher must reflect on any pre-understandings they hold. Ignoring the identification of pre-understandings would lead to the formulation of opinions about a text, rather than openness to what the text itself is revealing (van Manen, 1997). Gadamer (1975) states that understanding takes place when an individual's horizon blends with the horizon of the other, which enhances our understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. The horizon is everything people are aware of in the perception of an object above and beyond what directly appeals to the human senses (Vessey, 2009). In hermeneutics, understanding of a phenomenon occurs via the

hermeneutic circle, a recursive process which entails movement between the parts and the whole. The hermeneutic circle consists of reading, reflective writing, and rigorous interpretation (Heidegger, 1962).

Hermeneutic phenomenology does not seek to gain the final word on a particular research question. To do so would conflict with an understanding that our interpretations of an experience are always and inescapably located within a particular historicity and open to new interpretations (van Manen, 2015). Equally, the phenomenological concern relates to the nature of the lived experiences rather than to an explanation of the phenomenon in theoretical or causal terms.

Working within the hermeneutic phenomenological paradigm, the researcher acknowledged that the research findings represent only one possible interpretation of the phenomenon being investigated (Smith, 2004; van Manen, 1997). This means that different readers at different times could come up with different interpretations when reading the same text (van Manen, 2015).

As mentioned in Chapter One, van Manen (1997/2016) recommends six methodological steps to be followed by researchers using hermeneutic phenomenology. These steps have been applied in this study as depicted in Table 4.1 below:

**Table 4.1: van Manen’s Six Methodological Activities**

Steps	Role of the researcher
Step1 Turning to the nature of the lived experience	The research question: What are the lived experiences of young men who rape elderly women? The primary and secondary questions enabled the researcher to illuminate the lived experiences of the participants by seeking to understand the personal and contextual factors which contributed to the rape of elderly women.
Step 2 Investigating an experience as it is lived	Individual semi-structured interviews were used to collect data. The semi-structured nature of the interviews enabled a conversation on the lived experiences between the participants and the researcher. This produced rich data on the lived experiences of the participants, which in turn illuminated the phenomenon being studied.

<p>Step 3 Reflecting on essential themes</p>	<p>The researcher strived to capture the essence of the phenomenon by reflecting on the data and using various data analysis approaches recommended by van Manen (1997/2016) to identify essential themes in the lived experiences of the participants to enable a deeper understanding of how they came to be the way they are.</p>
<p>Step 4 The art of writing and rewriting</p>	<p>Through a repeated process of writing and rewriting, the researcher worked towards voicing the thoughts, feelings, attitudes and the participants' lived experiences.</p>
<p>Step 5 Maintaining a strong and oriented relation to the phenomenon</p>	<p>The researcher remained focused on the research questions and kept close to the data by transcribing the interviews, translating them from IsiZulu to English, having a back translation done to minimise the risk of data loss, and rigorously analysing the data to identify emerging essential themes associated with the phenomenon being studied.</p>
<p>Step 6 Balancing the research context by considering parts and whole</p>	<p>The researcher strived to maintain a careful balance between the parts and the whole by paying equal attention to what the participants said (parts) and the totality of their lived experiences (whole), in a circular reflexive process (considering the hermeneutic circle).</p>

**Source:** van Manen (1997/2016)

#### 4.3.2 Research Paradigm

A research paradigm defines a researcher's philosophical orientation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). It significantly influences every decision the researcher makes, including the research methods and methodology. A research paradigm informs how the researcher constructs meaning from the data emanating from individual participants' experiences (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017). Therefore, researchers need to recognise and understand the philosophy which underpins the paradigm they have adopted for their research (Hussey & Hussey, 1997).

The two major research paradigms used in social science are interpretivist and positivist paradigms (Ngulube & Ngulube 2017). For example, "All the varieties of paradigms, including what Creswell and Poth (2016) describes as transformative perspectives, fall within the interpretive-positivist continuum of paradigms" (Ngulube & Ngulube, 2017, p.132). This study was located within the interpretivist paradigm to enhance the collection of qualitative data to explore the phenomenon in-depth. It was guided by the ontological and epistemological assumptions of the interpretivist-constructivist paradigm.

### **4.3.3 Ontological Assumptions**

Ontology seeks a response to the question: What is the nature of reality? There are two broad categories of ontological assumptions, which are; the objective and subjective perspectives on the nature of reality. From the objective perspective, reality is considered as a set of measurable objects which exist even if these objects cannot be perceived or experienced (O’Gorman & McIntosh, 2015). On the contrary, the subjective perspective sees reality as emerging from the interactions and perceptions of individuals. Consequently, in the interpretivist/constructivist paradigm, the ontological assumption is that there is not only one reality, but many realities. These many realities are determined by the following factors, among others: perception, experience, social environment, and the intercommunication between the researcher and the participants of the study (King et al., 2018). This research held the subjective stance as it sought to illuminate or unveil the lifeworld – the world of the lived experiences of young IsiZulu-speaking men who had raped elderly women in KwaZulu-Natal. This was a hermeneutic phenomenological inquiry. Hermeneutic phenomenological research explores the lifeworld of the participants ontologically by uncovering a deeper understanding of the nature or meaning of their everyday experiences” (Van Manen, 1997).

### **4.3.4 Epistemological Assumptions**

Epistemology seeks answers to the questions: How can we gain our knowledge? What is the relationship between what is known and the researcher? (Cohen et al., 2011). Epistemology is the process through which the researcher makes claims to knowledge (Hartley, 2006). In the qualitative interpretivist or constructivist paradigm, the epistemological assumption is that the knowledge of the world is gained by interpreting the world within the context of social practices (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Lavery (2003, p.26) posits that, “Epistemologically, this framework sees a relationship between the knower and the known” and “the primary aims are understanding and the reconstruction of experience and knowledge”. In the knowledge creation process, the participant and the researcher relate to each other in an interactive manner (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). A hermeneutic phenomenological inquiry is qualitative in nature, and its bedrock is subjective knowledge. In hermeneutic phenomenology, the epistemological belief is that knowledge-making occurs through gaining a deep understanding of participants' subjective experience (Kafle, 2011).

According to van Manen's (2007), Hermeneutic Phenomenological language unveils "being" within historical and cultural settings that both the participant and researcher understand through language, that is, the language of the interview. The researcher chose the interpretivist paradigm as it was appropriate for this study.

The following section discusses the two major paradigms used in social science; the researcher argues that the discussion of the positivist and interpretivist paradigms is necessary to clarify why the interpretivist paradigm was appropriate for this study.

#### **4.3.5 Positivist Paradigm**

The positivist paradigm is underpinned by the scientific method of investigation, which involves experiments that are conducted to investigate observable phenomena and to look for cause-and-effect relationships in nature. Researchers who aim at interpreting observations, in terms of facts or entities which can be measured, prefer this paradigm (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). Research which is located within the positivist paradigm uses formulation, the testing of hypotheses and deductive logic to arrive at conclusions. Positivist researchers believe that the results of an inquiry can be quantified and through quantitative research methods. The positivist paradigm assumes an objectivist epistemology, realism ontology, and an experimental methodology (Creswell & Creswell, 2017).

#### **4.3.6 Interpretivist Paradigm**

Basically, the interpretivist paradigm perceives reality as a product of social construction. Therefore, this paradigm is sometimes called the "constructivist" paradigm (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017). As mentioned above, interpretivist researchers assume that epistemology is subjective, ontology is relative, and methodology is naturalistic (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017). The defining features of the interpretive paradigm are elucidated by Terre Blanche et al. (2006, p.7), who noted that:

The interpretive paradigm involves taking seriously people's subjective experiences as the essence of what is real for them (ontology), making sense of people's experiences by interacting with them and listening carefully to what they tell us (epistemology), and making use of qualitative research techniques to collect and analyse information (methodology).



The assumption of a subjectivist epistemology is that knowledge is socially constructed by the researcher through personal experiences which are drawn from real life experiences within natural settings. The researcher and the participants interact, mingle, engage in dialogues, exchange questions and answers, and listen, write, and record data emanating from research (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). The relativist ontology assumes that the researcher holds the belief that multiple realities exist within the phenomenon being investigated and that it is possible for researchers and participants to reconstruct those realities (Chalmers et al., 2005). The assumption of a naturalistic methodology implies that the researcher uses data gathered through interviews, with the researcher being a participant-cum-observer (Creswell & Poth, 2016).

The relationship between the research paradigm and the methodology is very important. The researcher's choice of a paradigm has methodological implications, and this has an impact on the research questions, the selection of participants, and how data are collected and analysed (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017). The researcher's choice of a positivist paradigm would have implied that the data collection and analysis processes would be quantitative in nature. In contrast, the choice of an interpretivist paradigm implied that the data collection and analysis processes would be qualitative in nature. This study sought to unveil the lived experiences of young men incarcerated for raping elderly women; therefore, the interpretivist perspective clearly resonated with this qualitative inquiry. Hermeneutics and phenomenology constitute the philosophical basis of interpretive research (Boland, 1985).

This study was positioned in the hermeneutic phenomenology methodology which falls within the interpretivist qualitative approach. This methodology was informed by the social constructivist principles, where knowledge is context-sensitive and socially constructed.

#### **4.4 Research Site**

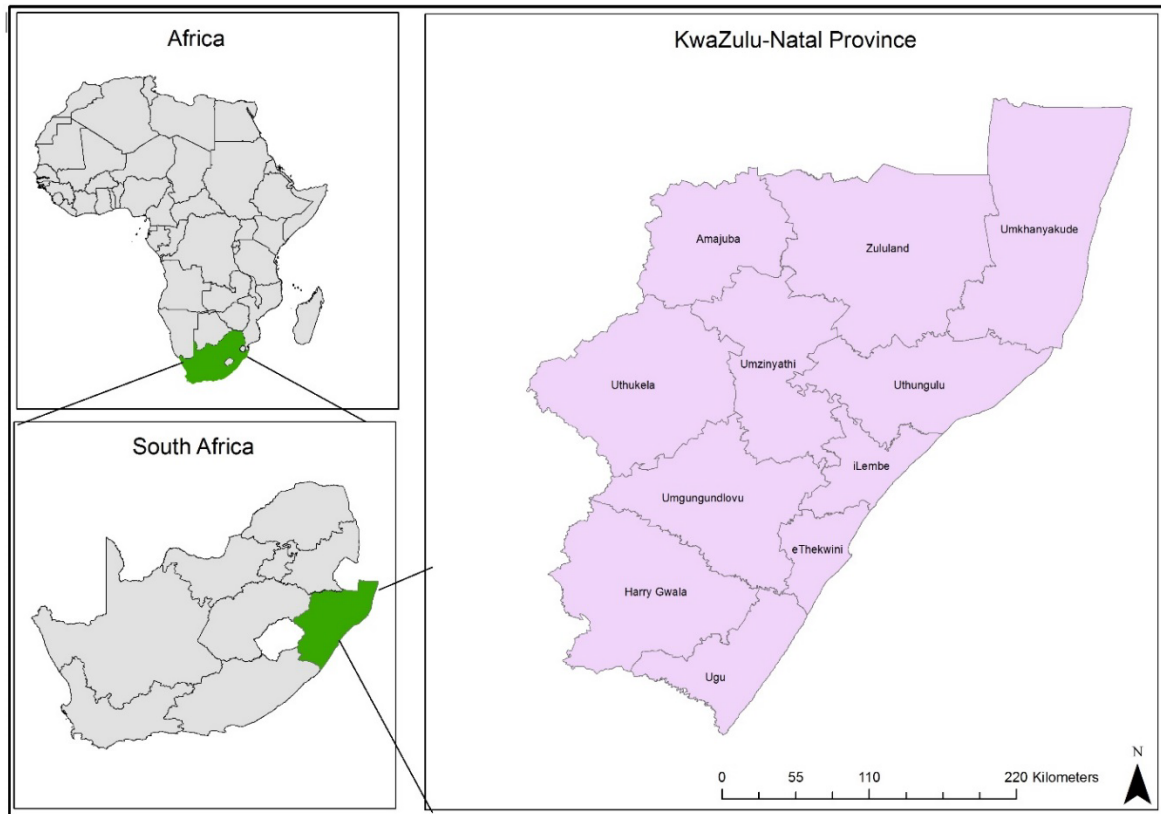
This study was conducted in the Correctional Services Departments in KZN, South Africa (see Figure 1 below). KZN is one of South Africa's nine provinces. It is South Africa's third smallest province in land area, and yet it has the second largest population (estimated to be 11 513 575) after Gauteng, making up 19% of the country's total population (Statistics South Africa, 2021). Between 2020 and 2021,

8 201 sexual assaults were reported in KZN police stations, of which 6 685 were rape cases. This is the second highest number of incidents occurring in the country, following Gauteng Province, and constitutes up to 18,4% of the total rape cases reported in South Africa between 1 April 2020 and 31 March 2021 (SAPS, 2021). As of 31 March 2021, there were 42 Correctional Centres in KZN; 40 were active and two are temporarily closed (Estcourt and Umzimkhulu) due to upgrading. The study was conducted in one correctional centre whose name has been withheld for ethical reasons.

The youth (15 - 34 years old) constitute 35% of the population in the province of KZN, and elderly persons (aged 60 and older) constitute up to 8% of province's population, whilst children (aged 0-14 years) constitute 31% of the population (Statistics South Africa, 2021). Research on the lived experiences of young men who have raped elderly women would assist institutions that work with children to plan early intervention programmes aimed at minimising the occurrence of this offence.

Newspaper articles reporting on the rape of elderly women in South Africa indicate that this phenomenon is prevalent throughout the country. This reality is confirmed by Meel's (2017) study done in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. KZN was chosen as the research site for this study because the researcher's first language is IsiZulu, and she lives in KZN where IsiZulu is the predominant language.

**Figure 4.1: Map of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa**



Source: Ngidi (2019)

#### 4.5 Target Population

Data were collected from incarcerated men whose ages ranged between 18 and 30 years old (at the time of the offence), and had raped women aged 60 years old and older; these were young men who had pleaded guilty to the offence. The first reason for choosing this age group was that international research on the rape of elderly women indicates that most offenders incarcerated for the rape of elderly women fall within this age range (Adedayo & Aborisade, 2020; Burgess et al., 2007; Jeary, 2005; Robertiello & Terry, 2007; Safarik et al., 2002). South African newspaper articles reporting on the rape of elderly women also indicate that most of the perpetrators are aged between 18 and 35 years (IOL, 2015).

The African Youth Charter in South Africa currently places every person aged between 15 and 35 in the category of the youth (African Youth Charter, 2006). South Africa's National Youth Policy considers individuals aged between 14 and 35 as youths (National Youth Policy Document, 2009).

## **4.6 Sample**

### **4.6.1 Sampling Strategy**

Kruger and Stones (1988) recommended the following criteria for selecting subjects for phenomenological research:

1. Subjects should have had experience relating to the phenomenon being researched on.
2. They should be verbally fluent and able to communicate their feelings, thoughts, and perceptions in relation to the phenomenon being researched on.
3. They should have the same home-language as the researcher, as this will obviate the possible loss of subtle semantic nuances.
4. They should express a willingness to be open to the researcher.

Taking the above suggestions into consideration, the sample in this study was selected using the non-probability purposive sampling strategy. Nieuwenhuis (2007, p.70) suggested that “purposive sampling means that participants are selected because of some defining characteristics that make them the holders of the data needed for the study”. The researcher of this study speaks IsiZulu as the first-language, with the English language being the second language. Only participants who spoke IsiZulu as their first language, and were based in KZN, were interviewed for this study, as per criteria recommended by Kruger and Stones (1988). The choice of participants for this study was in no way meant to be interpreted as any particular race group or cultural group being the only one involved in the phenomenon being researched , but rather, it related to language proficiency.

### **4.6.2 Strategy for Recruitment**

Upon obtaining approval from the Research Directorate for Ethics within the National Department of Correctional Services (Appendix A), the researcher approached the Area Commissioner of the Correctional Services Centres in KZN, who then referred the researcher to the Internal Guide, who was the Co-ordinator of Development and Care (this encompassed services by the Chaplain, psychologists, social workers, and teachers). The Internal Guide was appointed by the National Research Ethics Committee in the Department of Correctional Services (Appendix A). The Internal

Guide then introduced the researcher to the Head of the Correctional Centre, who then referred the researcher to the Unit Manager. The Unit Manager provided the researcher with a list of potential participants.

The researcher selected a convenience sample of the potential participants from the list comprising IsiZulu-speaking young men aged between 18 and 30 years, who are incarcerated for raping elderly women (60 years and above). The researcher worked with the Unit Managers and the Internal Guide to arrange individual briefing sessions with the potential participants, to introduce them to the study.

The nature and purpose of the study and the voluntary nature of participation were explained to each potential participant in the IsiZulu language. The participants were also informed that there was no financial compensation for participating in the study and that the study was going to be conducted in IsiZulu.

In addition, each potential participant was briefed on what would be required of him. All the questions and concerns were addressed by the researcher. Each potential participant was given an informed consent form to complete should he wish to do so. The potential participants were also given the opportunity to refuse participation to ensure that the data collection sessions involved only those who were genuinely willing to participate and were prepared to offer data freely. The researcher then set appointments for individual interviews with the participants who had agreed to participate and had completed the informed consent form. The interviews were conducted in a private room within the Correctional Centre, which was allocated by the Correctional Services officers. Although the researcher had planned to conduct one interview per week for self-care because of the sensitivity of the subject matter, she ended up conducting three interviews per week on different days to ensure and maintain participants' confidentiality. The researcher conducted three interviews per week due to the following reasons:

- The first reason was that Correctional Services personnel with whom the researcher had established rapport were going on Christmas leave as of the 15<sup>th</sup> of December 2020. Their absence would have disturbed the researcher's existing rapport with Correctional Services staff and consequently disturbed access to the participants.

- The second was the possibility of the COVID-19 imminent increase in lockdown stages due to COVID-19, which could have resulted in a total shutdown that would have prevented the researcher from gaining access to the research site.

The researcher arranged the appropriate time to meet with each of the 10 participants to conduct the first interviews. Each interview lasted between 45 minutes and 90 minutes. The researcher had to build rapport with the participants to get rich data; therefore, during the first session, the researcher facilitated the completion of the demographic questionnaire (Appendix E) by each participant individually. The questionnaire was written in IsiZulu. This questionnaire also assisted the researcher in ensuring that the participants met the predetermined criteria [youth (18-30 years), and rape of an elderly woman aged 60 years or older]. The questionnaire included a question about their date of birth and the victim's age. On probing how, they got to know about the age of their victims, they informed the researcher that their lawyers told them. All the participants were individually interviewed twice, except for one participant who was interviewed three times because his second interview raised many complex questions that required further clarification.

#### **4.6.3 Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria**

The inclusion criteria for participation in this study were that the men who would be interviewed would be incarcerated young men whose cases had been finalised, or men who had pleaded guilty to raping elderly women and who were, at the time of conducting the research, not appealing either their conviction or their sentences. This was done partly to avoid generating interview data that hardly elicited the lived experiences of men who had raped elderly women because of claims of innocence by participants, but also to ensure that the research initiative was not placed at risk of being drawn into appeal processes at a later stage (Stevens, 2008).

#### **4.6.4 Sample Size**

In qualitative research design, researchers tend to use a small but representative sample from which inferences are developed to answer the research questions (Neumen, 2011). Interpretivism pays particular attention to the following aspects of experience; intensity, detail, and depth (Smith et al., 2009). The priority is on quality and not quantity. This consideration influences the choice of a small and purposive sample (Smith et al., 2009). The researcher, therefore, interviewed ten male

participants who were older than 18 years, the legal age of consent in South Africa (Strode et al., 2010). The main aim was to balance the breadth and depth of experiential data (van Manen, 2012).

#### **4.6.5 Sample Description**

Ten male offenders participated in this research, and their details are summarised in (Appendix H). Nine participants were Zulu, and the tenth was of a mixed background Zulu-Mozambican ethnicity. The participants' ages, at the time of the interviews, ranged from 24 to 30 years, with a mean age of 27.4 years old. Eight were single while two were married. Of the ten participants, six had at least one child. They had very mixed backgrounds with respect to their primary caregivers until they turned 18 years old. Half of the participants were the only-children in their family of origin. Three had merely attained primary school education, while five had a high school qualification; another participant had N6, and yet another had both High School Senior Certificate (Grade 12) and a diploma. In terms of participants' employment history, some participants had never worked; others had both formal and informal employment; others engaged in crime to make a living. Half of the participants indicated some history of alcohol use, while only one indicated a history of drug use. The ages of the participants, when the crime was committed, ranged from 19 to 26 years old, with a mean age of 22.3 years old. The ages of the victims ranged from 62 to 84 years old, with a mean age of 69.2 years old. All the participants were serving at least one life sentence.

#### **4.7 Data Collection**

The aim of this study was to seek a deeper understanding of the lived experiences of young men who had raped elderly women in KwaZulu-Natal Province. Data were collected from incarcerated young IsiZulu-speaking men aged 18 - 30 years. All the interviews were conducted in IsiZulu, in KwaZulu-Natal Province.

Only officials in the Department of Correctional Services were allowed to physically access the restricted sections of the Correctional Centre. The researcher's initial plan was to conduct group-briefing sessions (six potential participants per group) with potential participants to introduce the study to them, but this plan had to be changed because of ensuing COVID-19 restrictions. The briefing sessions were therefore conducted individually with each potential participant. The Internal Guide was

responsible for inviting individual potential participants, as well as escorting them from their cells to the interview room and back to their cells. To some extent, this process seemed “coercive”. However, upon arrival in the interview room, the consent form was revisited to allay this limitation and to ensure that participation was completely voluntary. Two of the identified potential participants declined participation, stating that they did not want to be judged. One further potential participant indicated that his victims were in their 40s, so he, too, was excluded because he did not meet the inclusion criteria for the study. Consequently, the three were thanked and excluded from participation. To protect these offenders from any form of victimisation and to maintain confidentiality, their decision to decline participation was not discussed with any official.

The primary data collection method for this study was the in-depth, semi-structured interview (Appendix G). Semi-structured interviews provide great breadth and richness in terms of collected data because they afford participants the freedom to respond to questions and probes and to narrate their stories without being tied down to specific answers (Morse & Field, 1995; Myers & Shaw, 2004). The flexibility and open-endedness of semi-structured interviews also facilitate the establishment of rapport between the interviewer and the interviewee, thus enabling the interviewer to probe further based on the information emerging from the participant. Semi-structured interviews also yield rich, substantial research data (Smith, 2008). Another advantage is that while this method affords participants the freedom to narrate their stories in a way that they understand them, a degree of structure is maintained to give direction to the data collection process (Mkhize, 2004). All the interviews were audio-recorded, with prior consent from the participants (Appendix C). This helped the researcher to listen, probe and maintain eye contact with the participants. The researcher took notes in order to formulate follow-up questions and to create a backup, in case of recording failure (Creswell & Poth, 2016).

At the beginning of each interview session, the participants were reminded that their participation in the study was completely voluntary and that they had the right to withdraw at any time if they felt uncomfortable. Furthermore, they were informed that if there were any questions, they did not feel comfortable answering, they should inform the researcher. They were informed that the researcher would then move on to the next question without querying their refusal to answer those questions.



Every first interview began with the researcher asking each participant to tell the researcher about their life, family, and how they ended up at the Correctional Centre. Any topics the participants did not spontaneously cover during the interview were addressed by the researcher through asking open-ended questions derived from the semi-structured interviewing guide. Although they were not consistently used across all the interviews, open-ended questions helped the researcher explore, deepen and clarify understandings and meanings expressed by participants.

At the beginning and at the end of each interview session, the participants were informed that counselling would be provided if they needed it because of their participation in this study. A system of referral to psychologists, social workers or the Chaplain had been set up for this purpose. Participants 1 and P6 requested referral to social workers because the mothers of their children refused to bring the children to visit them. Participant 4 was referred to the psychologist at the Correctional Services Centre because he wanted to deal with his mother's death. Participant 10 requested a referral to the Chaplain to deal with his anger issues, and the appropriate referrals were made.

Finally, the participants were informed that in the event of any concerns arising from the interview or further questions they might have, they could contact the researcher through the Internal Guide. The contact details were also available on the informed consent form.

The first meeting with the participants was concluded by thanking the potential participants and setting the appointments for the first interview session. Only one participant was interviewed three times because the second interview raised a lot of questions for the researcher that required further clarity. The researcher concluded all the sessions with member checking and debriefing. Member checking is used to check the accuracy of captured data by allowing the participants to have access to the collected data (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). In this study, member checking was done to correct biases and misinterpretations, and thus ensure accuracy, and authenticity in representing the participants' voices; it was also used to check whether the researcher's notes corresponded with the information the participant had provided (Birt et al., 2016). The interviewees were given an opportunity to elaborate on their stories,

especially if misinterpretations were identified, before confirming and approving the accuracy of the interviewer's notes (Wicks & Whiteford, 2006).

#### **4.8 Post- Interview Process**

After each interview, the digital audio-recording of the interview was downloaded onto a computer, saved, and stored in a password-protected and encrypted file. After each interview, the recordings were listened to, and brief notes on the process and spontaneous interpretations were generated as an expansion of the notes written during the interview (Stevens, 2008). Once the interview process was completed (reached saturation), all the recordings were transcribed (in isiZulu -interviews were conducted in isiZulu) and then translated into English. All the interview transcripts were also saved in password-protected and encrypted files.

#### **4.9 Data Analysis**

The strength of qualitative data rests on the competence with which data analysis is carried out (Glucksmann, 1994). Scholars have presented salient arguments regarding the need for ensuring a tight connection between the theoretical framework, the methodology, and the analytical strategies employed in the study (Berg, 2009; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Lune & Berg, 2017; Richters, 1997; Tudge, 2008). For this reason, the data collected for this inquiry were analysed in close alignment with the conceptual framework, specifically, van Manen's lifeworld existentials.

Van Manen (1997) suggested three approaches to the isolation of thematic statements: the detailed or line-by-line approach, the selective or highlighting approach, and the holistic or sententious approach. The thematic analysis employed in this study included all the three approaches to illuminate the lived experiences of young men who are incarcerated for raping elderly women in KwaZulu-Natal Province. The examples provided below illustrate how the three approaches were applied in this study; however, the actual and detailed analyses of each participant interview are provided in the chapter that presents the findings of the study (Chapter 5).

##### **4.9.1 The detailed or line-by-line approach**

In the detailed approach, the researcher looks at every sentence or sentence cluster and asks: *What does this sentence or sentence cluster reveal about the phenomenon or experience being described?* (van Manen, 1997, p. 93). When using this approach, van Manen's hermeneutic phenomenology of four lifeworld existentials were used as

the coding framework: lived space (spatiality), lived time (temporality), lived body (corporeality), and lived other (relationality).

**Example:**

“They never used to beat me up when my father was around, but they reported every mistake I made” (Lived other: co-mothers driving a wedge between him and his father).

“My elder uncle passed away. Six months later, his wife also passed away” (Lived body: multiple losses, bereavement, and disruption of secure attachment).

“That night, I thought of committing suicide...pause” (Lived time: Suicidal ideation, as a result of being distressed without having emotional resources to cope with the trauma, and no protective factors).

“Even as children, we used to fight a lot when we were growing up” (Lived space – conflict-ridden environment).

**4.9.2 The selective or highlighting approach**

The selective approach entails that the researcher listens to or reads the transcripts several times and asks: “*What statements or phrases seem particularly essential or revealing about the phenomenon or experience being described?*” (van Manen, 1997, p. 93). The researcher selected statements from each participant's transcript that seemed to unveil the lived experiences of the young men who had raped elderly women in KwaZulu-Natal and tabulated them in the chapter presenting the findings.

**Table 4.2 Summary of the examples**

Analytical Categories	Quotations Of Significance
Lived body	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="480 1776 1382 1895">• “When I was nine, my grandmother died... That was the saddest day in my life. I cried for days...My grandmother was buried next to my mother just outside our yard.”</li> <li data-bbox="480 1939 1382 2016">• “I wet the bed, and my aunt was furious. She beat me and told me to go back to granny's rondavel. For about three</li> </ul>

	<p>months, I couldn't sleep properly. Each time I closed my eyes, I could see my grandmother lying there. It was terrifying being alone in that room.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “That killed me internally. I just wished I could strangle them.”</li> </ul>
<b>Lived other</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “The night before I left, my eldest uncle's wife lost money, and accused me of having stolen it. They beat me so severely that I cried so much. I eventually stopped crying, but they did not stop beating me. I think they stopped when they finally got tired of beating me, and then I went to bed. My whole body was very sore. I had not stolen the money. I left in the early hours of the following morning. I will never go back there, never!”</li> <li>• “Whenever there was a disagreement between one of my cousins and me, they would gang up against me and hit me. Their mothers never bothered to intervene, and I never retaliated because I tried it once, and I was the one who ended up being beaten and strangled by my aunts. I thought I was going to die.”</li> </ul>
<b>Lived space</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “I have no words to describe how they (paternal aunts) ill-treated me in that home. ... (Long pause and a long sigh). ... I do not even know how to describe the way they ill-treated me.”</li> <li>• “There was a lot of bullying at school. As a boy, it was difficult to approach teachers at high school and tell them that you are being bullied by other learners.”</li> </ul>

#### 4.9.3 Holistic or sententious approach

The holistic reading approach entails that the researcher attends to the text as a whole and asks: "What sententious phrases may capture the fundamental meaning or main significance of the text?" (van Manen, 1997, p. 93). The researcher then tries to express that meaning through the formulation of such phrases.

#### Example

##### Participant P 1:

“In June 1998, my mother passed away. I was six years old then. My father passed away when I was doing Grade 6. I was 12 years old. I told my stepmother that I was leaving her home because she was ill-treating me. She

said that I could go. So, I stayed with my father's brother for three months, and he also died.”

**Participant P 6:**

“I was almost seven years old, and my birthday was on the 31<sup>st</sup> of March. My father passed away on the 21<sup>st</sup> of March. When I was eight years old, my mother fell sick and passed away. In 2003, just before Christmas, my paternal grandmother also passed away. I was 11 years old.”

**Participant P 8:**

“My father passed away when I was still young. He passed away in 2004, and I was 10 years old at the time. My mother also passed away in a car accident in 2002.”

**Participant P 9:**

“When I was nine years old, my grandmother died. That was the saddest day of my life. I cried for days and my grandmother was buried next to my mother just outside our yard.”

Multiple losses was an experience that seemed to be shared by most participants, and the phrase that was used to describe this experience was "multiple losses that disrupt secure attachment."

#### **4.9.4 Determining Incidental and Essential Themes**

Van Manen (1997/2016) advises researchers to determine the themes around which experiences are woven. He points out that some themes are incidental while others are essential. According to van Manen (1997, p. 107), "In determining the universal or essential quality of a theme our concern is to discover aspects or qualities that make a phenomenon what it is and without which the phenomenon could not be what it is". Van Manen (1997) further states that not all meanings encountered in reflecting on a particular phenomenon are unique to that phenomenon or experience; therefore, he recommends using the "free imaginative variation" process to determine whether or not a theme incidentally or essentially belongs to a particular phenomenon. According to van Manen (1997, p. 107), the question that researchers can ask themselves during

"free imaginative variation" is: "Does the phenomenon without this theme lose its fundamental meaning?"

An example of an essential theme drawn from this study is: Abuse by family members after the death of a parental figure. The participants' concerns about the impact of their incarceration on their children is an example of an incidental theme.

The researcher adopted an idiographic approach to analyse data collected for this research. In analysing data, the researcher started the analysis with the 'within-case analysis' and ended with the 'cross-case analysis'.

#### **4.10 Idiography**

The data analysis for this research followed an idiographic approach, which is an approach to qualitative inquiry and one of the features of the Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). IPA identifies strongly with all the other hermeneutic traditions that recognise the researcher's central role in research and do not advocate for bracketing (Smith, 2004).

The individual and the awareness of their uniqueness are at the heart of the idiographic approach (Smith et al., 2009). An idiographic perspective assumes that everyone is unique; thus, everyone must be examined in a uniquely holistic manner to capture the richness of human individuality (Smith et al., 2009). This viewpoint encompasses many aspects of individuality, such as feelings, beliefs, values, and subjective and conscious experiences. Reid et al. (2005, p.22) state that "the idiographic focus challenges the traditional linear relationship between the number of participants and value of research". Ngulube and Ngulube (2017) suggest that fewer participants, examined in depth, entail the gold standard for phenomenological research. In idiography, particular attention is paid to a detailed and in-depth analysis of each case, which involves a rigorous and systemic examination of a particular case before conducting a detailed analysis of the remaining cases in the sample (see Chapter 5). After in-case analysis, cross-case analysis, that is, the interrogation of themes across all cases, is performed for the convergence and divergence thereof (Smith, 2004). An idiographic analysis strives to balance what is distinct (idiographic) with what is commonly shared across participants (Reid et al., 2005). The goal of this hermeneutic inquiry was to prioritise the concrete details of individual participant's lived experiences. However, the researcher was also keen to understand how the lived

experiences of individual participants are linked to each other in terms of experiential similarities and differences. As previously mentioned, in hermeneutic phenomenology, understanding happens through the hermeneutic circle, that is, an iterative process involving movement between the different parts and the whole. To understand the whole, one must look at the different parts, and to understand the different parts, one must look at the whole (van Manen, 1997/2016). Smith et al. (2009, p.31-32) contended that "the detail of the individual also brings us closer to significant aspects of the general."

This interdependence of the constituent parts and the whole enhanced an understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. It involved moving back and forth among the interview data points in a hermeneutic circle or cyclical pattern of understanding, connecting each lifeworld existential to other lifeworld existentials in each participant's transcript and then to the shared and varied lifeworld existentials across all the participants. This method was followed to arrive at a comprehensive understanding of the lived experiences of the young men who were incarcerated for raping elderly women in KZN. The hermeneutic circle is also reflected in the researcher's interaction with the text (part), being influenced by his or her own history, assumptions, and prior experiences, history, and assumptions (whole) (Smith et al., 2009). The hermeneutic analytical process is, therefore, not rigid and linear; rather, it is a fluid, iterative, and recursive process of engaging and revisiting the transcript (Smith et al., 2009). This analytical process relied on the identification of lived lifeworld existentials as a means of understanding the young perpetrators' lived experiences.

#### **4.11 Rigour of the Study**

The notion of trustworthiness has been promoted as an alternative to reliability and validity in qualitative research (Guba, 1981). Criteria such as credibility, dependability, confirmability, and transferability constitute the rigour of the qualitative interpretive research (Shenton, 2004).

##### **4.11.1 Credibility**

Credibility or internal validity refers to the accuracy of a study. According to Pandey and Patnaik (2014, p.5747), it deals with the question: How congruent are the findings with reality? The description must be plausible and recognised by participants. It is enhanced by using different data sources, methods, and data types; for example, the

use of triangulation (Shenton, 2004). In this study, methodological triangulation was applied by using more than one data collection method, such as biographical questionnaire, in-depth interviews, observations, and field notes.

#### **4.11.2 Dependability**

Dependability or reliability refers to the stability and trackability of the changes in data over time and across conditions, and the extent to which another researcher with similar training and rapport with participants would elicit the same results (Shenton, 2004). In addressing the issue of reliability in qualitative work, Squires (2009) suggested that it is necessary to clearly describe the research design and implementation thereof. This means that there must be a detailed data-gathering process and an insightful evaluation of the entire research process. Furthermore, this would enhance a complete understanding of the research methods and their effectiveness in addressing the phenomenon under investigation. Therefore, the researcher ensured dependability through implementing the above-mentioned suggestions from Squires (2009).

#### **4.11.3 Transferability**

Transferability, or external validity, refers to the generalisability of the findings of a study to other settings, populations, and contexts. The thesis must provide sufficient detail for readers to assess its rigour (Shenton, 2004). The researcher must therefore extensively describe the research context, assumptions, and processes from the data to allow the findings to be transferable to other settings (Bhattacharjee, 2012). The transferability of the findings in qualitative studies is dependent on the degree of similarity between the context of the interviews in the study, and the actual setting. Therefore, the findings cannot be wholly applied to other settings (Morrow, 2005).

#### **4.11.4 Confirmability**

Confirmability refers to the objectivity of the data. It is concerned with whether another researcher would agree with the meanings emerging from the data (Shenton, 2004). In the current study, the researcher enhanced confirmability through discussing emerging themes with the participants during and after each interview session; this was done for validation purposes. An audit trail is also important in ensuring confirmability. According to Shenton (2004), an “audit trail allows any observer to trace the course of the research step-by-step via the decisions made and procedures



described. The audit trail may be represented diagrammatically showing how the data eventually leading to the formation of recommendations, was gathered, and processed during the study (See Summary of findings in Chapter 7). Researcher reflexivity is suggested as a further strategy for increasing confirmability (Creswell & Poth, 2016; Guba, 1981).

#### **4.11.5 Reflexivity**

Gadamer (1975) described the process of reflexivity in terms of being open to the other, while recognising preconceptions, presuppositions and biases. When conducting an analysis, the researcher should shift focus back-and-forth, focusing on personal assumptions and then returning to look at participants' experiences in a fresh way (Finlay, 2009). This process allows researchers to recollect their own experiences and empathically reflect on the lived world of other persons (Van Schalkwyk & Gobodo-Madikizela, 2016; Wertz, 2005). Reflexivity, therefore, requires the researcher's ongoing awareness of how his or her own experiences, background, and assumptions influence the meaning of the experience being investigated (Horsburgh, 2003; Morrow, 2005).

From a phenomenological perspective, the aim of this reflection is to bracket all the assumptions and biases (Husserl, 1936; 1970). In contrast, hermeneutic phenomenologists argue that bracketing is impossible, as one cannot stand outside the pre-understandings and history of their own experiences (Heidegger, 1927; 1962). Specifically, hermeneutic phenomenology posits that the assumptions and biases of the researcher are not set aside or bracketed, but rather, they are embedded and essential to the interpretive process (Lavery, 2003). The researcher "is called, on an ongoing basis, to give considerable thought to their own experience and to explicitly claim the ways in which their position or experience relates to the issues being researched" (Lavery, 2003, p.28). Hermeneutic phenomenological researchers keep a reflective journal. According to Berg (2009, p. 198), "to be reflexive is to have an ongoing conversation with yourself". Such journaling allows the researcher to maintain an ongoing conversation with himself or herself and to identify biases, to ensure these do not surface in the data interpretation process. Reflexive journaling was used throughout the research process in order to help track the dialectical nature of the

researcher's thinking and provided the researcher with the decision trail which strengthened the credibility of the study.

This qualitative study aimed to give a voice to young IsiZulu-speaking men incarcerated for raping elderly women in KZN. Research on rape involves discussing sensitive subject matter. Anney (2014) recommends that the researcher seek support from supervisors and other professionals to ensure that his or her assumptions, values, biases, and beliefs do not negatively impact the research process. Besides exercising self-care during data collection and analysis processes, it was important for the researcher to reflect on the data collection process. This prevents biases from contaminating the research process, mainly because the researcher belongs to the same gender and falls within a similar age range as the victims of this violent act. The services of a clinical psychologist were sought for debriefing sessions. The debriefing sessions and regular consultations with the researcher's supervisors guided the researcher to reflect on possible biases to keep the research focused on the phenomenon being studied.

#### **4.12 Ethical Considerations**

This study dealt with a sensitive subject, namely, an exploration of the lived experiences of young men who were incarcerated for raping elderly women; therefore, it had the potential to trigger sensitive feelings that may have led the participants to relive those experiences. Being a trained psychologist with experience in psychotherapy, the researcher had experience in dealing with suchlike feelings which may have been brought about by the interview. Furthermore, a system of making referrals to a psychologist, a social worker or the Chaplain was set up to address this potential risk. There were no potential risks to the participants in terms of legal risks, because only offenders whose cases had been finalised, were interviewed.

During the interviews, notes were taken to capture important points and to ask for clarification. These records were kept in a locked, steel cabinet in the researcher's office to safeguard their confidentiality. All interviews were conducted by the researcher herself to ensure confidentiality. Transcriptions and translations were also exclusively done by the researcher. Only the researcher and the supervisors of this study had access to the data.

This study required that the interviewees be those people who openly admitted that they had raped an elderly woman. Recognising that some research participants may not be willing to divulge such information about the nature of violence they have committed, the researcher gave them the option to discontinue participation if they felt uncomfortable at any stage of the interview. However, none of the 10 participants left the study.

To preserve anonymity and confidentiality, the names of the participants, their family members, their victims, and the name of the correctional centre at which the participants were accessed, were not disclosed in the write-up of the research study. In research, the anonymity and confidentiality of the participants prevent data used in the research from being traced back to the participants (Blagden & Pemberton, 2010). It is critical to protect the anonymity of those connected to the material being used in the study to avoid evoking feelings of violation in the participants. In previous studies focusing on violent social behaviours that were considered criminal (Cowburn, 2010; Blagden & Pemberton, 2010; Vogelmann, 1990), some participants advertently or inadvertently revealed information that implicated them in additional crimes for which they had not been charged, arrested, and/or convicted. In such instances, Cowburn (2010), Blagden and Pemberton (2010), and Vogelmann (1990) asserted that there is no legal requirement on the part of the researcher to disclose information where crimes have not been confirmed.

Breaching the principle of confidentiality in this instance, by disclosing incriminating data, would compromise the process of eliciting data for this critical psychosocial study. Therefore, Cowburn (2010) argued that the relationship of trust between the researcher and the participants should be maintained as far as is ethically possible, to ensure the integrity of this relationship and that of future research involving socially-sensitive topics.

The researcher was aware of the importance of building a cordial relationship with the participant to obtain rich data; therefore, the participants had to be interviewed more than once. The researcher applied for ethical clearance from the University of Pretoria and from the Department of Correctional Services. The researcher developed an informed consent agreement form and explained it to the participants prior to the commencement of each interview. The form was written in IsiZulu for use with the

interviewees; it was translated into English, for use by the Research Ethics Committee and English readers (both versions of the form appear in Appendices C and D at the end of this thesis).

#### **4.13 Conclusion**

This chapter has presented the methodology informing the collection of the data required to answer the research questions. The study adopted the interpretivist paradigm infused in the qualitative approach, and this was deemed to be the most appropriate philosophical basis on which the methodology of this study could be placed. The researcher explained the epistemological and ontological implications of the choice of a research paradigm. The researcher also provided details of the data collection process, which included entering the field, the participant recruitment process, and the ethical aspects of this study, since the participants fell within the vulnerable category. Finally, the researcher discussed the rigour of the study, including the credibility, dependability, transferability, confirmability of the findings, and the reflexivity of the researcher. The next chapter presents the findings of the study and the discussion thereof.

## CHAPTER 5: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

### 5.1 Introduction

This research aimed to explore the lived experiences of young men incarcerated for raping elderly women in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). In this chapter, the researcher presents the key findings using van Manen's (1997) four lifeworld existentials. The hermeneutic phenomenological method of analysis was described in detail in Chapter 4 under the heading "Data Analysis". All the three thematic analyses approaches (the detailed or line-by-line approach, the selective or highlighting approach, and the holistic or sententious) recommended by van Manen (1997) were utilised by the researcher to unveil the participants' lived experiences. As mentioned in Chapter 4, this study used the idiographic approach, therefore, the first part of the chapter presents the within-case findings which is followed by cross-case findings. After line-by-line thematic analysis, the four fundamental lifeworld existentials were used as heuristic guides for reflecting on young men's experiences. The order in which the four lifeworld existentials were applied in the in-case analysis was informed by the interview data itself, and a quest to treat all the lifeworld existentials equally. Thereafter, the selective approach was used. This entailed the selection of statements or phrases that seemed particularly essential or illuminating the phenomenon. The statements/phrases are presented in a table format as the "quotations of significance". The holistic analysis was done at the end to explicate essential themes. What was evident during the analysis was that the participants represented a heterogenous group. Even though each young man had his unique life story to tell, the researcher attempted to identify and interpret what emerged as common across the sample. It was noted that the identified essential themes were always overlapping and interconnected.

The participants' lived experiences are presented in the order in which the participants were interviewed. For a detailed table of the demographics of the participants (see Appendix H).

### 5.2 Lived Experience of Participant One

Participant One (P1) appeared slightly emaciated and somewhat lethargic. His affect was flat, and he had no voice inflection, regardless of the content of his responses. Only twice during the entire one-hour interview did he scrunch up his face as if

repulsed. This was when he mentioned that his mother was like her sisters' slave and did all the work, while they drank and lounged around, and when referring to how his stepmother treated him. The participant said, "I was their slave. I was not allowed to sit down and rest, and yet I was the youngest" (P1).

## **5.2.2 Lived body**

### **a) Being a Slave**

The only time P1 expressed intense emotion was when he referred to how others seemed to have received preferential treatment, while he or his mother "slogged" away. Thus, being treated differently and having to endure the experience of feeling like 'the other' had a heavy emotional impact on him. It was being treated as the other that led the participant to leave home or his father's house, and go back to his mother's home, as is evidenced below:

I was tired of everything. My stepmother's son never did anything, and I had to do the garden, sweep the driveway and sometimes wash my father's car. When my father was at home, my stepmother would send her son to town to buy a few things or to pay her accounts, just to protect him, and I would then stay at home and do all the boys' chores. Sometimes my stepbrother would just leave in the morning and come back in the afternoon, especially on Saturdays. I think he was visiting his girlfriend, but I was not allowed to go anywhere (P1).

### **b) Yearning for Love (Affirmation, Nurturance, Attention, and Fairness) and Justice**

Apart from a yearning to be freed from a hostile environment, the participant expected his father to defend him against his stepmother's hostility. He revealed that when he went to live with his father after his mother had died, he got the love, affirmation, nurturance, and attention he desired, but this did not last. This was a major disruption in attachment because his father was the only parent he had at the time, as he described:

I spent time with my father, and I was able to tell him about my life and all the things that had happened up until I moved to stay with them. He was very loving initially and spent a lot of time with me but he eventually changed. He is my parent, and he will have to forgive me, and it is not that I am holding a grudge against him; it is just that he did not treat me well (P1).

When the participant spoke about his maternal half-sister, he expressed a yearning for love. At that stage, he did not even know who his father was. The participant said, “Her father used to drop her off and pick her up now and again. This really hurt me because I also wanted to visit my father” (P1). Towards the end of the second interview, when the interviewer asked him what could have saved him from the direction his life took, he gave a response that indicated his need for love. He mentioned, “I should not have left the pastor's house. The circumstances were not good, but they were very loving” (P1).

### **c) Poor Self-Efficacy**

The participant's mother died when he was six years old. This was at the onset of the psychosocial development stage, which Erick Erickson (1963) calls industry versus inferiority (six to eleven years old). In this stage, children learn to trust their ability to impact the world and to cope with challenges. Failure to master this stage leads to a sense of inferiority. This result is evident in one of the participants' situation. He said,

I arrived at my father's home in the middle of the year. So, I started school the following year. Schooling was hard; I respected my teachers and did my homework, but it was very difficult to succeed. I was always scared of making mistakes and would end up not finishing my classwork on time. Everything was just a mess. My life was a mess (P1).

The passage above indicates that the participant felt overwhelmed with schoolwork, so much so that he sums his situation up by saying, "My life was a mess". This situation was compounded by the fact that his father did not give him pocket money. He expressed, “I do not know why; I never asked him”. Overwhelmed as he was, he kept his distress to himself, as the following statement illustrates:

From Grade 1, my teachers used to ask me if everything was okay, and I would say ‘Yes’. I wouldn't dare tell them about everything that was happening at home. I suffered silently (P1).

### **d) Coping Strategies**

It would seem that P1 often felt overwhelmed by his situation and did not have any healthy coping strategies. The participant did not even reach out for help. One could

deduce that he struggled to trust others due to his disrupted attachment history. For instance, he could not discuss with his father why he did not give him pocket money.

### **e) Numbing Pain and Gaining Confidence**

P1 had a difficult childhood, which negatively influenced his life even when he physically left spaces that were associated with his childhood experiences. His coping strategies seemed to have been drugs, repression, and displacement. He mentioned the experience of being high on cocaine as providing him relief from pain:

At that time, I was using cocaine. It made me feel good and helped me think of what I could do to make money and gave me a lot of courage to get up to "mischief". When I was high, I forgot about everything that ever happened to me, and I could think clearly (P1).

His use of repression as a defence mechanism was evident, for example when he said:

I had survived many encounters with the police and other criminals during those years. I do not know what to say besides that it was by God's grace that I survived. To be honest, I had accepted that anything could happen, and I didn't care (P1).

### **f) Escaping Adverse Situations**

A primary theme and a coping strategy he employed, was of leaving adverse situations. Having no adaptive coping strategies, or protective factors, or resilience, the participant resorted to escaping situations he found uncomfortable. He employed this coping strategy even when this was to his disadvantage. This was evident when the interviewer asked him what could have helped him not to take the direction he took in life. He responded with:

I should never have left the pastor's house. The circumstances were not good, but they were very loving. I should have found a job instead of choosing a life of crime (P1).



What caused him to leave the pastor's house was that it had structure and boundaries. The participant saw these as adverse conditions. This is supported by the following response from the in-depth interview:

The only thing that made me leave was that his father expected us to go to church like three times a week, go to prayer meetings, and attend cell group meetings, and I couldn't stand it. I then decided to leave (P1).

### **5.2.3 Lived Other**

#### **a) Father**

The participant's father was loving and protective towards him. He went to fetch the participant from his mother's house when he was all alone with no provider at the age of six years old, except for the support of his neighbours. His father also received him well into his home, and the two of them spent time together. One sees the evidence of attachment between father and son when he said:

I spent time with my father, and I was able to tell him about my life and all the things that had happened up until I moved to stay with them.

#### **Stepmother**

P1 hardly had any sense of belonging in his father's home. The participant was overworked and exploited by his stepmother, especially when his father was absent. He had four paternal siblings. These four were girls. He also had a stepbrother (his stepmother's son who was not his father's child) who was older than his half-sisters. In the Zulu culture, this situation was an added risk factor for the participant as giving birth to a male child is an honour and enhances the woman's value in the eyes of her in-laws and the community in general. Thus, the birth of P1 would have been considered an insult to her stepmother. One could assume that the participant was, therefore, an object of envy and jealousy. His father tried to protect him from his hostile stepmother but failed. The following extract supports this:

She then told my father to take me back to my mother's family. My father said that he would not do that because my mother and my grandparents were deceased. She wouldn't stop, and my father told her that she must also take her son to his father's home. She got furious, and she packed her clothes and

left. She came back after two weeks. After that, my father always took her side, and that destroyed me. I felt so alone; I felt that I was a burden, and I felt unwanted, but I had nowhere to go. That was the first time that I thought of killing myself. I thought that if I went outside at night and hanged myself in a tree, they would be free (P1).

### **b) Corrupt Peers**

The participant seems to have had a sense of belonging by associating with corrupt peers. He seemed to have been so captivated by group identity that his own thoughts featured less than what was going on in the group. One of his friends' family was involved in stealing cars. The participant said:

I then went and stayed with my other friend. That family was very corrupt. They used to hijack cars and strip them and sell the parts at the scrap yards(P1).

His involvement in criminal activity was accelerated, not because of his thinking as an individual, but it was a process that involved him and his friends' thinking as a group entity. He mentioned the following:

“One of my friends managed to get guns for us. Once we had guns, our level of "mischief" increased. We landed up robbing spaza shops [informal convenience shop in South Africa] belonging to foreigners in the townships. We also began to mug people at the beach, especially couples who were engaged in some form of romance. We would steal phones, jewellery, and wallets” (P1).

### **c) The Woman he Raped**

The participant raped the elderly woman because he believed that the sexual encounter would disempower his victims, humiliate them, and shame them enough not to report either the rape, or the robbery, to the police. He explained:

To overpower someone [during burglary], it is important to rape them. After the rape, they stop focusing on you; they focus on what has happened to them. Even after you leave the house, they have to think about whether to call the police or not. Most people are ashamed to report rape. I broke into many homes and raped many women, but almost all of them never reported (P1).

#### **5.2.4 Lived Space**

The world was a lived space where there was no place in it to which he could escape or find peace and have his needs met. When referring to his home, his father's home, his sentiments were negative:

I hated living there. I was their slave. I was not allowed to sit down and rest, and yet I was the youngest. My father never defended me after the meeting between him and my stepmother's family. Whatever made him sacrifice his child for his wife's happiness, I do not know (P1).

Some of his adverse circumstances included feeling exploited at his friends' homes. He gave the following example, already partially quoted above:

I then went and stayed with my other friend. That family was very corrupt. They used to hijack cars and strip them and sell the parts at the scrap yards. What made me very angry was that we were overworked, stripping the vehicles, but he never gave me even a cent. So, I left (P1).

He also encountered a situation where he felt judged unfairly, which he expressed as follows:

I then moved into another friend's house. His brother was very mean to me. He just hated me. He believed that I was corrupting his brother, but little did he know that his brother was stealing and doing all sorts of things long before I met him, and I decided to leave (P1).

#### **5.2.5 Lived Time**

The participant experienced severe poverty after his mother's passing because she had been the sole breadwinner of the family. He said:

When my mother passed away, we suffered extreme poverty. We did not even have food to eat. My mother was the only one who was working at home and supporting the whole family (P1).

Due to his stepmother's hostility, the participant decided to leave his father's home. The participant viewed the period after the passing on of his mother as a turning point

in his life. He had to learn to fend for himself. It was during this time that he began to alleviate pangs of poverty through criminal activity. He reported:

I packed my clothes, and I left, and I returned to my mother's family home. From that point, my life was never the same. When I got there, I had to find a way of taking care of myself. I went to town to look for a job, but I couldn't find one. So, I decided to work as a car guard again, but the money I was getting was not enough. I only managed to buy food and catch a taxi home with the money that I made. I was frustrated again. I started stealing clothes in town from the shops (P1).

Six months later, the participant went back to his father's home, and within a month, his father died. It was then that he became an orphan. He said:

So, I returned to him because life was too difficult, and I realised that I should just go back and humble myself. He welcomed me, but I could see that he was not looking great. He looked sick, and he wasn't in the greatest emotional state. Within a month, he died (P1).

After his father's funeral, the participant was alone with a hostile stepmother. The environment was repressive, and he felt trapped. He reported:

After the funeral [father's funeral], things really got bad. My stepmother was worse than ever. There was no type of chore that I was not required to do. She just wanted to see me up and down working at home (P1).

P1 further reported that after some time, he decided to leave his father's home and go and stay with his paternal uncle (father's brother), but after three months, his uncle also died:

I told my stepmother that I was leaving her home because she was not treating me well, and told her that I was going to stay with someone else as their child. So, I stayed with my father's brother for three months, and he also died (P1).

## 5.2.6 Other

### a) Belief in the Power of Witchcraft

The participant's beliefs in the supernatural powers or witchcraft deterred him from targeting Black people when committing crimes. He seemed to have a strong belief that Black people have supernatural powers because of their perceived ability to inflict harm on their enemies through witchcraft. The following excerpt from in-depth interviews helps illustrate this point:

*Participant No. 1:* On this particular day, *eish!* (is a common South African expression of surprise or frustration) ... [Pause] We went to the suburbs as usual. We saw a beautiful house, and there were two cars in the carport, a Mercedes C-Class and a Ford Ranger. We didn't think that we would meet Black people. We thought it was a White person's house. The house was very beautiful, and the garden was immaculate. When we hit the door, we realised they hadn't locked the burglar guard; they only locked the door. The door fell, and we realised it was a Black family.

*Researcher:* You are saying that you thought it was a White family that lived in that house. In other words, are you saying that you were targeting White families?

*Participant No.1:* Yes, we were scared of Black people because they can bewitch you.

However, once an action had gained momentum, it seems that it becomes self-perpetuating. At this stage, the idea of being bewitched by a Black family seemed to be overtaken by the energy of the moment. The participant remarked, "Once we were inside, there was no going back" (P1).

**Table 5.1: Summary of Lived Experience of Participant One**

<b>Analytical Categories</b>	<b>Quotations of Significance</b>
<b>Lived body</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I was their slave. I was not allowed to sit down and rest, and yet I was the youngest.</li> <li>• From Grade 1, my teachers used to ask me if everything was okay, and I would say, “Yes.” I wouldn’t dare tell them about everything that was happening at home. I suffered silently.</li> </ul>
<b>Lived other</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• She then told my father to take me back to my mother's family. My father said that he would not do that because my mother and my grandparents were deceased. She wouldn't stop, and my father told her that she must also take her son to his father's home. She got furious, and she packed her clothes and left. She came back after two weeks. After that, my father always took her side, and that destroyed me. I felt so alone; I felt that I was a burden, and I felt unwanted, but I had nowhere to go. That was the first time that I thought of killing myself. I thought that if I went outside at night and hanged myself in a tree, they would be free.</li> <li>• To overpower someone [during a burglary], it is important to rape them. After the rape, they stop focusing on you; they focus on what has happened to them. Even after you leave the house, they have to think about whether to call the police or not. Most people are ashamed to report rape. I broke into many homes and raped many women, but almost all of them never reported.</li> </ul>
<b>Lived space</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I hated living there [his father's home]. I was their slave.</li> <li>• I then went and stayed with my other friend. That family was very corrupt. They used to hijack cars and strip them and sell the parts at the scrap yards. What made me very angry was that we were overworked stripping the vehicles, but he never gave me even a cent. So, I left.</li> </ul>

<p><b>Lived time</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• When my mother passed away, we suffered extreme poverty. We did not even have food to eat. My mother was the only one who was working at home and supporting the whole family.</li> <li>• After the funeral [father's funeral], things really got bad. My stepmother was worse than ever. There was no type of chore that I was not required to do; she just wanted to see me up and down working at home.</li> <li>• I told my stepmother that I was leaving her home because she was not treating me well and told her that I was going to stay with someone else as their child. So, I stayed with my father's brother for three months, and he also died.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Other</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Belief in the power of witchcraft</b></li> </ul> <p>We were scared of Black people because they can bewitch you.</p>

### 5.3 Lived Experience of Participant Two

Participant Two (P2) was relaxed and engaged comfortably with the researcher. He joked from time to time and seemed authentic and congruent. Upon reflection and description of the interview process, the researcher wondered whether the interviewer's age had anything to do with his positive, relaxed and pleasant, engaging manner.

#### 5.3.1 Lived Body

##### a) Caring and Compassionate

The participant empathised with his mother, who was the first wife in this polygamous system. He wondered how his father could have taken a decision to marry four wives. The father's own mother was also the first wife of the participant's grandfather, who ended up having five wives. He said:

I will never understand why he decided to marry four wives because he grew up in a polygamous family. If I ever get married, I will have one wife. There are too many problems in polygamous families (P2).

The participant was acutely aware of how his mother was impacted when he got arrested. His comment when he referred to his arrest and how it affected his mother was, “I disappointed her”.

The participant’s compassion was also evident when he talked about how his half-brother would often beat up his sister, supposedly disciplining her. The participant’s anger at his half-brother’s action and his deep feelings against what he saw as abuse indicated this compassion:

Is hitting someone discipline or abuse? I wish I was at that meeting. Nx! I am sorry I clicked my tongue.” [Clicking the tongue is an onomatopoeic isiZulu expression of disgust] (P2).

Even when the participant clicked his tongue; he was concerned that he might offend the researcher and apologised for doing so. While he was unhappy with the mother of his children and himself for having unplanned babies, he was nevertheless caring towards her. He said the following:

The last week of October, I went to see her to buy clothes for the baby that she was expecting. When we were in town, she had labour pains, and we took a metered taxi to the hospital (P2).

The participant also showed similar care towards his children. He reported the following:

I bought clothes for my children. I then decided to go and see them ... I felt good that I bought clothes and toys for my children. I also gave her money to buy food for them (P2).

## **b) Admiration and Obsession with Elderly Women**

- **Admiration**

P2’s description of elderly women was one of admiration. This was a persistent theme in his narratives. It is significant that he referred to a 56-year-old woman as beautiful, considering his age in relation to hers. It was also worth noting that when the participant mentioned her beauty, he also associated it with the care that she provided. As he remarked, “She was beautiful, and she took very good care of us” (P2).



P2 also expressed his admiration for the elderly nurse he raped as beautiful. He did this as often as five different times during the interview, for example, when he said, “The nurse who took care of her [the girlfriend] was a very kind old woman, and she was beautiful” (P2).

- **Obsession**

P2 became obsessed with elderly women to the point of stalking them:

The following week I bought flowers and chocolate for the beautiful nurse to thank her for taking good care of my girlfriend. I just couldn't contain myself. I was so in love with her that I could not sleep. I used to go to the hospital and wait at the entrance where she could not see me and just look at her. I felt like I was going crazy. I could see that she did not live very far from the hospital because she used to walk (P2).

**c) Living in Fear**

Another feature of P2's lived body was living with the fear of being poisoned by members of the polygamous unit:

You have to watch your back all the time. There is just no trust in such families. I lived in fear, thinking that I could be poisoned at any time because I am my family's heir (P2).

### **5.3.2 Lived Other**

**a) His Mother**

P2 experienced his mother as a supportive and nurturing parental figure and had a strong bond with her. He shared the following:

She is my pillar of strength. I do not know what I would do without her ... I love my mother. She is everything to me (P2).

The participant also experienced his mother as a significant other who respected his decisions. Not only did she respect him, but she also stood up for him to protect him from being exposed to extended family members who could hurt his feelings if they visited him at the Correctional Centre:

My mother supports me, and she respects my decisions ... Even when I told her that I did not want my extended family to visit me, she just said it was my decision. She went home and told my father's brothers to tell the whole family that I did not want visitors. Only my siblings come to visit me, and I am content with that (P2).

### **b) His Father**

P2 questioned his father's decision to marry four wives instead of only one. The participant mentioned that he could never understand the rationale behind his decision because his father also came from a polygamous family. He saw his father as a man who repeated a dysfunctional pattern of relating by marrying more than one wife, as did his own father (participant's number two's grandfather), and indicated that he would never understand why he did that:

I come from a polygamous family. My mother is the first wife. My father had four wives and 16 children. He passed away when I was 18 years. He was a kind man, but I will never understand why he decided to marry four wives because he grew up in a polygamous family. My paternal grandfather also had five wives and 18 children – 13 sons and five daughters. I come from a big family. My paternal grandmother was also the first wife of my grandfather. If I ever get married, I will have one wife. There are too many problems in polygamous families (P2).

P2 also saw his father as avoidant and inept. The participant shared the following:

My father struggled to manage his family as the head of the family. Whenever there was an issue between his children or his wives, he always said that people must learn to solve their problems. I never understood what he meant by that. Anyway, I told myself that I would only marry one woman; I hate conflict(P2).

Furthermore, P2 portrayed his father as a parent who shirked responsibility at all costs. He said:

My father was sly; when my girlfriend fell pregnant, he told me to find a job to support my child, but I know that part of the reason why he persuaded me to leave school was that he was struggling to support the family. He used every

excuse to encourage us to leave school and work to help support the family. All his wives were not working (P2).

**a) The Nanny**

P2 experienced the elderly nanny as a nurturing significant other from when he was 10 months old. He said:

She took very good care of us. Our school uniforms were always ironed. She woke up early every day to cook soft porridge for us. She was a good woman (P2).

P2 also revealed his admiration and affection for the nanny. This was evident when he said:

Initially everything was fine; she was like my mother. Because of this, we became very close. When I was 10 years old, my father built a rondavel for her. He said that we were too old to sleep with the nanny. I was sad when that happened. I enjoyed her company. I used to go and talk to her when she was cleaning her room or when she was resting (P2).

P2 also seemed to be very protective of her. After telling the researcher that he was 15 years old and she was 56 years old when they had sex for the first time, he quickly defended her by saying, "I wouldn't say it was her fault; I also wanted it" (P2).

The nanny and the participant's father passed away in the same year, but all he said about his father's passing was that "it's one of those things that we cannot control." On the other hand, when the participant talked about the nanny's passing, he indicated that he was crushed:

She passed away when I was working on the farm. I was 18 years old. My father also passed away in the same year. She slept and did not wake up in the morning. I was devastated. I cried like a baby, but everyone thought that it was because she took care of me from when I was a baby. ... [Paused, face down] ... That was the saddest day of my life. After the funeral, I went back to the work. I mourned her death secretly, and then my father passed away (P2).

### **b) His Paternal Uncles**

P2 said they avoided conflict, just like his father, instead of dealing with it. As the eldest son and heir of his family, he felt burdened by the responsibility of dealing with the conflict in his family without any skills to do so, as he never learned conflict management skills from the adult male figures in his lived space. This was evident when he said:

What I hate about my paternal uncles is that they never try to resolve family issues, just like my father. They avoid problems and pretend they are not aware of them to keep the peace or sometimes take sides. If my mothers have a problem with one another, they say, "You must not get involved in women's issues, just leave them, they will sort themselves out." This makes me very angry because the problems do not get resolved in my family ... I hate conflict. To be honest, I do not know how to deal with conflict, so it is better to avoid it (P2).

### **c) His Co-mothers**

P2 did not trust his co-mothers. The participant felt that they were jealous of him because he was the heir of the family and so he feared that they might poison him. He said:

The sad thing is that people from outside think that we are a happy family. They do not know the struggles of being born into a polygamous family. You must watch your back all the time. There is just no trust in such families. I lived in fear, thinking that I could be poisoned at any time because I am my family's heir (P2).

### **d) His Grandparents**

#### **Paternal Grandfather**

He described his paternal grandfather as an honourable man who upheld unity among the males in the family as an important value. He said:

My paternal grandfather's favourite slogan was 'An injury to one is an injury to all.'  
My grandfather promoted unity in our family. He was a good man (P2).

It is clear from his slogan that he was referring to males because they were the ones who were expected to be united in defending the family against other boys or adult males.

### **Paternal Grandmother**

P2 experienced his paternal grandmother as a nurturing maternal figure when he said, "My grandmother was very loving and very kind. I miss her a lot" (P2).

### **Maternal Grandparents**

P2 felt loved by his maternal grandparents and missed them significantly, but they did not visit him. The reason for this situation is that his mother felt that they would die of heartache if they were to see him locked up at a Correctional Centre. The following extract illustrates this point:

They are both still alive. I miss them a lot. They know that I am in prison, eish! But my mother does not want them to visit me. They love me to bits; they honestly do. When I was with them, I felt loved. I am their first grandchild. My mother thinks that they will die of heartache if they see me locked up here. I used to visit them during the winter school holidays (P2).

#### **e) His Co-workers, one of Whom is his Younger Brother**

P2's first rape seems to have occurred because of group behaviour rather than from his initiative as an individual. It would also seem that being in a house in which only vulnerable members of the family were present, was an opportunity for his co-workers to rape, and he followed suit.

One could argue that his co-workers, the company he was forced by circumstances to keep - farm labourers, with little education - led them to only fantasise about a good life. Their fantasy world took them beyond the boundaries of the law. They fantasised about pulling off a robbery and becoming rich to escape poverty. This seems to have been fertile ground for various types of illicit behaviour, such as rape. As part of his work as a farmworker, he went around delivering vegetables with his co-workers, one of whom was his brother. This resulted in a rape incident, as evident below:

Out of the blue, the other guy dragged the maid to the bedroom. For some reason, I just walked to the elderly lady. The other guy took the granddaughter

to another room, and we raped them. I did not even think of touching her granddaughter. We then robbed the house of its valuables. After this incident, we fled to a rural area to go into hiding... That day, I felt different; I was sexually satisfied. I wished I could go back and have a second round with her, but I couldn't... We hadn't planned to do what we did. We always fantasised about pulling off a robbery and becoming rich one day, but not the rape (P2).

#### **f) His Teachers**

P2 referred to his teachers as loving and supportive of his talents, as shown by the following extract:

My teachers loved me because I was the leader of a traditional male Zulu singing group [*isicathamiya*]. We won all the competitions in our region. I also used to tell jokes, and everyone enjoyed my jokes. My teachers used to allow me to tell my jokes in class or in the school assembly. Even when other schools visited our school, my teachers always gave me a slot to tell my jokes. I enjoyed being at school but academically, I struggled (P2).

### **5.3.3 Lived Space**

#### **a) His Home**

P2 experienced his significant lived space as congested. The following quotation illustrates this point:

In rural areas in KwaZulu-Natal, polygamous families live together in one big homestead, the way it is with former President Zuma<sup>1</sup> and all his wives and children. They all live together in different houses within the same homestead – I mean, we all live together, the whole paternal family, my father's brothers, their wives, and children. They all have more than two wives. I do not even know how many cousins I have [Laughs]. I have never really taken time to count. We are all like a few metres apart from each other (P2).

He further mentioned that as a result of this congestion, there was recurring conflict, which remained unresolved. As he points out:

---

<sup>1</sup> President Zuma is a former Head of State who is a prominent polygamist in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

Even as children, we used to fight a lot when I was growing up. They [adults] would just come and hit those fighting but never get to the bottom of the conflict (P2).

There also seemed to be more jealousy and backbiting in P2's lived space, which instigated conflict. The following extract supports this:

There is a lot of jealousy and backbiting in polygamous families. I know that some of my father's brothers were disappointed when I got arrested but there are those, including their wives, who were very happy. I am sure that my mother is the laughingstock of the family. They were very jealous when I started working, mostly because I supported my mother financially (P2).

### **5.3.4 Lived Time**

#### **a) The Time of his Sentencing**

P2 described the time when he was sentenced as one where he felt that he had disappointed his significant other, his mother. He said:

"My mother was crushed when I was sentenced. She wept in court, and I also cried. I will never forget that day (P2).

#### **b) Time of Grief and Bereavement**

What is significant about P2's grief is that his nanny and his father died in quick succession of each other, yet the way he grieved for the nanny was significantly deeper than how he responded to his father's death. When he related how he felt about his father's death, he referred to it as "one of those things". The participant's feeling about the nanny's death was, however, packed with emotions, as evident below:

She passed away when I was working on the farm. I was 18 years old. My father also passed away in the same year. She slept and did not wake up in the morning. I was devastated. I cried like a baby, but everyone thought that it was because she had taken care of me from when I was a baby....Paused and face down...The day before the funeral, my father called me and said, "Something is not right here, what is going on"? I said, "nothing, I am just sad." He then said, "men do not cry like this." I got scared, and I tried to contain myself after that. Her funeral was held at

her home. That was the saddest day of my life. After the funeral, I went back to work. I mourned her death secretly, and then my father passed away. He died of a heart attack. We both worked on the same farm, but he had already passed away when I got to where the incident happened. It's one of those things that we cannot control (P2).

### **c) Time of Separation and Sadness**

P2's relationship with the nanny was deeper than the sexual relationship they had. This was evident when he said:

“When I was 10 years old, my father built a rondavel for her. He said that we were too old to sleep with the nanny. I was sad when that happened. I enjoyed her company” (P2).

### **d) Time of Sexual Initiation**

It is not clear whose idea it was for P2 and the nanny to spend the night in the same room, when the whole family was away attending a funeral. What is known is that it was a significant time in his development as a teenager. Speaking about the incident, he said:

When I was 15, my maternal uncle passed away. My mother and my other siblings went away for the weekend to attend the funeral. My uncle, who fetched them, told me to stay behind and look after my parents' house. That night we slept in the same room, and that is how it started [sexual relationship] (P2).

### **e) The Time he Realised he was Different / Gerontophilic**

P2 fitted the criteria for the diagnosis of gerontophilia although he also showed some atypical features. On the one hand, the participant described his elderly rape victims as beautiful and derived the desired sexual gratification from having sexual intercourse with them. On the other hand, the participant indicated that he did have numerous erotic experiences with women of his own age group, without full sexual gratification. The participant described his experience as follows as quoted earlier):

The day I realised that I was different was when we went to deliver vegetables with two fellow workers- one of which was my younger brother...Out of the blue, the other guy dragged the maid to the bedroom. For some reason, I just walked



to the elderly lady. The other guy took the granddaughter to another room, and we raped them. I did not even think of touching her granddaughter (P2).

**Table 5.2: Summary of Lived Experience of Participant Two**

<b>Analytical Categories</b>	<b>Quotations of Significance</b>
<b>Lived body</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The sad thing is that people from outside think that we are a happy family. They do not know the struggles of being born into a polygamous family. You have to watch your back all the time. There is just no trust in such families. I lived in fear, thinking that I could be poisoned at any time because I am my family's heir.</li> <li>• That day [after raping an elderly woman], I felt different; I was sexually satisfied. I wished I could go back and have a second round with her, but I couldn't.</li> <li>• I bought clothes for my children. I then decided to go and see them...I felt good that I bought clothes and toys for my children. I also gave her money to buy food for them.</li> <li>• The following week I bought flowers and chocolate for the "beautiful nurse" to thank her for taking good care of my girlfriend. I just couldn't contain myself. I was so in love with her that I could not sleep. I used to go to the hospital and wait at the entrance, where she could not see me and just look at her. I felt like I was going crazy. I could see that she did not live very far from the hospital because she used to walk.</li> </ul>
<b>Lived other</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• She [the nanny] was beautiful, and she took very good care of us.</li> <li>• The nurse [the woman he raped] who took care of her [the girlfriend] was a very kind old woman, and she was beautiful.</li> <li>• She passed away when I was working on the farm. I was 18 years old ... I was devastated. I cried like a baby ...</li> </ul>

	[Paused, face down] ... That was the saddest day of my life.
<b>Lived space</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The other problem is that we all live together– I mean the whole paternal family, my father's brothers, their wives, and children. They all have more than two wives. I do not even know how many cousins I have [laughed]. I have never really taken time to count. We are all like a few metres apart from each other.</li> <li>• There is a lot of jealousy and backbiting in polygamous families. I know that some of my father's brothers were disappointed when I got arrested but there are those, including their wives, who were very happy. I am sure that my mother is the laughingstock of the family. They were very jealous when I started working, mostly because I supported my mother financially.</li> </ul>
<b>Lived time</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• When I was 10 years old, my father built a rondavel for her. He said that we were too old to sleep with the nanny. I was sad when that happened. I enjoyed her company.</li> <li>• When I was 15, my maternal uncle passed away. My mother and my other siblings went away for the weekend to attend the funeral. My uncle who fetched them told me to stay behind and look after my parents' house. That night we slept in the same room, and that is how it started [sexual relationship].</li> <li>• The day I realised that I was different was when we went to deliver vegetables with two fellow workers- one of which was my younger brother... Out of the blue, the other guy dragged the maid to the bedroom. For some reason, I just walked to the elderly lady. The other guy took the granddaughter to another room, and we raped them. I did not even think of touching her granddaughter.</li> </ul>
<b>Other</b>	n/a

## **5.4 Lived Experience of Participant Three**

Participant Three (P3) showed a great deal of reflection and self-awareness. He did not simply relate events or just describe his lived other. In addition, the participant shared his thoughts and feelings, namely, his lived body.

### **5.4.1 Lived Body**

#### **a) Being-all-Alone-in-the-World**

The theme that seemed to surpass all other themes in the participant's lifeworld was that of having no one at all in his life after his grandparents died. He knew no one except his teachers, the people from his grandmother's church, his grandmother's employers, and the neighbours. The participant introduced his life history by mentioning his lived other:

I was an only child, and my mother was also an only child. She died when I was 4, and my father died when I was 6. My parents were not married. My grandfather [maternal] died when I was 12, and my grandmother [maternal] died when I was 14, so I lived alone after my grandmother's death. My grandmother told me that she did not know where my father's family was. She said she had never met them... I have no one (P3).

Added to the feeling of being alone in the world was the feeling of being burdensome. He explained:

The neighbours did try to take care of me, but you know, with time, people also get tired. My grandmother's employers also tried, but they too disappeared before the end of the year– like six months later (P3).

The second time P3 expressed being all-alone in the world was when he spoke about his situation after the death of his grandmother. In this instance, his lived body overlapped with his lived space. He said, "I lived alone after the death of my grandmother. I had no one."

He repeated his expression of being all-alone in the world a few times during the interview. This is shown by the following responses from in-depth interview:

- “After the funeral, I was all alone” [when he discussed his grandmother's funeral].
- “It is challenging to live alone at age 14. I was a child, but no one thought about what would happen to me” [when he was reflecting on what he could have done differently to avoid the life of crime that he pursued].
- “After the death of my grandmother, I lived alone” [when he spoke about spending time alone watching television, an activity which was restricted when his grandmother was still alive].

He was introduced to sex through watching pornography, a circumstance which is not unique to him only in this study. Other participants in this study also reported watching pornography. However, in his case, he watched it alone.

#### **b) Empathy**

He used his empathy to self-regulate because the feeling of being all alone was unpleasant. He made it acceptable by using his empathy for his grandmother and the children he does not have, as evidenced below:

Maybe it is a good thing that I have no one. Imagine if my grandparents were still alive or if I had children. It would have been a disaster,” remarked P3. The researcher asked him what the participant meant by “it would have been a disaster,” and he responded, “I am serving a life sentence. My grandmother would have died of heartache. As for children - who was going to provide for them? That is what I mean (P3).

#### **c) Sadness**

P3 never met his parents, which made him sad. He expressed the lived body of being sad when he said, “Whenever I was angry, my granny used to say that I was irritable like my mother. I never met her. In fact, I never met my parents. Very sad” (P3).

#### **d) Lack of Trust**

P3 did not trust his significant lived other, his grandmother. The participant commented on her grandmother’s decision never to take him to the Correctional Centre. This resulted in him not knowing his mother and never meeting her at all. He explained, “It

used to hurt me, but now, I have forgiven her. I felt that she took that decision to protect herself and never thought about me” (P3).

The participant also expressed his lack of trust for her regarding never being introduced to his paternal family. He explained, “Sometimes, I wonder if she was telling the truth when she said that she had no information on my paternal family. She was strange in that way (P3).

#### **e) Lack of Confidence**

P3 started school at the age of ten. The participant was significantly older than other children in his class. He commented thus:

When I started school, I was the eldest in my Grade. That continued until I decided to quit school. It is not nice to be in class with very young people; it kills your confidence (P3).

Later in his life, P3 also struggled with low self-esteem. This is evident in the following remark:

For some reason, every woman that I approached rejected me. This really lowered my self-esteem. I began to feel like there was something very wrong with me. I also felt very lonely (P3).

#### **f) Financial Struggle**

“I was also struggling financially because I had to take care of myself with no income, after my grandmother passed away,” intimated P3. The participant dealt with his financial struggle by resorting to criminal activity. While criminality was experienced as beneficial to him, it also brought about some adverse experiences. He explained:

One day when I went to buy bread, some guy asked me where I bought the T-shirt from. I told him that my cousin gave it to me - this was a lie. He said that it looks like his T-shirt that was stolen a few months ago. I got scared, and I never stole clothes from the washing line again. I was so embarrassed when he said that. The other boys that were there laughed at me (P3).

Besides the negative experiences, he mentioned that the benefit to him from criminal activity helped him perform better at school as his self-esteem had improved:

Initially, I stole only food- from supermarkets. Later, I also started stealing clothes from clothing shops. I continued with school, and I performed well because if you look nice, you feel good about yourself; even my teacher and classmates noticed something different about me. I became happier (P3).

### **g) Desensitisation**

P3's criminal activity eventually became entrenched, as he reported:

Sometimes I stole clothes and sold them at the taxi rank in town. Eventually, I stopped feeling guilty and being scared. I accepted that this was the life that I was going to live (P3).

## **5.4.2 Lived Other**

### **a) The Grandparents**

P3's grandmother was present in his life until he was 14 years old, which is at the beginning of Erikson's (1963) psychosocial stage of identity versus role confusion. Afterwards, the participant had no significant attachment with anyone. It is also the beginning of Kohlberg's (1981) stage of moral development, when the individual begins to rely on his or her reasoning regarding what is right and what is wrong. It is at this stage that the individual learns to resolve moral dilemmas.

P3's lifeworld was one that contained significant dilemmas. One dilemma was that of having no money for food, and he resolved it by stealing, rather than choosing a socially-appropriate solution. He also raped women to resolve his problem of being lonely.

Apart from his grandmother, there was no other relationship in his life. It is evident from the interview that she spent a great deal of time with him because she told him many stories about his mother. While this was the case, his relationship with his grandmother seems to have been ambivalent. She was both a heroine and a villain for him, as shown by the following extract:

My grandmother was very loving. She used to buy lots of sweets and cakes for me. I cried when she died. That was the saddest day of my life. I miss her (P3).

On the other hand, as stated previously, P3 indicated that he did not trust her completely. It is also due to his grandmother's delay in sending him to school that he ended up chronically being the oldest in his class.

His grandfather, the only male figure in his life was so distant from him that he did not identify with him at all. This is evident in the following remark:

The only thing that he did for me every year was to buy me clothes for the Easter church service and Christmas day. That was it. He never even gave me pocket money. I do not think that he was my biological grandfather – just saying. [Laughed]. I don't know. Grandparents love their grandchildren, but I do not believe that he loved me. I do not think he cared about me (P3).

### **b) His Parents**

In terms of the people with whom he could identify, P3's parents were negative role models. His mother gave him the identity of the lived body of being someone who was born in a correctional facility. The way he began his interview seemed to be an indication that this is a prominent aspect of his lifeworld:

I was born in prison. My mom was pregnant when she got incarcerated. She was arrested because she stabbed my father's girlfriend to death. My grandmother told me that she fetched me from prison when I was about 2 years old and that my mother died when I was 4 years old. She also told me that my father died when I was 6 years old (P3).

At the age of two years old, the participant was separated from his mother and lived with his maternal grandparents until the age of 14 years old. During this time, his idea of who his parents were came from stories told by his grandmother, who depicted them as unruly criminals:

### **c) His Father:**

"I forgot to tell you that my grandmother told me that my father was always in and out of jail for stealing" (P3).

### **His mother:**

My grandmother also told me that my mother used to drink a lot and make unnecessary noise, and when the neighbours complained, she used to swear

at them. Eish! I think she was a troubled woman. My granny said that she never confronted my mother about anything that she did wrong because my mother was very rude. I can sit here the whole day telling you stories about my mother – only bad stories (P3).

The grandmother also compared P3's temperament to that of his mother:

My grandmother told me a whole lot of stories about my mother. She told me that my mother used to fight a lot. She fought with men and women, and sometimes, she stabbed them with a knife. Whenever I was angry, my granny used to say that I was oversensitive like my mother. I never met her. In fact, I never met my parents. It is very sad (P3).

Therefore, considering that P3's lived others, his parents, were criminals, it is not surprising that when he was faced with difficulties, he resorted to choices that were akin to those made by his parents.

#### **d) The Church and the Community**

While the grandparents were still alive, the church and the community were like the family that the participant and his grandparents never had. They were supportive spiritually, financially, and practically. During the interview, when the participant was asked if there was anything that could have helped him not to take the direction that he did, he identified the Priest as a resource he could have used, when he said, "I should have told someone older – a man obviously, that I was struggling to find a woman to date, maybe my granny's Priest" (P3).

#### **e) The Women he Raped**

The women that P3 raped had no distinguishing characteristic, except that they were women with whom he saw an opportunity to rape. He explained:

I used to stand at the bus stop or taxi stop at night and look for a woman that walked alone. I would follow them and rape them. I raped them during the day and at night (P3).

P3 introduced himself to sex through watching pornography alone. His first sexual encounter was through rape. After his first rape, he felt scared. The participant only



thought of the consequences of raping after the fact but did not think about the women he had raped at all. The women he raped seem to have been faceless to him. They were only a means to an end, the end being immediate gratification. He said:

I continued raping women of different ages, different races, young and old. It really did not matter to me (P3).

Therefore, it is as if they were invisible to him. The participant seemed to have resigned himself to obtaining sexual gratification through rape, in the same way that he resigned himself to stealing to get food. He did not do much self-reflection regarding the meaning he derived from the actual act of rape.

P3 was all alone in the world, and felt lonely. Therefore, intimacy seems to be what he was craving for. The participant also did not just rape them; his was an act of plundering. He used to steal money from his rape victims. He reported, "I used to take the money and leave the purse from all the women that I raped" (P3).

It seems that P3 had no empathy or connection at all with the women he raped, including the elderly women. They were, therefore, not immune to his predatory nature. While he was convicted for raping an elderly woman, the participant was not necessarily targeting only elderly women as victims of rape.

#### **f) His teachers and Grandmother's Employers**

Other positive role players in P3's life were his primary school teachers. The participant mentioned that they liked him because he was handy:

I enjoyed school; my teachers liked me because I was very handy. I used to clean my teacher's table, clean the board, and so on. They also liked me because I used to do my homework, and I was passing (P3).

Being at school (primary school) was a protective factor for him after his grandmother passed away. While he was alone at home, there seemed to have been a sense of belonging at school, as evidenced below:

My teachers tried to help me, I won't lie, but it is not nice to be a charity case. It also helped that the school provided lunch for us, but what about weekends?  
(P3)

The high school, however, did not offer P3 the same feeling of belonging. There were no meals provided there. He also felt alienated from his teachers. Therefore, he did not inform them that he was the target of bullying. The participant reported that he hated everything about that school.

Moreover, like the teachers, the support from his grandmother's employer was short-lived, as he described, "My grandmother's employers came a few times to check on me after the funeral. Why didn't they report my situation to the social workers?" (P3)

### **5.4.3 Lived Space**

#### **a) Correctional Centre**

P3 was born in a Correctional Centre. His mother was incarcerated when she was pregnant with him. He lived with his mother at the Correctional Centre until the age of two years old. Later in his life, when the participant struggled to have a female companion, being born in a correctional facility held significance to him. He mused, "Maybe the Priest from my grandmother's church was right when he said that I needed cleansing because I was born in prison" (P3).

The correctional facility was not only a space in which he was born, but it was also a space in which his parents spent a great deal of time [as stated previously]; he said, "I forgot to tell you that my grandmother told me that my father was always in and out of jail for stealing" (P3).

#### **b) His Home**

P3 lived in a squatter camp with his maternal grandparents. They occupied a two-bedroomed corrugated iron structure. When he described his home, he said, "It was a two-bedroomed corrugated iron house, but it was enough for us" (P3).

He found it to be sufficient. His grandparents moved into the squatter camp after their house was burnt down by some community members who accused them of witchcraft. Their extended family remained in that community, but they did not want to be associated with his grandparents for fear of being labelled as accomplices.

### **c) Where he Found his Victims**

The space in which P3 stalked his victims was at a bus stop or taxi stop. He informed the interviewer that he would identify women walking alone and he would follow them and rape them:

I used to stand at the bus stop or taxi stop, looking for a woman who walked alone. I would follow them and rape them. I raped during the day and at night” (P3).

#### **5.4.4 Lived Time**

P3’s lifeworld changed, and he entered a period of desperation and desolation when his only significant other [(grandmother] died. He recalled:

We were told that she had a second stroke in the morning and passed away. I was shocked, and I cried. I did not know what to say or what to do. I was only 14 years old, turning 15 (P3).

After the funeral there was a period when he was surrounded by supportive people. This period lasted for no longer than six months. He said:

The neighbours did try to take care of me, but you know, with time, people also get tired. My grandmother’s employers also tried, but they too disappeared before the end of the year – like six months later (P3).

When everyone had left him, the participant lived alone, and it was during this time that he got deeply involved in criminal behaviour. He stated:

It wasn’t easy. I started stealing. I used to jump through windows in the nearest squatter camp and steal food. I also stole clothes on the washing lines – anything that I thought would fit me (P3).

During this time, P3 reported that he felt very lonely. He described his experience as follows:

At that time, I was also looking for a girlfriend. I was 17 years old. For some reason, every woman that I approached rejected me. This really lowered my

self-esteem. I began to feel like there was something very wrong with me. I also felt very lonely (P3).

#### 5.4.5 Other

P3 felt let down by the whole community, his grandmother's employer, her church, her friends and neighbours, and the teachers. He lamented:

I think that if maybe someone or some family adopted or fostered me after my grandmother's death, I would not be here. It is challenging to live alone at age 14. I was a child, but no one thought about what would happen to me (P3).

**Table 5.3: Summary of Lived Experience of Participant Three**

Analytical Categories	Quotations of Significance
<b>Lived body</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• When I started school, I was the eldest in my Grade. That continued until I decided to quit school. It is not nice to be in class with very young people; it kills your confidence.</li> <li>• I was an only child, and my mother was also an only child, so I lived alone after my grandmother's death. I have no one.</li> <li>• Sometimes I stole clothes and sold them at the taxi rank in town. Eventually, I stopped feeling guilty and being scared. I accepted that this was the life that I was going to live.</li> <li>• Initially, I stole only food - from supermarkets. Later, I also started stealing clothes from clothing shops. I continued with school, and I performed well because if you look nice, you feel good about yourself; even my teacher and classmates noticed something different about me. I became happier.</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I used to stand at the bus stop or taxi stop, looking for a woman that walked alone. I would follow them and rape them. I raped during the day and at night.</li> </ul>
<b>Lived other</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• My mom was pregnant with me when she got incarcerated. She was arrested because she stabbed my father's girlfriend to death. My grandmother told me that she fetched me from prison when I was about two years old and that my mother died when I was four years old. She also told me that my father died when I was six years old.</li> <li>• I forgot to tell you that my grandmother told me that my father was always in and out of jail for stealing.</li> <li>• My grandmother's employers came a few times to check on me after the funeral. Why didn't they report my situation to the social workers?</li> </ul>
<b>Lived space</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I was born in prison.</li> <li>• It [His grandparents' home] was a two-bed-roomed corrugated iron house [in a squatter camp], but it was enough for us.</li> <li>• I used to stand at the bus stop or taxi stop and look for a woman that walked alone. I would follow them and rape them. I raped during the day and at night.</li> </ul>
<b>Lived time</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The neighbours did try to take care of me, but you know with time, people also get tired. My grandmother's employers also tried, but they too disappeared before the end of the year – like six months later.</li> <li>• It wasn't easy [after his grandmother passed away]. I started stealing. I used to jump through windows in the nearest squatter camp and steal food. I also stole clothes on the washing lines – anything that I thought would fit me.</li> <li>• At that time, I was also looking for a girlfriend. I was 17 years old. For some reason, every woman that I approached rejected me. This really lowered my self-</li> </ul>

	esteem. I began to feel like there was something very wrong with me. I also felt very lonely.
<b>Other</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>I think that if maybe someone or some family adopted or fostered me after my grandmother's death, I would not be here. It is challenging to live alone at age 14. I was a child, but no one thought about what would happen to me.</li> </ul>

### 5.5 Lived Experience of Participant Four

Participant Four (P4) appeared immaculately groomed in his orange overalls and clean brown sandals. He maintained eye contact throughout all three of his interviews. He was forthcoming with his account of his experiences and his own interpretation of those experiences, as well as with his thoughts and emotions. He was the only participant that was interviewed three times. The reason for this was that his second interview was complex and raised a lot of questions for the interviewer which needed further exploration together. One question for example, was to understand the meaning of his encounter with a mysterious old woman he finally brands as a satanist, as recounted towards the end of the final interview.

#### a) Self-Reflection

P4 began the interview by not simply telling his story. He began with a reflection. He summed up his experience as follows:

If I reflect on the way I was brought up, I think anyone who grew up the way I did would have taken bad decisions in their life, especially if they were not strong (P4).

The participant's statement was broken down into three parts, namely, "the way I grew up", "bad decisions" and the phrase "especially if they were not strong." Self-reflection was one of the most dominant themes of his lived body, which would be illustrated by subsequent statements the participant made throughout the interviews.

#### b) The way he Grew up

The researcher was drawn to wanting to know more about "the way (he) grew up" because his statement left no doubt that the way he grew up held prominence in his

life. This description encapsulated three lifeworld existentials. His first existential was his lived body, namely, his identity, personality, values, and inclinations developed due to the unique way he grew up. The second lifeworld existential encapsulated in his statement was his lived other, that is, major role players in his life when he grew up. Lastly, the way he grew up referred to the lived time of his childhood and adolescent years.

### **c) Bad Choices**

The second aspect of his being-in-the-world, which the participant communicated is the experience of “bad choices”. This is his lived body. Because the interview took place in a correctional facility, a place to which any individual who makes bad choices is sent, the researcher's understanding is that the bad choices he referred to led to him being incarcerated in a correctional facility. While that is so, it also becomes evident in his statement that he was referring to more than one bad decision. The words “bad decisions” also drew the researcher deeper into his lived experience to explore what meaning he attached to this concept.

### **d) Not-Being-Strong**

The third lived existential that the participant conveyed was that of “not-being-strong”, which is also his lived body. He communicated to the researcher that “being strong” carried a significant measure of desirability and meaning for him. This phenomenon, like that of bad decisions, is one of which the meaning in the beginning stages of the interview, was waiting to be unpacked. The statement also suggested that he saw being strong as an antidote to making bad choices. It was not exactly clear what he meant by ‘being strong’. The researcher was drawn even deeper into his life world in order to encounter his meaning of “being strong”.

## **5.5.1 Lived Space**

The participant's lived space, his home, where he grew up, was described as lacking stability. He experienced his lived space as being neither consistent, dependable, nor secure. It was conveyed as a space that was not suitable for nurturing or supporting the development of a young life in such a way that that child could reach its full potential, a space that fostered neither strength nor resilience, a space of insecurity and vulnerability, as will become evident in subsequent sections.

### a) Instability of his Lived Space

When delving into the instability of 's lived space, he introduced his parents, his lived other. He portrayed his father as someone who had no regard for his mother's feelings. He shared the following:

They [his parents] fought over polygamy. My father wanted to take a third wife. Eventually, he married four women. I was an only child from my mother, but my father had sixteen daughters from his co-wives. My mother was the second wife. I am my father's only son (P4).

P4's mother was his father's second wife. His parent's relationship was tumultuous until his mother died when he was only four years old. He recalled:

From the time I was born, my mother and my father had constant marital problems. My mother went back to her parents' home whenever they had a major disagreement. Each time she arrived there my uncles would tell her that she should not have left her child [P4] behind. They would then go and fetch me from my father's home. I would then stay with my maternal uncles, living a life to which I was not accustomed, then my mother and father would reconcile. My mother would then go back to my father, and when she got there, my father would ask my mother why she left me behind with my uncles. They would then fetch me from my maternal family to live with my paternal family. I grew up like that until I was four years old, and then my mother passed away (P4).

One empathises with this four-year-old who was sometimes with both of his parents but often experienced the turbulence of their relationship. The participant would then leave his home to live with his uncles and his mother. He would stay there for a while, and as soon as his parents reconciled, his mother would leave him behind and return to his father. At this stage, none of P4's parents would be with him; then he would be reunited with his parents, and then conflict resumed, and so the cycle would keep on recurring, and this took place "until I was four years old, then my mother passed away".

While this existential is his lived space, it is also a significant aspect of his lived body as well as his lived other. The repeated cycle of separation, reconnection, and separation, was not simply about the presence and absence of his lived other, but also his experience of being continually transferred from place to place.



The way P4 described his ever-shifting lived space was such that one gained the impression that he recalled a significant part thereof. He may not have recalled the factual aspect of his experience, *veritas*, but he seemed to ascribe meaning to the feelings of being sent back and forth between two families, until his mother died when he was four years old.

#### **b) His Father's Homestead**

Even after his mother's death, P4's lived space continued to shift until he finally settled at his father's home, a space to which his larger family, consisting of his father's co-wives and their children, belonged, but was hostile towards him. Before he settled there, he moved several times between his hostile paternal family and his accepting and supportive maternal family, in the following sequence:

- He decided to move from his father's place after being severely beaten by him, a deed for which his father was arrested. He then asked for pardon from his (older) uncle, who then allowed P4 to remain with him, unlike when he was eight years old and shamed for living with his maternal family.
- He moved again to live with another maternal uncle, his younger uncle, at the request of that uncle. Initially, his stay (lived space), was pleasant.
- His lived space changed into one filled with antagonism after his younger uncle's wife, who did not stay with them, discovered that his uncle had an extramarital affair. He, as a youngster, bore the brunt of her anger regarding the issue.
- He was then introduced to another lived space, the same uncle's friend's place. This lived space becomes a significant adverse lived body as his uncle's friend sexually violated him.
- He decided not to tell his younger maternal uncle of the incident. Instead, he fled to the lived space that had always welcomed him. He experienced a blissful existence at his older maternal uncle's place. He said, "Living with my maternal uncle was like being in heaven; I was happy, very happy [his lived body]".

- His older uncle then died, thus marking the end of having a lived space to which he could retreat in times of trouble, a space with a valued and affirming lived other.
- He then lived in this space without his maternal uncle, but with his uncle's wife.
- She died six months later.
- This space changed again when his late mother's sister came to live with him at his older maternal uncle's place. Initially, his lived space felt safe.
- Gradually this lived space also changed as his maternal aunt became hostile towards him, beating him daily. This had a serious impact on his lived body.
- He finally returned to his father's house. This was a space he had left due to being severely beaten up by his father. The difference was that he now has his own rondavel, his own private space in an otherwise hostile setting. This is where at his school-going age, he decided to determine the direction his life would take from that point on. The rondavel was the lived space, lived time, and lived body of what he referred to as "bad choices".
- Before going to prison, he encountered another lived space. This was a space in which a ritual is performed to "rid him of all of his bad luck." It was a dilapidated home of a woman who stepped in and took control of his life, leading him into the life of being a serial rapist, in exchange for money and power.

### **5.5.2 Lived Body**

#### **a) Beyond the Physical Body**

Lived body in the following discussion would include not only his physical body but also his thoughts, emotions, beliefs, and inclinations. His lived body was one that one does not easily associate with one who is incarcerated for life in a correctional facility.

### **b) The Eight-Year-Old Lived Body**

Turbulent as his lived space was, the participant's lived body was an experience of regular self-reflection with bold and responsible decision-making based on what is right or wrong. The following incident helps illustrate this point:

When I was eight, my father, with some of his family members, came to fetch me from my uncles. He was very angry. When he arrived, he said that he had paid *lobola* [dowry] to my maternal grandparents and could not let my mother's family raise me as if I was born out of wedlock. They even rebuked me, saying, "Are you a woman? Why have you turned against your father's family? Why do you live with your mother's family when you are an only son? (P4)

P4's response to this tirade, notwithstanding his lived time of being an eight-year-old in the world, was to make a bold and major decision for himself. The participant shared the following:

I was eight years old, but I knew that I had to make a decision, and I felt that the right thing to do was to go back to my father's family [his paternal family] (P4).

P4 did not question his father's words at the time, which placed him in a position of being an adult, and neither did he question it during his interview. The participant simply embraced his father's words as resonating with his own sense of what was right or wrong: his own norms and values. He did what he saw as befitting of "a man", an only son and an heir.

### **c) Self-Reflection and Individuation**

P4's capacity to stand apart, reflect and take on a position on which he acts was one of the most dominant themes of his lived experience. Reflecting on the expectation placed on women in his family, he stated boldly:

Each of my father's wives had to go and live with each granny. It is the Zulu custom that I will never understand ... anyway, I am not prepared to do that; I love my wife. My father was forced to take care of everyone because he was my grandfather's only son (P4).

It is this very position of being unable or unwilling to trust anyone and being self-referential after his uncle's death that left him isolated and vulnerable to acting in a manner that was potentially misguided. One sees a young man with no real sense of belonging, who questioned not only the practices of his family but also the practices of the entire nation or tribe to which he belongs, *de facto*. This questioning was conveyed in his statement, "The Zulu custom I will never understand."

While a self-reflective lived body is a sign of a sense of responsibility and accountability, it was not enough to help him make appropriate decisions when it came to self-regulation and self-preservation. P4's sense of insecurity caught up with him in this regard. The lived body of insecurity could be discerned by the researcher from the following experiences:

- He saw his father as someone he could not rely on when he said, "I eventually lost confidence in him. I realised that even if I told him about the ill-treatment when he was not around, he would not listen" (P4).
- He also encountered the shocking experience of being sexually assaulted by his younger uncle's friend.
- One could argue against the interpretation of his lived body as that of being all-alone-in-the-world because at a younger age, P4 did have his maternal side of the family. While it is true that they were there for him, the uncle who really supported him died at a critical stage of P4's life, his teenage years, and six months later, the wife of this uncle, who was also very supportive, also died.
- What followed was a brutal assault from his maternal aunt. The participant described his lived body at the time by saying, "She could see blood was oozing from my head, but she continued to hit me" (P4).

#### **d) Boldness and Decisiveness**

Throughout his lived time, P4 counteracted his vulnerability, insecurity, and suffering with self-reflection, assertiveness, decisiveness, determination, and boldness. This was evident when the participant left a rather significant lived space for the last time, his maternal uncle's place, which was once a sanctuary to him, and returned to his paternal home. He related his lived body by mentioning that when his aunt would not

stop beating his blood-oozing body with the sharp end of her stiletto, he made a decision and acted on it. He explained:

I packed my things, and I left. I went straight to my father's place. I was going to face my family problems because there was nothing that I could do (P4).

### **e) Managing Vulnerability and Insecurity**

P4's vulnerability and insecurity were also ever-present phenomena. The see-saw between the two repeatedly emerged as a lived experience in his life. This was evident when he said:

One thing that used to trouble me wherever I went was that people did not like me. My relatives, except for my maternal uncles, hated me. I felt unwanted. I would wonder what was wrong with me. Why did everyone hate me? (P4)

The participant did not only ponder and wonder about what could be wrong with him, but he also took action. He developed a strategy to earn money- to consult a reputable traditional healer to address his problem. He made his own secret plans without telling anyone, and he managed to secure a job. He reported:

I decided that as soon as I had money, I would consult with a traditional healer, and I would not tell anyone. I then went to the nearest farm one day to look for a job. I was offered a job as a sugar cane harvester. They told me that for each bale that I harvest, they would pay me R40. I used to work after school and on Saturdays. During the week, I used to harvest one bale, and on Saturdays and Sundays, I would harvest two bales (P4).

The participant maintained focus on his plans and even neglected some of the tasks he was expected to perform for his family. His father became angry about that, but P4 informed the interviewer about his attitude towards his father's anger. He said:

My father was very angry with me because I was expected to look after his livestock during the weekend. At that point, I just didn't care! (P4)

His lived body at this point was one of determination. He recounted, "I went to bed exhausted every day. It was hard, but I did not have any other option" (P4).

#### **f) Self-Regulation and Responsibility**

P4's separation and individuation was not one of hostility towards his family. His stepmothers then decided to make it difficult for him to carry on working; they gave him additional work. He was expected to work at his father's sugar cane farm before going to work. He responded to this situation as follows:

That made me very angry because no one else was expected to do that. Anyway, I did it because the proceeds from the sugar cane farm would support the family, including me (P4).

One does not expect a serial rapist, who constantly defiled other peoples' bodies, to have the capacity to regulate his own thinking in the way he did.

#### **g) The Irony of his Supernatural Beliefs**

The turning point of P4's life was when he handed all his personal power over to the mysterious woman he consulted, as outlined in the following statement, "I was 17 years old. After all the rituals, I felt good about myself" (P4).

This experience of P4's lived body is where the scales between vulnerability and security for him were tipped. The scale of vulnerability in this situation was outweighed by feeling "good." The participant's vulnerability had been taken care of, but he was oblivious of the fact that he has signed away his independence. Ironically, during his interview at the correctional facility, he still wore some of the trinkets which the mysterious woman had given to him. Despite their failure to protect him from incarceration, he still believed that their role was:

To make me strong as a man, to protect me from witchcraft and from people who want to attack me. In other words, when someone attacks me, I overpower them very easily. If you bewitch me or attack me, you get into big trouble; you could even die. Everything that anyone tries to do to me, it will happen to them. One guy once tried to attack me, and he had a seizure. He nearly died (P4).

P4's lived body of his supernatural beliefs in the power of the mysterious woman were resistant to change. While the participant was someone who assessed situations honestly and accurately, it would seem that his feeling of insecurity lingered. He tried to manage this by wearing the mysterious charms on his body. The significance he

gave to being strong in his opening statement of the interview, was evidently a significant part of his lived body. The vulnerable lived body of an insecure boy within him, emerged in how he perceived the "power" of the trinkets.

#### **h) The Repetitive Compulsion of Entrapment and Violation**

A lived body that held a great deal of significance for him is when the participant was raped by his uncle's friend. He described his experience as follows, "I was shocked, hurt, and angry – I do not know how to describe how I felt" (P4).

This incident was so significant to him that he failed Grade 9. The participant explained that he had never failed before. As a result, he "cried like a baby." The lived body of a vulnerable young boy comes to the fore again in this statement, as well.

Apart from discussing his lived other, namely his older maternal uncle, his younger maternal uncle, and his friend, the participant did not provide any details of the actual act of rape. What the researcher knows is that he was lured to his uncle's friend's house under the pretext by the former that he would be given pocket money for selling peanuts. The participant was initially given the peanuts to sell by the same man. This man then told him to fetch the peanuts from his room, and it was then that he was raped.

Later in his life, the participant entrapped his victims to situations in which he raped them in a manner similar to what his uncle's friend did to him. The participant abused their trust. In his case, it was his need for pocket money and the promise that entrapped him. His victims are entrapped by their apparent need for kindness and trust in promises. This is evident in the following remark:

"Elderly people always appreciate help from young people. On our way, I would tease her and tell her that she was beautiful, and so forth" (P4).

The first assignment the participant was given by the mysterious lady was to rape three women a week. He is so adept at what he does for the mysterious woman that he tells the interviewer: "She praised me for doing my work well. She said she would give me *muti* to protect me from police and suchlike". His ability to complete this assignment effectively, apparently compulsively, suggests that he may have been spurred on to rape by repetition compulsion.

### **i) Overwhelming Virility**

P4's evaluation of being in a correctional facility also reflected the lived body of correct self-assessment, honesty, and accuracy, as shown in the following statement:

I am thankful that I got arrested. I don't know for how long I was going to be a slave of that evil woman. There were only two options, death or being a slave for life like the elderly men that live with her (P4).

P4 described the level and nature of his lived body at the time as follows:

“My schoolwork was my priority, but after using her *mutis*, when I looked at a woman, I would look at her bums and boobs and feel like I must have sex with her. I do not know how to explain how I felt. When I look back, I think I was mad. I was possessed by bad spirits. I don't know what kind of lust that was, it was lust that did not distinguish young from old. Even with my father's wives, I would look at their boobs and bums and be overwhelmed by lust. They were my father's wives; what had gone wrong with me? At least if I was at home and my wife was there, I would go to my wife and satisfy myself. I don't know what had gone wrong with me” (P4).

### **5.5.3 Lived Other**

P4's lived other were people in this participant's lived world, who either fostered a feeling of security in his life world or enhanced the experience of insecurity. As outlined in the previous section, the theme that emerged from his experiences was the tension on the one hand between a great deal of self-reflection, insight, bold decision making, responsibility, and in some instances, accountability, and insecurity on the other hand. This tension was thrown off balance, and the scale was tipped by his sense of insecurity when he decided to seek the services of a woman who advertised herself as a traditional healer. The participant's experiences of lived other all culminated in the one relationship that led him to incarceration, the mysterious old lady.

#### **a) The Mysterious Old Woman**

The mysterious old woman was the most significant aspect of P4's lived experience, where fear and vulnerability met strength. She possessed so much power that, as stated before, the participant wore her trinkets even when he was within the walls of the correctional facility.



- **Loss of Autonomy**

The mysterious woman encountered P4 when he was in a state of vulnerability. Even from the time he picked up a leaflet that was advertising her services in town before meeting her, she offered him hope. When the participant met her, she affirmed his belief that there was something wrong with him. He said: “When I arrived at her home, she told me that I had been bewitched and needed cleansing.”

This diagnosis echoed his own thoughts when he remarked. I felt unwanted. I would wonder what was wrong with me, why everyone hated me” (P4).

The *sangoma* then offered him the one thing that seemed to matter to him the most, namely, power. The following quotation illustrates this point:

She also gave me *muti* (traditional medicine) to use. Then this old lady said “Here is *muti* for attracting girls to you. We will work together, and you are going to be very rich. Your family is going to respect you, even the whole community. All your bad luck is gone now (P4).

The catch was that there was a price to pay for the benefits he wanted. The mysterious old woman was a mentor, a coach, and an employer. Her style was dictatorial. She was also dramatic and theatrical in her expression. She spoke in a strange language, and she expected unquestioning loyalty.

P4 said there were a few elderly men living with her. This was evident when he said, “There were only elderly men living there. They were like her slaves. She used to send them around like kids” (P4).

She also used intimidation to keep P4 spellbound and wielded the kind of power that resembled that of a cult leader. He related how the drama of the mysterious old woman unfolded, in tis manner:

I then stood up, wanting to leave because I thought we were done. The old lady told me to sit down, and she said, " If you run away, you will regret ever meeting me. I want you to come and see me once a week. It's up to you to decide which day you choose. She then called one of the elderly men and asked him to tell me the rules of the job. The old man said," Once you join to do this work, you

don't leave/resign; the only way out is death. Secondly, you do not talk to anyone about us." I felt sweat trickling down my spine (P4).

- **His Descent into Crime**

P4 continued to recount his story. He shared the following:

She then told me that I must sleep with three girls every week to have money. She said, "if you do that, we will both benefit- we will be rich." I then asked how we were going to benefit? She said I must not ask. She just said, "Go and do what I am telling you to do, and come back next week." She even said that my poverty was going to end because I had met her. She said that my ancestors sent me to her. She also said that all those who were looking down upon me within the family would worship me (P4).

At this stage, (lived time) the participant was totally seduced, hooked (lived body) and at the mercy of the mysterious woman. The loss of autonomy was evident in his statement that the mysterious woman gave him strict instructions to use a particular *muti* before sleeping with a woman and warned him to never make a mistake. He said:

Before I left, she gave me a small bottle of *muti* and said, "Before you sleep with a girl, you must use this *muti*; don't ever make a mistake." Eish, I got surprised, but I was scared to ask further questions because, in that home, there was only this old woman and a few old men. Everything in that home was weird. I never saw anyone else besides them. All of them were wearing the same clothes and wrapped in *sangoma* (traditional healer) attire. Even looking at them was scary. I asked myself a lot of questions, but the desire to have lots of money eliminated my fear (P4).

- **Claiming Some of his Autonomy and Independence**

While P4 was intimidated by the mysterious woman, he did not completely let go of his sense of self. He stood his ground when it came to some decisions, for example, while the mysterious lady encouraged him to study, he stood firm regarding where he wanted to study. Interestingly, the old lady acquiesced:

After finishing Matric, we had a misunderstanding with the old lady. I passed Matric, and I wanted to go and study sound engineering in a city nearby. She

said I must not go far; I must study at the institution of higher learning near home. I told her that they did not offer the course that I wanted to do. She was angry and asked if I was trying to run away from her. I said, “No, I wanted to study something that I liked”. Eventually, she agreed and gave me R30 000 for school fees (P4).

The triumph was short-lived, and the participant became uneasy about his activities, as soon as his wife became pregnant. He shared his fears with the mysterious woman, and she laughed it off, as evidenced by the following statement:

During that time, my wife fell pregnant...The rape thing started to trouble me because I realised that I was going to be a father and what would happen to my child if I got arrested. I told the old lady about my fears, and to my surprise, she laughed. She said I would never get arrested because I was using her muti. She also said that I must stop telling her rubbish /madness. She then called one of the elderly men and asked him to remind me about the rules of the job that I was doing. The old man said, "once you join, there is no way out; the only way out is death." I was petrified.

#### **b) His Father**

This is a man whom P4 viewed as inept. The participant said that when his "co-mothers" told him about every mistake he made, he (father) acted according to what he was told and failed to understand his version. The participant also said that his father wanted him to stay at home and not visit his mother's family. His comment was:

He used to say that he needed time to teach me to be a real man because I was his only son. My father was just trying to control me because he never sat with me and had a decent conversation – never! (P4)

#### **c) His Co-mothers**

Women in P4's life, namely his father's co-wives, held a great deal of power over him. He feared that they might bewitch him. He reported, “I was even afraid to eat. I was scared that they would put poison in my food” (P4).

In the participant's view, they had rendered him an orphan by bewitching and killing his mother. They even had power over his father as they were able to get his father to punish him without first hearing his side of the story. They also beat him up regularly:

They would beat me up as if I were a criminal they found stealing in their home. No one ever came to my rescue or even told them that the beating must stop. I reached a point where I hated all of them because of this constant beating. I did not even want to see them. I went to bed every night crying (P4).

When the participant gained a sense of power, they became objects of his lust. Although he did not rape them, they were perceived as part objects, namely "boobs" and "bums".

#### **d) His Older Uncle**

One could say that P4's most significant positively influential lived other is his uncle. He stood up for him and provided him with a safe space. P4 said that living with this uncle gave him a taste of what he called "heaven". He did not elaborate at all on what he meant by "heaven" besides saying that it was a lived space where he felt happy. He said, "Living with my older maternal uncle was like being in heaven; I was happy, very happy" (P4).

The crucial times in which P4's uncle stepped into his life were times when he was most vulnerable and insecure. One such time was when his father beat him up so severely that he said, "I was so angry, I was shivering."

That very same evening, the participant decided to go to his uncle. When he showed him his bruises and confirmed that his father had hit him with a *sjambok* ( a heavy leather whip) the uncle acted in a manner that came as a surprise to his father and his father's family. The participant shared the following:

My uncle took me to the police station, and we also got a letter from the doctor and opened a case. We opened the case against my father. The police went with us to my father's home, and they arrested him (P4).

The participant's older uncle, it would seem, was the one who contributed to his development of a strong sense of self. After he was raped by his younger uncle's friend, he went back to his older uncle's home:

I did not tell my younger uncle [about the rape incident]. The following morning, I woke up early and ran away from my uncle's place. I took a bus back to my mother's home. When I got there, I told my older uncle about the rape (P4).

One could say that with his older uncle, he experienced trust. This is totally opposite to how he felt about his own father. He stepped in to be his advocate and told his brother [the younger uncle] that P4 would not go back to live with him. This is evident in the following statement:

My older uncle told my younger uncle that, in order not to cause friction between him and his colleague/ friend, I should continue staying with him (older uncle). He went with me to go and fetch my school report so that I could register for Grade 9 (P4).

#### **e) Short-Term but Impactful Relationships**

The participant's younger uncle was a rather obscure person who only appeared in his life briefly. All we know about him is that he lived in a compound, that he stayed with P4 for a short while, and that he had an extra-marital affair for which P4 bore the brunt. What we also know about him as lived other is that P4 did not trust him enough to tell him that his friend had assaulted him. His lived other, in this case, was one of mistrust. His uncle's friend brought about the lived experience of trauma, as evidenced by the following statement:

One day, he told me that I must come to his house to collect the peanuts. I went to fetch them. When I got there, he forced himself on me - he raped me. I was shocked, hurt, and angry – I do not know how to describe how I felt" (P4).

His mother's sister is the next lived other whose impact on him was one of trauma. The following quotation illustrates this point:

I do not know what was wrong with my mother's sister. Before she went to work as a domestic worker far away, she used to like me. After she came back,

everything changed. She hated me and ill-treated me. One day I came back from school late because we had school choir practice. As I entered the house, she pulled me and hit me with the heel of her shoe. I was surprised that she was angry, and I was not given a chance to explain. She saw the wound on my head, but she kept on beating me, and I pushed her and ran out of the house. She followed me, swearing at me. She could see blood was oozing from my head, but she continued to hit me. I screamed for help, and the neighbours came to rescue me (P4).

The participant's wife and his child were his love objects. His lived experience with his wife was unequivocally one of love. He stated categorically, "I love my wife." This was also evident when his wife became pregnant. As mentioned previously, he said, "The rape thing- my wife being pregnant - started to trouble me because I realised that I was going to be a father and what would happen to my child if I got arrested?" (P4)

#### **f) The Elderly Women He Violated**

P4 was conflicted about the elderly women that he violated. This was evident in the following statement:

There is something I think about all the time. Whenever I raped an elderly woman, my conscience would tell me that what I was doing was wrong. But I would say I don't have a mother. My mother died long ago; this woman did not give birth to me. I would then continue raping her. I think I did not get a chance to deal with my mother's death (P4).

The participant's lived other experience was one of guilt, yet he found a way to justify his actions. Initially, when the researcher asked him about what went through his mind when he was raping elderly women, he said that he felt foggy, as if something came over him. He likened his feeling of excessive and persistent arousal to a state of madness.

#### **5.5.4 Lived Time**

These Overlap with his Lived Body and Lived Other

1. Turbulent time before his mother's death.
2. Protection and advocacy of uncle

3. Rape
4. Losing confidence in his father
5. Ostracised by co-mothers and their children
6. Claiming his responsibility for his life:
  - It dawned on me that I was grown up now; I needed be strong like a man and learn to be independent. I decided that as soon as I have money, I would consult with a traditional healer, and I would not tell anyone (P4).
  - The next phase of his life is one of his ill-conceived independence when the mysterious woman said, "When we got to the house, she said that all the curses and the bad luck were gone and that this was a new beginning for me" (P4).

### 5.5.5 Other

#### a) Belief in the Power of Witchcraft

His belief in the power of witchcraft was evident in the following statement:

At home [my father's home] traditional healers and *sangomas* used to come at night - for what? I didn't not know. No one ever told me anything except when my father was there. They [co-mothers] would be inside their houses with their children and not call me... No one ever told me what the problem was. Then I thought to myself; there was a problem. What if I were the problem? ...I decided that as soon as I have money, I would consult with a traditional healer, and I would not tell anyone (P4).

**Table 5.4: Summary of Lived Experience of Participant Four**

Analytical Categories	Quotations of Significance
Lived body	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• One day I came back from school late because we had school choir practice. As I entered the house, she pulled me and hit me with the heel of her shoe. I was surprised that she was angry, and I was not given a chance to explain. She saw the wound on my head, but she kept on beating me, and I pushed her and ran out of the house. She followed me, swearing at me. She could see blood was oozing from my</li> </ul>

	<p>head, but she continued to hit me. I screamed for help, and the neighbours came to rescue me.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• My father beat me severely because I overslept and drove cattle out of kraal later than I was supposed to. I was so angry that I was shivering.</li> <li>• They [his Co-mothers] would beat me up as if I were a criminal they found stealing in their home. No one ever came to my rescue or even told them that the beating must stop. I reached a point where I hated all of them because of this constant beating. I did not even want to see them. I went to bed every night crying.</li> <li>• I was even afraid to eat. I was scared that they [his co-mothers] would put poison in my food.</li> <li>• Living with my older maternal uncle was like being in heaven; I was happy, very happy.</li> <li>• [He raped me] I was shocked, hurt, and angry – I do not know how to describe how I felt.</li> <li>• When I look back, I think I was mad. I was possessed by bad spirits. I don't know what kind of lust that was; it was lust that did not distinguish young from old. Even with my father's wives, I would look at their boobs and be overwhelmed by lust. They were my father's wives; what had gone wrong with me?</li> </ul>
<b>Lived other</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I eventually lost confidence in him [his father]. I realised that even if I told him about the ill-treatment when he was not around, he would not listen.</li> <li>• When I got there, he [younger uncle's friend] forced himself on me - he raped me.</li> <li>• She then told me that I must sleep with three girls every week to have money. She said, "If you do that, we will both benefit- we will be rich." I then asked how we were going to benefit? She said I must not ask. She just said, "Go and do what I am telling you to do and come back next week."</li> <li>• I then stood up wanting to leave because I thought we were done. The old lady told me to sit down, and she said " If you</li> </ul>



	<p>run away, you will regret ever meeting me. I want you to come and see me once a week. It's up to you which day you choose." She then called one of the elderly men and asked him to tell me the rules of the job. The old man said," Once you join to do this work, you don't leave/resign; the only way out is death. Secondly, you do not talk to anyone about us." I felt sweat trickling down my spine.</p>
<p><b>Lived space</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• They [(his parents)] fought over polygamy. My father wanted to take a third wife. Eventually, he married four women. I was an only child from my mother, but my father had sixteen daughters from his co-wives. My mother was the second wife. I am my father's only son.</li> <li>• In rural areas in KwaZulu-Natal, polygamous families live together in one big homestead, the way it is with former President Zuma and all his wives and children. They all live together in different houses within the same homestead" (P2).</li> <li>• In the evening, "mothers" looked after their children, and I would be left alone because I didn't have a mother. Anyway, I didn't care. At that time, I had my rondavel that my father built for me. So, I would help with the boys' chores and then go to my room.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Lived time</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• With time, the ill-treatment got worse. I could see that my "co-mothers," that is, my father's co-wives, did not want me to live in that home. They would beat me up as if I were a criminal they found stealing in their home. No one ever came to my rescue or even told them that the beating must stop. I reached a point where I hated all of them because of this constant beating. I did not even want to see them. I went to bed every night crying.</li> <li>• It dawned on me that I was grown up now; I needed be strong like a man and learn to be independent. I decided that as soon as I have money, I would consult with a traditional healer, and I would not tell anyone.</li> <li>• When we got to the house she said that all the curses and the bad luck were gone and that this was a new beginning for me.</li> </ul>

	<p><b>Multiple deaths:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I grew up like that until I was four years old, and then my mother passed away.</li> <li>• My paternal grandmother passed away a few months after my mother did.</li> <li>• When I was doing Grade 10, my elder uncle passed away. Six months later, his wife also passed away. All their children were married, so the question was, what was going to happen to me?</li> </ul>
<p><b>Other</b></p>	<p>At home [my father's home] <i>sangomas</i> used to come at night - for what? I didn't not know. No one ever told me anything except when my father was there. They (co-mothers) would be inside their houses with their children and not call me .... No one ever told me what the problem was. Then I thought to myself; there was a problem. What if I were the problem? ... I decided that as soon as I have money, I would consult with a traditional healer, and I would not tell anyone.</p>

### 5.6 Lived Experience of Participant Five

Participant Five (P5) did not maintain eye contact throughout both interviews, except for an occasional quick glance towards the researcher. He sat at an angle facing away from the interviewer and was somewhat serious and forbidding, yet, paradoxically, his manner was polite.

Interviewing P5 was an unnerving experience for the researcher. At times it felt surreal. He was the only participant in the study who admitted to having killed intentionally multiple times. He also did not show any remorse for some of the killings, particularly of an elderly woman, whom he raped, tortured, and then killed. His was a twisted tale of sympathy, anger, retribution, ambivalence, and displaced emotion, as will be evident below.

One saw the stark reality of a boy who was part of a mob killing at his school as early as the age of ten. Like the rest of his community, the school was embedded in systemic, cold, and brutal violence. His lifeworld, even according to his admission,

immersed him in a world that perceived brutality as a normal way of being-in-the-world, as he declared:

“I have wasted my life. Even growing up in a violent area can make one end up being involved in destructive behaviour” (P5).

The participant’s lived space and lived other emerged with a boldness that somewhat obscured his lived body and his lived time. The last two could only be understood adequately within the context of his lived space and lived other. His own individual attributes were not easily discernible.

### **5.6.1 Lived Body**

#### **a) Poverty**

Poverty was both a systemic issue and a personal issue for P5. The identity of being-poor-in-the-world featured more prominently than any other theme in his life. The number of times he mentioned being poor or very poor indicated that it was a major preoccupation to him. He mentioned the experience of being poor and justified some of his actions in terms of being poor. Furthermore, he also explained some of the challenges he had as a result of poverty.

#### **b) Identity**

P5 began the interview by mentioning that he grew up very poor. The participant saw his life as one of mere survival. His opening line was, “ I grew up in a very poor family. My mother sold goods [meat, beans, dishcloths, towels and so on] at the social grant collection point; that is how we survived” (P5).

Being poor for P5 was not just an experience to him; it was how he identified himself. It was the core aspect of his lived body and it determined the way in which he managed relationships with girls, as a teenager. It was riddled with shame. The following extract illustrates this point:

I had flings but did not have anyone steady. We were poor at home; therefore, one did not even desire to have anyone visiting. It was just a disgrace. Girls also want to see where a guy lives, but it was difficult to allow anyone to come over to visit because of the situation at home. It was embarrassing. I have never owned a bed; we slept on the floor-we were very poor (P5).

### **c) Experiences of Being Poor**

One of the experiences of being poor that P5 mentioned was of wearing clothes that did not fit him properly. He explained:

All the clothes that I had were second-hand clothes that were given to my mother by the church and other people. Some of them did not fit me well; they were either big or too tight (P5).

He also mentioned the following, "I have never owned a bed, we slept on the floor - we were very poor" (P5).

The experience of being poor for him also was part of the lived body of helplessness and despondency, as evidenced by the following statement, "It was very painful as a child to know that there was nothing that I could do to change my circumstances" (P5).

### **d) Actions/Justification**

There are instances where P5 was involved in brutality, yet he saw it as justified. He believed that people who showed insensitivity to his plight deserved to be killed. According to him, he and other boys at the school killed a boy because he had made fun of another boy's ill-fitting school uniform. This is evident in the following extract:

I have never gone shopping for clothes. All the clothes that I had were second-hand clothes that were given to my mother by the church and other people. Some of them did not fit me well; they were either big or too tight. If you are poor and you wear funny clothes, other children tease you, especially at school. The boy we killed enjoyed teasing other children at school (P5).

Some of the people who were targets of his brutality were those who were seen as having somehow caused, or aggravated, his poverty. The following quotation illustrates this point:

When I was done with killing the granny for whose rape and murder I was arrested, there was another granny that I intended to rape and kill, but then I got arrested .... That granny did not get along with my mother, and we had knowledge that our poverty was due to her bewitching my mother. It pained me that my mother had it so hard, yet it was that granny who made my mother poor.

My arrest saved her. I had planned that I would go rape and then kill her on the same day (P5).

Apart from these specific incidents, P5 justified his general negative behaviour on being poor. When the interviewer reflected with him on the type of environment in which he grew up, a violent environment, he agreed but also added, “Maybe that is why I ended up doing bad things. Also, being poor and struggling every day to survive and even to get food was very painful” (P5).

The researcher also gained the impression that P5 not only came from a poor household, but that he also lived in a poor community. The fact that the adult males left their homes to work in Johannesburg and only returned during Christmas and Easter holidays, indicated that they were migrant labourers, most of whom, in South Africa, are unskilled or semi-skilled workers.

#### **e) Callousness**

After being expelled from school, together with other boys, P5 gravitated to a life of hardened criminality. Unfortunately, it was more than a common crime; it also was accompanied by an attitude of eliminating people's lives with ease. The following extract supports this:

We then stayed at home and became delinquents, killing people together with rebel groups. I will not lie; we were troublesome kids who murdered people (P5).

The participant later brutally murdered people he considered to be threats, as well as those he saw as causing him harm and pain. Yet, he did not condone killing innocent people. When the interviewer asked the participant about his attitude towards having raped and killed an elderly woman, he responded by saying, “I am not referring to her. She had wronged me. I do not regret what I did to her. I mean, robbing, raping, and killing innocent people is wrong” (P5).

P5 saw the behaviour in which he was involved as destructive and commented, “Even growing up in a violent community can make one end up being involved in destructive behaviour.”

### **f) His Initiation into Crime**

While P5 was a callous criminal who justified his brutality, his initiation into crime could be described as having been uncomfortable to him, even at the subtle level of being groomed sexually through exposure to pornography. He described his experience as follows:

One day, he *ubabomncane* [my paternal uncle] called me and made me watch pornography. He could see that I was not comfortable with what we were watching, and he told me that I was "a man now"; I could watch these things because when I find a girlfriend, I should know what to do. I was happy when my older brother called me because he wanted me to go to the tuck shop to buy bread. I told my brothers about *ubabomncane* and pornography, and they were shocked (P5).

This uncle proceeded to coerce him to commit brutal crimes that violated others and robbed them of their lives, as the following passage illustrates:

When we got there, this man said I should rape that lady. I was shocked! He then shouted at me, asking if I had not heard what he said. I then raped her. After raping her, he gave me his gun and told me to kill her. I killed her, and we dragged her outside, left her near the gate, and we went back home. I did not tell anyone about what had happened, not even my mother (P5).

## **5.6.2 Lived Other**

### **a) His Father**

The most significant aspect of P5's relationship with his father was that he had a great deal of empathy for his father. This was evident when he said, "He was a humble man. I never wanted any harm to come his way. It was painful seeing him in a wheelchair, knowing he was not born that way" (P5).

He was not only empathic towards his father, but he was also protective of him even after his death. The following quotation illustrates this point:

After my father passed away, another man in our area was going around telling people that he is happy that my father is deceased because my father poisoned him at a feast near our house and that he fell sick and nearly died. That

disgusted me! He was blaming my father for nothing because he was in a wheelchair. How could my father put poison in his food? (P5)

The participant also had high regard for his father. He considered him to be fair, even-tempered, and a good source of guidance. He affirmed his father's positive attributes when he said, "My father was very quiet but observant. If you did anything wrong, he would sit you down and advise you without shouting" (P5).

**b) His Mother - Provider, Guide, Practical Relationship, Ambivalence, Despised**

P5 seems to have both admired and despised his mother. He spoke fondly of her when he said, "They did show love in their way, just that they were poor. They always tried to put a meal on the table. My mother would even go into the fields to pick wild herbs to feed us" (P5).

He also acknowledged her efforts at guiding him and his siblings even though she was unsuccessful, as shown in the following extract:

My mother tried to educate us with the assistance of the church but failed because we were unruly and left school ourselves. She tried, but we did not listen to her, and she finally gave up (P5).

P5 revealed too how much he despised his mother. The following extract supports this:

You see, some parents are dirty; she would say nothing. She would take the money and buy whatever she needed and not ask questions. As for my mother, I cannot hate her, but it hurts me that she kept this man's evil deeds from me. She knew of all his activities because this man wore this coat day and night, and she is the one who used to wash his blood and semen-stained clothes [evidently]. They were in love, and there is no way she would not have known, period! She should have warned us not to accompany this man anywhere at night because we were children (P5).

The participant also felt that his mother had betrayed him by choosing her lover (his paternal uncle) over him as her son. The following extract supports this:

You see, she even knew that my uncle committed some of the crimes I inherited. You know some parents would rather have their child rot in jail than face the truth. My mother oppressed me because she should have told the authorities that the man she lived with also did terrible things. Instead, she chose to keep quiet. To be honest, she sold me out (P5).

His relationship with his mother was part of his lived other, but it was also a significant part of his lived body (he admired and despised his mother).

### **c) His Mysterious Paternal Uncle**

- **Respect**

P5's paternal uncle wielded immense power over him as an authority figure and an elder. In the Zulu cultural context, it is imperative that one shows the utmost respect for one's elders. He, therefore, said that he obeyed his paternal uncle and did everything that he told him to do. The participant said, "He was like the authority figure at home since my father was deceased. I respected and feared him." When the interviewer asked him why he went about raping and killing people, his response was, "No, growing up, it was not easy to oppose a parent when given instructions" (P5).

- **Manipulation**

It would seem that P5's lived other was a betrayal of trust. Having grown up in a family that he was at pains to describe as poor, buying clothes for him would have been a gesture that he regarded very highly. The following extract supports this::

After my father's death, we became very close. He used to buy me clothes and told me that he would take care of us. I think he was trying to manipulate me, but I did not see it in that way at the time. I thought then that he was just trying to be a good paternal uncle. I think he was a very patient man because this manipulation went on for almost a year before he showed his true colours (P5).

The other form of manipulation that the uncle used was isolation, as evidenced by the following statement:



When I started going with my uncle, I ditched my friends. My uncle said I must have nothing to do with friends because they posed a danger if they found out about what we were doing. I think he feared that I would “chit-chat” if I had friends, and then we would get arrested (P5).

- **Fear**

He said:

I also feared that if I posed many questions to him, he could potentially kill me. In fact, I feared him a little. That man was courageous in a weird way. He was the devil himself... He was a raging lunatic, even people in our community feared him. I never saw him laughing or smiling. He was always irritable (P5).

- **Resentment**

One wonders what his innermost feelings were about his experience of seeing his mother replacing his father with a man he regarded as "the devil himself". One could only assume that there would have been feelings of deep resentment. Some resentment was expressed in the following response:

“That man was also a witch; he was evil. My older sister went to town one day and never returned; even today, we do not know where she is. My older brother also went to look for a job in the city, and he never returned home. We also do not know what happened to him. My other brother and my other sister also got sick suddenly and died one after the other” (P5).

- **Violation**

As stated earlier, 5's paternal uncle was patient at gaining his trust, only to later rob him of his innocence. The act of an authority figure exposing a teenager, his nephew, to pornography is an act of sexual grooming, which is, by its very nature, a violation of innocence. Forcing him to rape and kill could be regarded as a traumatic experience for this young man, as shown by the following extract:

I was shocked! He then shouted at me, asking if I had not heard what he said. I then raped her. After raping her, he gave me his gun and told me to kill her. I killed her ... he then told me that I should never tell anyone about what happened that evening (P5).

#### **d)The Object of his Gross Inhumaneness**

- **The Elderly Woman**

P5 seemed to view the elderly woman that he raped and killed through a biased lens. The participant saw her as, “All bad.” She did not have any redeeming features to him. “She was a crook that woman because her home was a hideout for criminals who murdered people” (P5).

He described her with a great deal of contempt and resentment. The following quotation illustrates this:

I wanted to show her that she was nothing more than just a dog. I thought that I would do something that she did not expect, something I thought she had never imagined happening to her. Had I just only shot her, she would have died without feeling any pain. She was a dirty old woman who thought that she knew it all (P5).

The gruesome way in which he killed her revealed the extent of his anger and resentment, was relayed as follows, “I went straight to her house. When I arrived at her home, I raped her. I tortured her, and I killed her” (P5).

The dialogue between the researcher and P5 reveals how deep-seated his resentment was towards the elderly woman:

**“Researcher:** How did you kill her?

**No.5:** I shot her four times.

**Researcher:** Why four times?

**No.5:** I wanted to make sure she was dead”.

P5 showed good reasoning ability at times, but when it came to the elderly woman that he raped and killed, this seemed not to be the case at all. The following dialogue was a case in point:

**“Researcher:** I am just wondering why you targeted her and not the boys/ men who killed your father.

**No.5:** I could not go looking for them one by one. I do not even know who pulled the trigger among all of them.

**Researcher:** Do you think that the granny knew about the plan to assassinate your father?

**No.5:** Of course. The meeting to kill my father was held in her home, so how could she not have known about it?

**Researcher:** In other words, even all the men who lived in that house also knew about it?

**Researcher:** Obviously. Okay. So you planned to do it, and you were not under the influence of alcohol or drugs?

**No.5:** Not at all. Drugs were very scarce in my community. I do not know about now. I would not have been able to drink alcohol because of the wayward life I led. When you are a drunk, you end up saying things you should not and doing things that would endanger your life. Even my paternal uncle impressed upon me not to touch alcohol.”

The participant’s contempt for the elderly woman and the total lack of empathy towards her seemed to indicate that his reaction may be attributed to unconscious phenomena. One wonders if the feelings he had towards his mother were not projected onto the elderly woman who had to suffer for his mother's perceived "sins" (P5).

### **5.6.3 Lived Space**

#### **a) The School**

Like the rest of the community, the school was embedded in systemic, cold, and brutal violence. He proffered the following:

Even at school, there were factions; we never got along, which is why we ended up killing that boy. This started during the time of the political wars in KZN and continued indefinitely (P5).

The school, unfortunately, became the breeding ground for negative behaviour for him and his peers, as illustrated below:

Let me be honest with you. I, together with other boys, were troublesome at school and did not listen to the teachers. We came late and would not do our homework. We would fight and refuse to be given corporal punishment (P5).

While the school was also part of his negative experiences, it also provided nurturance. This is why he so much regretted that he never continued with his schooling, saying, “The only food that I would sometimes have would be the government lunch that was provided to all learners at school” (P5).

### **b) The Community**

P5 was raised and went to school in a violence-ridden community. It would seem that solutions to problems were sought through violence. It was a recurring theme that evidently continued year after year, as evidenced by the following statement:

Our area was very violent. There was unrest. Even during Christmas, when men who worked in Johannesburg were at home for Christmas, they continued where they left off with killing one another. When there were feasts in the village, they would hide along pathways waiting to kill their enemies on their way home. Even at school, there were factions; we never got along, which is why we ended up killing that boy. This started during the time of the political wars in KZN and continued indefinitely (P5).

This violence seemed to be endemic in that community. It was ignited by political violence and persisted long after the political strife had ended, as he remarked:

Yes, the civil-political unrest in our area died down after a lengthy period because the warring factions in our area went on retaliating and counter retaliating for the deaths of their allies and loved ones (P5).

One would expect that the people who perpetrated violence may have been fuelled by alcohol or drugs, to do so. P5 disputes that this was the case when he said:

Drugs were very scarce in my community. I do not know about now. I would not have been able to drink alcohol because of the wayward life I led. When you are a drunk, you end up saying things you should not and doing things that would endanger your life (P5).

### **c) The Home**

P5 described his home as a loving and nurturing resting space prior to his father's injury. After that event, his father struggled as there was a delay in the processing of his father's pension. P5 greatly lamented the extent to which the family became poor. He was affected by the situation to such an extent that he was ashamed to bring visitors to his home, as he put it:

I had flings but did not have anyone steady. We were poor at home; therefore, one did not even desire to have anyone visiting. It was just a disgrace. Girls also want to see where a guy lives, but it was difficult to allow anyone to come over to visit because of the situation at home. It was embarrassing. I have never owned a bed; we slept on the floor-we were very poor (P5).

This ordeal gave his mysterious paternal uncle a foothold within his family, as he was the provider. It was this uncle who wormed his way into the hearts and minds of his family, only to later wreak havoc in their lives. His home then became a den of robbers, murderers, and sexually vile superstitious savages. He stated that:

He [paternal uncle] came to live with us because he no longer had parents and all his relatives had died because of political violence in our community. Because he had the same surname as us, he ended up living at home and later had a romantic relationship with my mother. It started by the very same uncle exposing my brothers and me to porn, and then at times, he would pretend to reprimand us for watching it, yet he was the one who exposed us to porn initially (P5).

### **d) The Church**

The church featured poignantly in P5's childhood. His mother encouraged them to go to church. The family received help in the form of food and clothing from this community (the church community).

### **5.6.4 Lived Time**

There seems to have been no significant period in P5's life that was distinct from others. His entire life was permeated by crime from the time he was at school until he got arrested. Upon reflection, the participant seems to believe that the church system is inadequately equipped to help young people with his type of predicament, namely,

those involved in crime, particularly serious crime. He related what occurred when he went to church for confession:

When I was killing innocent people, I would sometimes go for confession to the priest, and the priest was bound by Catholic law not to tell. That did not help because I would confess and still go back and continue with my shenanigans. Maybe I would not be here if the priest had found me help or spoken to my family. Maybe they would have exposed my uncle to the police, who would have ended everything (P5).

### **5.6.5 Other**

#### **a) The Migrant Labour System**

The migrant labour system is a system that affects mostly rural poor communities who have no means to support their families except through work as migrant workers away from home. As P5 mentioned, “these workers often came home only twice a year only, namely during Christmas and Easter holidays”. This system degrades and perverts family life. Boys grow up without role models, and wives struggle alone to raise children, without the support of their husbands. Therefore, socio-historical conditions also seem to be a contributing factor to the cycle of violence in South Africa, of which rape is part.

#### **b) The Police Service**

It is worth noting that violence went on in participant’s number five's community for years on end, yet there was hardly any police presence. One could argue that the police failed him and his entire community by letting violence proliferate the way it did in his community. The participant shared the following:

“There was a police station, but it was a bit far. My arrest was an isolated incident in our area” (P5).

**Table 5.5: Summary of Lived Experience of Participant Five**

<b>Analytical Categories</b>	<b>Quotations of Significance</b>
<b>Lived body</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I have never gone shopping for clothes. All the clothes that I had were second-hand clothes that were given to my mother by the church and other people. Some of them did not fit me well; they were either big or too tight.</li> <li>• I have never owned a bed, we slept on the floor - we were very poor.</li> <li>• The only food that I would sometimes have would be the government lunch that was provided to all learners at school.</li> <li>• When we got there, this man said I should rape that lady. I was shocked! He then shouted at me, asking if I had not heard what he said. I then raped her. After raping her, he gave me his gun and told me to kill her. I killed her, and we dragged her outside, left her near the gate, and we went back home. I did not tell anyone about what had happened, not even my mother.</li> <li>• When I was done with killing the granny for whose rape and murder I was arrested, there was another granny that I intended to rape and kill, but then I got arrested.</li> <li>• We then sat at home and became delinquents, killing people together with rebel groups. I will not lie; we were troublesome kids who murdered people.</li> </ul>
<b>Lived other</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• He [my father] was a humble man. I never wanted any harm to come his way. It was painful seeing him in a wheelchair, knowing he was not born that way.</li> <li>• You see, some parents are dirty; she would say nothing. She would take the money and buy whatever she needed and not ask questions. As for my mother, I cannot hate her, but it hurts me that she kept this man's evil deeds from me. She knew of all his activities because this man wore this coat day and night, and she is the one who used to wash his blood and semen-stained clothes [evidently]. They were in love, and there</li> </ul>

	<p>is no way she would not have known, period! She should have warned us not to accompany this man anywhere at night because we were children.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I also feared that if I posed many questions to him, he could potentially kill me. In fact, I feared him a little. That man was courageous in a weird way. He was the devil himself.</li> <li>• He was a raging lunatic, even people in our community feared him. I never saw him laughing or smiling. He was always irritable.</li> <li>• I wanted to show her that she was nothing more than just a dog. I thought that I would do something that she did not expect, something I thought she had never imagined happening to her. Had I just only shot her, she would have died without feeling any pain. She was a dirty old woman who thought that she knew it all.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Lived space</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I had flings but did not have anyone steady. We were poor at home; therefore, one did not even desire to have anyone visiting. It was just a disgrace. Girls also want to see where a guy lives, but it was difficult to allow anyone to come over to visit because of the situation at home. It was embarrassing. I have never owned a bed; we slept on the floor-we were very poor.</li> <li>• Even at school, there were factions; we never got along, which is why we ended up killing that boy. This started during the time of the political wars in KZN and continued indefinitely.</li> <li>• “Our area was very violent. There was unrest. Even during Christmas, when men who worked in Johannesburg were at home for Christmas, they continued where they left off with killing one another. When there were feasts in the village, they would hide along pathways waiting to kill their enemies on their way home. Even at school, there were factions; we never got along, which is why we ended up killing that boy. This started during the time of the political wars in KZN and continued indefinitely” (P5).</li> </ul>



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Yes, the civil-political unrest in our area died down after a lengthy period because the warring factions in our area went on retaliating and counter retaliating for the death of their allies and loved ones.</li> </ul>
<b>Lived time</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• When I was killing innocent people, I would sometimes go for confession to the priest, and the priest was bound by Catholic law not to tell. That did not help because I would confess and still go back and continue with my shenanigans. Maybe if the priest had found me help or spoken to my family, perhaps I would not be here. Maybe they would have exposed my uncle to the police, which would have ended everything.</li> </ul>
<b>Other</b>	<p><b>Migrant labour</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “these workers often came home only twice a year only, namely during Christmas and Easter holidays</li> </ul> <p><b>Police presence</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There was a police station, but it was a bit far. My arrest was an isolated incident in our area.</li> </ul>

## 5.7 Lived Experience of Participant Six

Participants 6 (P6) presented as a tall slim man with a fair complexion. He appeared well-groomed in his orange overalls and white Converse Chuck Taylor shoes. He maintained eye contact throughout both interviews. He established a quick and easy rapport with the researcher and was responsive and forthcoming in answering questions. The participant’s mood varied in relation to the subject of discussion at hand.

### 5.7.1 Lived Body

#### a) Intact and loving family

P6 opened the interview by telling the researcher that he was born out of wedlock. Nevertheless, his father acknowledged him as his child even before he was born, by paying for damages (according to Zulu culture, when a man impregnates a woman, it

is considered a disgrace, and he has to pay damages for bringing the woman's family into disrepute), while his mother was still pregnant with him. It is not uncommon for some men to commit to do so in similar circumstances. When a man honours this tradition, it shows love and respect for his wife and his unborn child. He was therefore born into a secure, loving parental relationship. He explained:

She [my mother] fell pregnant at the age of 20 and gave birth to me. My father was eight years older than my mother. Before I was born, my father paid for damages [*ukuhlawula*] (P6).

P6 further stated that not only did his father pay for damages, but he also performed all the rituals to acknowledge him as a member of his family and extended family. The rituals that were performed also indicated that his father was prepared to take responsibility to raise him as his son. After all the rituals were completed, his maternal grandfather allowed him to be bestowed his father's surname. Another Zulu customary rule is that when a child is born out of wedlock, the paternal side of the family has no say over him, and he is not allowed to use his father's surname. He informed the researcher as follows:

When I was born, he took me to his family home in KZN. He performed all the necessary rituals performed when a child is born. That is the reason why my maternal grandfather allowed me to take my father's surname (P6).

The participant expressed that he felt loved by his parents when his father was still alive. He said he was a happy child then. He reported:

When I was six, I started school. I remember that on my first day at school, my father took me to school. I felt loved by both my mother and my father. In the afternoon, my father came with my mother to fetch me. I was a happy child (P6).

#### **b) Sadness, Worry, and Confusion**

When P6 was six years old, his life changed drastically. It was never the same again after that. This phase was sad and confusing for the six-year-old boy. He described the account of events that took place, as follows:

One day when I came home from school, my father was sleeping, and my mother said that he was not well and that I must not disturb him. Although I was a child, I was surprised. That day, I only spoke to him for a few minutes because he said he felt tired. I was a bit disappointed because I really enjoyed spending time with him. Although my mother told me that my father was not well, she never gave me details of what was wrong with him. The following day at school, I told my teacher that my father was sick. She told me that people do get sick sometimes, but they usually get better after some time. For some reason, I remember that I was very worried about him (P6).

### **c) Grief and Turning Point of Family Life**

P6's father never came back from the hospital. He explained:

While I was eating, my mother's cell phone rang, she answered and just screamed – I remember that scream like it was yesterday. I started crying, and I think because my mother was crying. Neighbours came, and they started singing and praying. I was confused. My maternal grandmother put me on her lap to comfort me. Basically, everyone was crying (P6).

### **d) Trauma**

P6 also mentioned that he had to travel with his maternal family from Johannesburg to KZN to attend his father's funeral. He described the experience of watching his father's burial as traumatic, especially when they covered the grave with sand. He said:

When they lowered the coffin, I cried, and my maternal grandmother put me on her lap and wiped my tears. When they started covering the grave with sand, I got terrified. I wanted them to stop because I was thinking – what if my father got up after we had left and wanted to come home? (P6)

### **e) Self-Esteem Issues**

P6 also seemed to have struggled with low self-esteem. There were a few instances in the interview that were indicative of his low self-esteem. He mentioned that he used to buy expensive alcohol for his friends and neighbours. Upon reflection, he now realised that he bought expensive alcohol for them just to "show off". It is also possible

that he did it to secure friendship, and for other people to believe that he is worthy of their friendship. The following quotation illustrates this point:

If I am sober, no matter how well things are going, there is always that voice that tells me that I am not good enough. I guess that is why I spent a lot of my money buying expensive liquor for my friends and neighbours. I do not think that it came from a good heart, it was just to show off (P6).

#### **f) Self-Reflection and Self-Awareness**

P6 showed some degree of self-reflection and self-awareness during the second interview. The following extract supports this:

Even buying an RDP [Reconstruction and Development Programme] house or government-sponsored house; why did I do that? I could afford to buy an ordinary self-funded house in the township. It was because *ngiyazinyeza* [I look down upon myself] (P6).

#### **g) Identity**

P6 mentioned that his father died when he was six years old. This was at the onset of the psychosocial development stage, which Erick Erikson calls industry versus inferiority (six to eleven years). At this stage, children learn to trust their ability to impact the world and to cope with challenges. Failure to master this stage leads to a sense of inferiority. An example of his lack of trust in his own ability to master challenges is evident in how he reacted when he found out that he had failed Matric. He said:

I missed school a lot when I was in Grade 12 because of drinking and bad friends ..... At the end of the year, I failed Matric. I was very disappointed, but I deserved it. My first thought was to commit suicide, but when I went to fetch my results, my teachers told me to apply at FET College [Further Education and Training College] (P6).

The participant followed what his friends did without any consideration for what he wanted for his own life. His thought of committing suicide after realising that he had failed, was further evidence of his lack of trust in his own ability to master challenges.

## **h) Moral Development**

While P6 found himself in a correctional centre for life, his original thought of not killing his rape victim changed, and he saw killing her as an option that would have saved him from incarceration. At face value, P6 seemed to have not developed beyond the first stage of moral development, which, according to Kohlberg's (1981) theory, is concerned with obedience and punishment, with no consideration for the welfare of others. The following extract illustrates this point:

After raping her, he said, "*asimcisha*" [slang for; let us kill her], and I said, "No, let's go, this is an elderly woman; why should we kill her? ...At that time, I did not understand why he wanted to kill her, but I know now. He was scared that she could identify us, especially him, because he lived in that area, and people in the community knew him very well. To be honest, I regret stopping him from killing her. Look at my life now; I am serving a life sentence. Shit! Can I go now?" (P6)

On close examination, it was evident that the participant did proceed beyond this stage because when the researcher asked him how he felt after the sexual assault, his response was, "I really felt disgusted. I felt dirty. It was wrong" (P6).

Ironically, P6 also showed the highest level of moral development described by Erikson's (1963) model, which is concerned with justice when he shows compassion for homeless children. He said, "When I started working, I said to myself that I would support young children who begged. I used to buy ten loaves of bread and give it to kids who were begging on the streets when I was driving around town" (P6).

### **5.7.2 Lived Other**

#### **a) Father**

Life changed drastically for P6 when his father died, when the participant was six years old. At his funeral, he felt that all the focus was on his mother and paternal grandmother. He felt that everyone disregarded his pain. He described his experience as follows:

What was sad was that all the focus was on my mother and paternal grandmother. I do not know why people thought that I did not need that much

support. Was it because I was a child, and they felt that I did not understand what was happening? I do not know (P6).

When the participant's father was alive he adored his father very much. He sees him as a loving, responsible parental figure who valued his family. He completed all the traditional rites necessary to demonstrate his love and respect for his child, as well as for the child's mother and her family. The mutual bond that existed between father and child was evident not only when P6 mentioned how he observed traditional rites, but also from his recollection of his early years at school, as indicated by the following statement:

When I was six, I started school. I remember that on my first day at school, my father took me to school. I felt loved by both my mother and my father. In the afternoon, my father came with my mother to fetch me. I was a happy child (P6).

The security of having a loving father that he enjoyed in his early years was short-lived. His words leave one in no doubt about the significance of that relationship. The following extract illustrate this point:

I was almost 7 years old, my birthday was on the 31<sup>st</sup> of March, and my father passed away on the 21<sup>st</sup> of March...because the death of my father marked the end of my happy life (P6).

#### **b) Mother**

When P6 lost his father through death, it was evident that he also lost his mother. This is evident in the following statement:

My mother was never at home. After my father's passing, she started dating some guy who lived in Alexandra township. That man was an alcoholic. He used to beat her, but I think she loved him because she was with him until she died (P6).

After his father's death, P6 would have needed his mother more than he did when his father was still alive. When he talked about his mother, it seemed to be a topic he would rather avoid, as is evident in the following response when he recounted how his

mother died. He changed the topic so abruptly that one could not miss it. This is evident in the following statement:

To be honest, I do not know, but I heard that that man told my mother's family that she had a severe headache before going to bed and died the following morning. I don't know. That is all that I know. Did I tell you that I was working in Johannesburg before I got arrested? (P6)

### **c) Paternal Side of the Family**

After P6's father passed away, his paternal aunts dispossessed them of his home. He mentioned, "My father's family told my mother that she was entitled to nothing because she was not married. They also told her that she must go back to her family" (P6).

When his mother passed away, his maternal uncles took him to his father's family in KZN, where he lived with his paternal aunts and grandmother. His aunts ill-treated him. The following extract supports this:

They did not like me. When I struggled to do something, they used to tell me that it is because I grew up *eskomplazi* [a derogatory name for a township]. I also loved playing football and sometimes arrived late from school. They used to shout at me and tell me that they did not expect much from the child of a whore anyway (P6).

However, he did get some relief when his aunts got married, he said, "I was very happy when they got married and left home. It was such a relief. I felt like I could breathe again" (P6).

The participant then remained with two other boys, distant relatives, and his paternal grandmother. When she died, the three boys, himself included, became destitute. His paternal side of the family were people who not only ill-treated him, but also left him to struggle on his own at the tender age of eleven years old. They did not want to adopt him when his grandmother passed away which meant that he had no adult to care about him or care for him, in his life. He described his experience as follows:

It was so hurtful to hear people saying that they could not afford to take us. Someone suggested that one of my paternal aunts should at least take me

because I was the youngest, and they both refused. I was the youngest because the other two were 14 and 12. The meeting ended in chaos. That night, I cried because I felt unwanted (P6).

#### **d) Maternal Side of the Family**

His mother's relatives simply abandoned him by leaving him with his paternal relatives and never tried to keep in contact with him in any way, as he related:

After my mother's funeral, my uncle took me to my father's family and left me there. That was the last time I ever saw my mother's family. You know what? It's okay, they hated me anyway and they ill-treated me. I can show you scars. My mother's youngest sister used to hit me with the heel of her shoe (P6).

#### **e) His teachers**

P6's teachers seem to have been a major protective factor in his life. When talking about his response to realising that his father was not well, he said, "I continued with school, and I had a lot of support from my teachers. They really believed in me" (P6).

#### **f) Friend Serving Four Life Sentences**

P6 is aware of his own lack of self-reliance. He is the only participant who not only blamed his behaviour on his friend, but also on alcohol. He says that had he not been drunk; he would not have listened to his friend, as elaborated further below:

My friend raped her first, and he told me to rape her as well. I was too drunk to think clearly, and unfortunately, I did... He is serving four life sentences for the rape of different women. I had never raped anyone in my life. It just means that that was his intention after all – why would you go into a house belonging to someone you do not even know to greet them? I fell for his trick; even in high school, he used to be like that. We got into trouble on many occasions because of him (P6).

### **5.7.3 Lived Time**

These overlapped with his lived body and lived other. The following responses from his interviews help illustrate this point.



**a) Before his Father's Death**

“I felt loved by both my mother and my father. I was a happy child” (P6).

**b) After his Father's Death**

The loss of love and care of his primary attachment figure, his father, marked the end of his happy life.

- “The death of my father marked the end of my happy life” (P6).
- “My mother was never at home. After my father's passing, she started dating some guy who lived in Alexandra township” (P6).
- “When I was 8 years old, my mother fell sick and passed away” (P6).

**c) After his Mother's Death**

- “After my mother's funeral, my maternal uncle took me to my father's family and left me there. That was the last time I ever saw my mother's family” (P6).
- “They [paternal aunts] used to say nasty things about my mother, and it was really hurtful” (P6).
- “I was very happy when they [paternal aunts] got married and left home. It was such a relief. I felt like I could breathe again” (P6).
- “In 2003, just before Christmas, my paternal grandmother passed away” (P6).

**d) After his Paternal Grandmother's Death**

- “Someone suggested that one of my paternal aunts should at least take me because I was the youngest, but they both refused. That night, I cried because I felt unwanted” (P6).
- “It was tough; we started stealing food from the neighbours' houses. Sometimes after school, we went to town to beg, some people gave us money or food, but some didn't. Instead, they insulted us and called us street kids” (P6).

- “I started drinking, and my cousins and me used to watch pornography” (P6).
- “At the end of the year, I failed Matric. I was very disappointed, but I deserved it” (P6).

**e) After he Failed Matric**

- “My first thought was to commit suicide, but my teachers told me to apply at FET college when I went to fetch my results. My teacher assisted me with the application process. I was admitted to study to become an electrician. I did well, and I got a job in Johannesburg immediately after completing my studies” (P6).

**f) The Day he and his Friend Raped an Elderly Woman**

- “My friend raped her first, and he told me to rape her as well. I was too drunk to think clearly, and unfortunately, I did” (P6).
- “I am here because of alcohol. If I was not drunk that day, I would have done things differently” (P6).

#### **5.7.4 Lived Space**

His lived space overlaps with the lived other.

**a) Hostile Environments**

- **Maternal Family Home**

“When my mother was not there, I used to get a lot of hiding from my (maternal) uncles and aunts. My grandmother also had her favourite kids, and I was not one of them” (P6).

- **His Paternal Family Home:**

From the time he arrived at this lived space, he felt rejected by his paternal aunts. They became hostile towards him, insulting him daily. His grandmother tried to protect him, but failed, “My paternal grandmother tried several times to intervene, but they ignored her and continued insulting me. She eventually gave up” (P6).

## b) Loving and Supportive Environments

### • His Parent's Home Before the Death of his Father

Before his father passed away, his home was a loving and supportive environment, as evidenced by the following statement:

When I was six years old, I started school. I remember that on my first day of school, my father took me to school. In the afternoon, my father came with my mother to fetch me. I felt loved by both my mother and my father. I was a happy child (P6).

### • His School

His school was a loving and supportive environment; a major protective factor in his life, as evidenced below:

The following day at school, I told my teacher that my father was sick. She told me that people do get sick sometimes but they usually get better after some time. For some reason, I remember that I was very worried about him (P6).

### • His KZN Community where he Raped the Elderly Woman

**P6:** During Easter and December vacation, I used to go to KZN. When I started working, I built a two-roomed house in my grandparents' plot to cater for times when I visited there ...You know, all the big events like weddings, *umemulo* [a coming-of-age ritual for young Zulu maidens] usually happen during school vacation. I enjoyed attending all those events, and it is an opportunity to meet people one may not have seen in a long time. At some of those events, I used to meet some of my primary and high school teachers. I was proud of my achievements after Matric.”

**Researcher:** It seems like you really enjoyed spending time in KZN.

**P6:** Very much so, but now it would be difficult for me to go back after what we did. Eish! [Pause] ... My community in KZN is very peaceful. People are close-knit and most of them get along very well.

### 5.7.5 Other

P6 mentioned that they used to be provided lunch in primary school, but not in high school. This was not unique to this participant only. One could argue that the education system failed him and his entire community because the objective of the National School Nutrition Programme is to provide one nutritious meal to learners in no-fee schools to improve their ability to learn. These are the most vulnerable learners in South Africa. P6 said, “We used to be served lunch at primary school, but at high school, we weren't. Eish, our government. They should have offered lunch for children like me - I mean orphans” (P6).

**Table 5.6: Summary of Lived Experience of Participant Six**

<b>Analytical Categories</b>	<b>Quotations of Significance</b>
<b>Lived body</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I was a happy child.</li> <li>• When they lowered the coffin, I cried, and my maternal grandmother put me on her lap and wiped my tears. When they started covering the grave with sand, I got terrified. I wanted them to stop because I was thinking – what if my father got up after we had left and wanted to come home?</li> <li>• Someone suggested that one of my paternal aunts should at least take me because I was the youngest, and they both refused ...That night, I cried because I felt unwanted.</li> <li>• I was very happy when they got married and left home. It was such a relief. I felt like I could breathe again.</li> <li>• I had a lot of support from my teachers. They really believed in me.</li> <li>• If I am sober, no matter how well things are going, there is always that voice that tells me that I am not good enough.</li> </ul> <p>enough. I guess that is why I spent a lot of my money buying expensive liquor for my friends and neighbours. I do not think that it came from a good heart, it was just to show off.</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Even buying an RDP [Reconstruction and Development Programme] house or government-sponsored house; why did I do that? I could afford to buy an ordinary self-funded house in the township. It was because <i>ngiyazinyeza</i> [I look down upon myself].</li> <li>• My friend raped her first, and he told me to rape her as well. I was too drunk to think clearly, and unfortunately, I did....</li> <li>• [after raping the elderly woman] I really felt disgusted. I felt dirty. It was wrong.</li> <li>• I should also have sought help for my drinking problem. When I am drunk, I become happy. I forget about all the painful things that ever happened to me.</li> <li>• I regret stopping him from killing her. Look at my life now; I am serving a life sentence. Shit! Can I go now?</li> </ul>
<b>Lived other</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• When I was six, I started school. I remember that on my first day at school, my father took me to school. I felt loved by both my mother and my father. In the afternoon, my father came with my mother to fetch me.</li> <li>• My mother was never at home. After my father's passing, she started dating some guy who lived in Alexandra township.</li> <li>• You know what? It's okay, they [mother's family] hated me anyway and they ill-treated me. I can show you scars. My mother's youngest sister used to hit me with the heel of her shoe.</li> <li>• My friend raped her first, and he told me to rape her as well. I was too drunk to think clearly, and unfortunately, I did.</li> </ul>
<b>Lived space</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• When my mother was not there, I used to get a lot of hiding from my [maternal] uncles and aunts.</li> <li>• My paternal grandmother tried several times to intervene, but they ignored her and continued insulting me. She eventually gave up</li> <li>• My community in KZN is very peaceful. People are close-knit and most of them get along very well.</li> </ul>

<p><b>Lived time</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I was almost 7, my birthday was on the 31<sup>st</sup> of March, and my father passed away on the 21<sup>st</sup> of March ... the death of my father marked the end of my happy life.</li> <li>• My mother was never at home. After my father's passing, she started dating some guy who lived in Alexandra township.</li> <li>• When I was 8, my mother fell sick and passed away.</li> <li>• After my mother's funeral, my maternal uncle took me to my father's family and left me there. That was the last time I ever saw my mother's family.</li> <li>• [After failing Matric] My first thought was to commit suicide.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Other</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• We used to be served lunch at primary school, but at high school, we weren't. Eish, our government. They should have offered lunch for children like me; I mean orphans.</li> </ul>

## 5.8 Lived Experience of Participant Seven

Participant 7 (P7) was an obscure figure who did not seem to have a clear sense of self. His prominent presentation was one of palpable sadness. Apart from his sadness and remorse, his likes and dislikes, experiences and personality outside of his crisis, were conspicuous by their absence. He seemed to have had a wildering and somewhat empty lived experience. It was unclear what he did when he was not at school, or how he related to his parents or sister.

### 5.8.1 Lived Body

The first theme that emerged during the interview was that of feeling out of control of his body. This was his all-consuming experience with epilepsy. The second theme was his guilt and remorse about having been the cause of the death of his entire family, his mother, father, and sister. The third theme, related to the first one, was his inability to connect to his own sex drive, understand it, and regulate it. The fourth theme was the identity of being a faith healer.

**a) Being Bewildered by the Experience of Suffering from Epilepsy**

P7 constantly referred to how he was always anxious at school because he never knew when the next seizure episode would happen. Not being able to control his body made him live with constant fear. He described his experience as follows:

I lived in fear at school because I never knew when I would have the next episode ... I was even scared to go to the bathroom before or after the break, thinking that I would have an episode alone and die (P7).

As a result of fear and anxiety, the participant struggled to concentrate in class, He said, "I repeated some Grades because I could not concentrate in class" (P7).

**b) Being Bewildered by his Own Experience of Raping a Woman**

P7 mentioned that after the rape incident, he felt disconnected from the experience and confused because that experience was unlike him. He further stated, "Even today, when I think about what happened, nothing makes sense" (P7).

**c) Expression of Needing Help with Control over his Body**

These two situations of being bewildered by his own body were further illustrated when the participant expressed the need for support in managing the onslaught of his own body. The thought of being alone and without assistance scared P7, because he could not control the seizure episodes. This meant that he needed continuous support with some of his day-to-day activities, such as using the bathroom, as evidenced by the following statement:

I was even scared to go to the toilet before or after the break, thinking that I would have an episode alone and die. I had those thoughts, particularly in primary school. The teachers really tried to support me. When I really needed to go to the bathroom, they would ask two boys to accompany me. That helped to calm my fears (P7).

P7 repetitively referred to the rape experience as one that was unlike him, one to which he could not relate. He explained his disconnection from his body in certain periods of his life when he had seizures which resulted in him being unable to control his body, as the same disconnection he felt when he raped the elderly woman. He alluded to

being “possessed by some evil spirit” on the day of the rape incident. The following quotation illustrates this point:

I then prayed for her, and while I was praying for her, my manhood just got stronger and stronger, and I tried to control myself, but I couldn't. Somehow, I was unable to continue praying [stopped involuntarily], and then I raped her. I do not know what happened on that day; I honestly do not know. I think some evil spirit possessed me because I had never done that before. (P7)

The participant also mentioned that this was something he had never done before and had never felt that way before, referring to a disconnect from himself and, as a result, failure to control his body, when performing rituals. He explained that, “Many young and old people, men and women, consulted me every day requiring cleansing, but I had never felt that way” (P7).

During the interview, he tried to find reasons for his body's reaction on that particular day and said that it could have been his extended stay without sex, “I do not know what happened on that day. Maybe it was because I had not had sex in a long time, I do not know. I had never felt that way” (P7).

He mentioned that on the day of the rape incident, he would have appreciated help from his victim to control his body. Thus, he reflected, “She did not fight back, and she did not say anything. Maybe had she fought back, that would have helped me to come back to my senses” (P7).

### **5.8.2 Lived Time**

The lived time overlaps with the lived other.

#### **a) Losing Sense of Self Over Time**

P7 spoke at length about feeling disconnected and disoriented on the day he raped his client (the elderly woman) during a consultation (cleansing ritual). He refers to being overcome by a foreign “evil spirit” during the cleansing ritual. He said, (as quoted above), “I do not know what happened on that day. I honestly do not know. I think some evil spirit possessed me because I had never done that before” (P7).



**b) An Experience of Youth That was Overwhelming and Curtailed too Soon**

P7's dream was to become a teacher. Instead of this dream being fulfilled, his life changed drastically from being a Grade 9 child to becoming a traditional healer of people who were, in some instances, older than him. It brought with it a heightened sense of responsibility for someone who had not had much life experience. Together with his parents, they had consulted many traditional healers, all of whom said the same thing, as evidenced below:

I went to different doctors and hospitals, but they could not find out the root course of the seizures. We also consulted many traditional healers, and they all said the same thing, "You have a calling to become a *sangoma*" (P7).

Despite his father's plea to appease his ancestors, his illness persisted, and his parents eventually decided to withdraw him from school and he never went back. This is evident in the following statement:

My father tried to appease my ancestors. He pleaded with them to at least allow me to finish Matric, but the seizures did not stop ... My father eventually decided to withdraw me from school. That was it, and I never went back to school again (P7).

**5.8.3 Lived Space**

**a) His Home**

P7 came from a well-respected home which, it would seem by his community standards, could be described as affluent. He said, "My father was doing well financially ... many people in the community respected him. We had a beautiful home, and he (his father) owned a car" (P7).

**b) The Community**

P7 mentioned that his community was characterised by violent political experiences and acts and this did not leave much room for compassion. Listening to how he described his community, one could safely assume that it was characterised by trauma, as elaborated further below:

My community was among the communities that struggled with widespread political violence in the '80s and the early '90s. The violence created divisions

within families and communities. Many people lost their lives, and that situation bred a lot of hatred, bitterness, and anger within communities. Friends, families, and neighbours turned against one another and became enemies if they were of different political persuasions (P7).

The participant's community did not show his family any mercy after hearing that he had raped his client, despite all the good work they had done and sacrifices made by his family, for that community:

My mother was a very kind woman. She used to help a lot of people in our community, especially women. You know that ambulances take time to arrive/respond when called, so people used to call my mother when they had a problem. But, on that day, they forgot about all of that. People are like that. They remember all your sins and forget about all the good things that you do for them (P7).

The participant's community burned his family home down after discovering that he had raped an elderly woman. His parents and his younger sister were killed in that incident. He said, "My sister was killed when the community burnt the family home down after discovering that I had raped an elderly woman. My parents were also killed in that incident" (P7).

### **c) The School**

He stated:

"The strange thing was that I only had seizures at school and never at home. That is why my family believed what the *sangomas* said that my ancestors wanted me to stop going to school and be a traditional healer" (P7).

## **5.8.4 Lived Other**

### **a) His Family**

P7 did not talk about his family members in terms of how they related to him. What he expressed was a sense of pride regarding his family of origin.

## b) His Father

The participant's father was the least-distant family member to him. The participant created the impression that his relationship with his father only emerged in later years and it was mainly business-like. Any sense of ongoing interaction with him when he was younger is absent. While one may argue that such interaction was appropriate in his culture, it did seem to be a bit too scant to characterise a man's interaction with his only son.

His father seemed to have been a capable and practical man. He cared for his son by taking him to various doctors before finally making the decision to withdraw him from school. He did so because he believed that the reason why he had epilepsy and had it only at school, was because his ancestors wanted him to be a traditional healer.

The father seems not only to have been practical and business like in his approach to his son, but he was also hands-on and supportive in how he led his son. When he decided to withdraw him from school, his attitude was one of encouragement. P7 described, "My father said that after going through training to become a traditional healer my ancestors would allow me to go back to school." Thus, the father's hands-on approach was evident when he furthermore said, "My father also helped me a lot to build my business and to save money to pay *lobola*."

The most significant aspect of his father's relationship with him was that it was not primarily based on personal interaction rather, it was based on his pride and admiration for his father. As he stated, "My father was also a well-known traditional healer in our community. He was a respected *sangoma*- a respected man in our community" (P7).

## c) His Mother

The interviewer asked him a direct question about his relationship with his mother.

**Researcher:** You have said a lot about your father and not much about your mother. How was your relationship with your mother?

**Participant No. 7:** My mother was a very kind woman. She used to help a lot of people in our community, especially women.

The response he gave to the researcher made no mention of his relationship with his mother, rather, he mentioned her relationship with members of the community. The only glimpse one got of the relationship was that his mother was very concerned about the fact that he had to discontinue his studies, but even with this concern, nothing seemed to be addressed to him directly.

#### **d) His Sister**

His relationship with his younger sister was also based on admiration rather than any personal interaction. He said, “My sister was in Grade 8, and she was doing very well at school. She used to tell me that she wanted to be a nurse.”

#### **e) The Teachers**

The participant also had no personal relationship with his teachers, beyond their protection of him from being mocked by other boys :

“Teachers used to punish them for mocking me when I had seizures, but they [the boys] would tease me when the teachers were not in class or during Teachers really tried to support me. When I really needed to go to the bathroom, they would ask two boys to accompany me. That helped to calm my fears” (P7).

However, over time, he started to notice his teacher's change of attitude towards him when they began to ask him about his parents' response to his condition. Commenting on the issue, he said, “Teachers were also getting tired of my constant sickness, and they often asked me why my parents sent me to school, knowing that I was not well” (P7).

#### **f) His Peers/Schoolmates**

P7's peers/schoolmates alienated him due to his condition. They did not understand his difficulties and seemed to find it hard to empathise and show him support. Instead, they felt scared and resorted to alienating and discriminating against him. Other learners mocked him and laughed at him, which affected his self-esteem:

On the other hand, I was relieved [when his father eventually decided to withdraw him from school] because I felt like I had become a laughingstock at school, and as a result, my self-esteem was very low. You know how children

are. Some laughed, but others felt sorry for me. Teachers used to punish them for mocking me when I had seizures, but they would tease me when the teachers were not in class or during breaks. That really hurt me. I was 17 years old, but I did not have a girlfriend. Having seizures really lowered my self-esteem and my confidence (P7).

Sometimes he felt humiliated and embarrassed by his peers. the following extract illustrates this point:

One day I had a running stomach, and the boys who accompanied me to the toilet kept shouting at me, telling me to hurry up. That made me very uncomfortable, and I was embarrassed. I then requested my teacher to call my father and ask him to come and fetch me. I think they feared being alone with me. My father came to fetch me, and I did not go to school for the whole week because I also felt drained (P7).

#### **g) His Romantic Relationships**

P7 mentioned two failed relationships prior to meeting the woman who became his fiancée. His encounter with these women does not seem to have been particularly close. He said that the reason why the first one did not work out, was that she thought highly of herself. One had the impression that she was looking down upon him. He described the second woman as being clingy. There seems to have been no meaningful connection in this relationship. He experienced her need for closeness as being disruptive to his work. The third relationship was with his fiancée. He said that she was a good woman.

However, he did not give an indication of the quality of that relationship. All that one was left with in seeking to understand the nature of his relationship with his partner, were hard facts about the relationship being a long-distance one. He did say how he felt about her but added nothing about her personality. He mentioned that, “I love my fiancée; I love her very much” (P7).

Ironically, he said more about the women whose relationships did not work out than about his fiancée. One gained a better sense of who they were as individuals than one did of his own fiancée.

### h) The Elderly Woman That He Raped

He mentioned that he wished that his rape victim could have done something to stop him because, he neither saw it coming nor had any control over his body. Regarding this, he reflected, “She [the elderly woman whom he raped] did not fight back, and she did not say anything. Maybe if she had fought back, that would have helped me come back to my senses” (P7).

**Table 5.7: Summary of Lived Experience of Participant Seven**

Analytical Categories	Quotations of Significance
<b>Lived body</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I lived in fear at school because I never knew when I would have the next episode .... I was even scared to go to the bathroom before or after the break, thinking that I would have an episode alone and die.</li> <li>• The seizures really messed up my whole schooling career. My teachers tried to help me, but Yo! Kids can be mean, especially at primary school. I ended up isolating myself.</li> <li>• On the other hand, I was relieved [when his father eventually decided to withdraw him from school] because I felt like I had become a laughingstock of the school, and as a result, my self-esteem was very low... I was 17 years old, but I did not have a girlfriend. Having seizures really lowered my self-esteem and my confidence.</li> <li>• I then prayed for her, and while I was praying for her, my manhood just got stronger and stronger, and I tried to control myself, but I couldn't. Somehow, I was unable to continue praying [stopped involuntarily], and then I raped her. I do not know what happened on that day; I honestly do not know. I think some evil spirit possessed me because I had never done that before.</li> </ul>
<b>Lived other</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• My sister was killed when the community burnt the family home down after discovering that I had raped an</li> </ul>

	<p>elderly woman. My parents were also killed in that incident.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• My mother was a very kind woman. She used to help a lot of people in our community, especially women.</li> <li>• Teachers really tried to support me. When I really needed to go to the bathroom, they would ask two boys to accompany me. That helped to calm my fears.</li> <li>• Teachers were also getting tired of my constant sickness, and they often asked me why my parents sent me to school, knowing that I was not well.</li> <li>• You know how children are. Some laughed, but others felt sorry for me. Teachers used to punish them for mocking me when I had seizures, but they [the children] would tease me when the teachers were not in class or during breaks. That really hurt me.</li> <li>• She [the elderly woman that he raped] did not fight back, and she did not say anything. Maybe if she had fought back, that would have helped me come back to my senses.</li> <li>• I love my fiancée; I love her very much.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Lived space</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• My father was doing well financially.... many people in the community respected him. We had a beautiful home, and he (his father) owned a car.</li> <li>• The strange thing was that I only had seizures at school and never at home. That is why my family believed what the <i>sangomas</i> said that my ancestors wanted me to stop going to school and be a traditional healer.</li> <li>• My community was among the communities that struggled with widespread political violence in the '80s and the early '90s. The violence created divisions within families and communities. Many people lost their lives, and that situation bred a lot of hatred, bitterness, and anger within communities. Friends, families, and neighbours turned against one another and became enemies if they were of different political persuasions.</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• My sister was killed when the community burnt the family home down after discovering that I had raped an elderly woman. My parents were also killed in that incident.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Lived time</b></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I went to different doctors and hospitals, but they could not find out the root course of the seizures. We also consulted many traditional healers, and they all said the same thing: "You have a calling to become a <i>sangoma</i>."</li> <li>• I do not know what happened on that day. I honestly do not know. I think some evil spirit possessed me because I had never done that before.</li> <li>• Even today, when I think about what happened, nothing makes sense.</li> </ul>

## 5.9 Lived Experience of Participant Eight

Participant 8 (P8) reflected on how his life changed after losing his parents. His mother passed away when he was eight years old, and his father passed away two years later. He then went and lived with his paternal uncle and aunt. He shared his journey of childhood trauma at his paternal uncle's home and its impact on him growing up. He admitted to his shortfalls and highlighted the circumstances that led to his decision to rape a disabled, elderly woman.

### 5.9.1 Lived Body

#### a) Being Overworked and Abused

P8 spoke at length about the ill-treatment he received from his paternal aunt when he moved to his paternal uncle's home after his parents died. He summed up his experience as follows:

I have never been to hell, but living in that house felt like living in hell. Day after day, I would go to bed crying because I was treated like a slave. If I made even the slightest of mistakes, I would be called names (P8).

After his paternal uncle returned to Johannesburg, he was alone with a hostile paternal aunt. The environment was repressive, and he felt trapped, as evidenced below:



When I got home from school, my aunt would shout at me. She would say that I was strolling on my way back home because I did not want to do house chores. She would deprive me of food and send me to fetch water from the communal tap. The communal tap was also quite far ... Sometimes I thought I should maybe just kill myself. I felt it strongly within me that I was tired of living that life (P8).

The participant elaborated on the mistreatment he continuously received from his paternal aunt and how he was 'othered' while his cousins received preferential treatment from their mother. He further had to ensure that his cousins were better treated at his expense. He reported:

I had to wake up early in the morning and make their [girl cousins'] school lunch, and if I did not make it the way they wanted it, I would get shouted at and insulted all over again (P8).

After school, he had to walk a long distance to fetch water. The picture painted below clearly shows day-to-day challenges he faced at a young age and how these impacted his school performance. He recalled:

I was really struggling at school because I was always tired. On other days when I was exhausted, I would sit at the side of the road, eat sugar cane, and not go to school. I failed Grade 8 (P8).

### **b) Deprivation**

P8 reported that he used to walk for approximately 15km in the morning and 15km in the afternoon, to and from school, whereas his cousins used private school transport to the same school:

I had to walk 30km to and from school every day. Her mother [paternal aunt] organised transport for her [cousin] to get to and from school because she was a girl and could not walk long distances. She also arranged transport for my younger cousin when she started high school. I started failing in high school because I was always tired (P8).

The participant was very clear and consistent about the abuse she [paternal aunt] put him through, her lack of empathy and about the care she showed towards the cousins over the years, as he described:

Even when we would have dinner, I would get the girls' leftovers from the day before, and the rest of the family would get food that was cooked on that day (P8).

The participant revealed that he was also running a chicken business for his aunt, but he was still deprived of the privileges that his girl cousins enjoyed, like getting pocket money to spend at school. He felt exploited by his aunt. This is evident in the following extract:

When I got to Grade 10, my aunt started selling chickens. I was running the business for her. Although I was working hard, I was not given pocket money to spend at school, unlike the girls, and I was too scared to ask for it. She did not even buy school shoes for me. I had to wear the old ones that were worn out. She would say that I wore out my shoes on purpose, not considering that I walked long distances every day... I felt exploited by her (P8).

The participant was also not allowed to visit his maternal relatives, which deprived him of support that could have been a protective factor in his life, considering how the maternal relatives supported him during the court case, later. He said:

One day she said that my mother's brothers failed to even assist with money for food, let alone buy me school shoes. This angered me because I was not even allowed to visit my mother's family (P8).

The participant was consistently turned down when it came to things that benefitted him, including extramural activities, study time, and work opportunities. He expressed intense emotion when he referred to how his girl cousins seemed to have preferential treatment while he “slogged” away. He was heavily emotionally impacted by being treated differently and having to endure the experience of feeling ‘othered’. The following extract illustrates this point:

Even when I wanted to attend school tournaments, my aunt would rarely let me go, but the girls went to every school tournament. This made me very angry. When my aunt would go to town, I would have to stay at home and look after her disabled sister. It would drive me crazy! Why couldn't one of the girls stay with her?

He further added that "My friends had temporary jobs; they worked in the city during weekends. I asked my aunt if I could also look for work, but she refused" (P8).

#### **a) Self-Esteem Issues**

The participant's home challenges significantly affected his schooling and directly impacted his self-esteem. This is evident in the following extract:

I failed Grade eight, and as a result, I was doing the same Grade as one of the girl cousins. I would be called stupid, idiot, dumb because I failed the Grade. That really killed my self-esteem and my self-confidence (P8).

#### **b) Yearning for Love (Affirmation and Nurturance) and Justice**

Any kind of support or recognition coming from his aunt and uncle would have helped. He yearned for it, but he was continuously deprived of it. He mentioned:

People I was living with, running their business, could not even buy me school shoes when I needed them. I did not get any benefit from what I was doing or get compliments (P8).

#### **c) Coping Strategy**

P8 had a difficult childhood. It seemed that he often felt overwhelmed by his situation and did not have any healthy coping strategies. He did not even reach out for help. When he was in Matric, he started using alcohol to numb the pain of despair, helplessness, and entrapment. He said, "I failed Grade ten because my friends and I were drinking and missed school a lot. When I drank alcohol, I forgot about all my problems" (P8).

#### **d) Depression and Suicide Ideation**

P8's issues persisted throughout his stay with his hostile aunt. The situation was so intense for him that he thought of committing suicide, as a way out of his distress. As

he mentioned, “Sometimes I thought I should maybe just kill myself. I was tired of everything” (P8).

After getting bail, he felt hopeless and helpless:

After getting bail, I bought rat poison and a small bottle of Tropica juice. I wanted to kill myself. At the time, I had two children, a son and a daughter. My daughter was three years old, and my son was only a year old. The thought of growing up fatherless crossed my mind, and I did not want that for my children (P8).

### **5.9.2 Lived Space**

The lived space overlaps with the lived other.

#### **a) His Parent's Home**

When P8 spoke about his parent's home, he painted a picture of a caring, present, and affectionate mother who took good care of her children, and a father who would do anything for their survival and success. The following extract illustrates this point:

My parents were very loving. My mother didn't work during weekends. She would do our laundry and prepare our school uniforms... Even though my parents were uneducated, they ensured that we had everything we needed for school and even paid our school fees in full at the beginning of the year... He (the father) would tell us that he wanted us to get an education because he never had the opportunity to do so. This is the reason why even in here [Correctional centre], I am still studying, I am redoing my Matric, and I am trying to figure out what to do after that. I wish to study further and get a university degree as this would make my parents proud, wherever they are (P8).

The importance of education was instilled in him from a young age by his parents. Despite the significant challenges at his paternal uncle's home, he held on to education as something important. Even after he got bail, he went back to school to write his Matric examinations.

#### **b) His Paternal Uncle's Home**

His paternal uncle's home was a lived space where there was no place in it for him to escape to, find peace, or to have his needs met. It was a lived space where he was

treated as the “other” child. It was a lived space in which he was overworked, belittled, and degraded. When referring to his paternal uncle's home, he said, “I have never been to hell, but living in that house felt like living in hell. Day after day, I would go to bed crying because I was treated like a slave” (P8).

### **5.9.3 Lived Time**

#### **a) The Period After his Parents’ Passing**

P8's mother passed away when he was eight years old, and his father passed away when he was ten years old. These unforeseen life changes were a massive destabilisation to his entire life. He was moved from his family home to his paternal uncle's home. As a child, he had to adhere to the relatives' proposed plan for his life without asking any questions. This is evident in the following extract:

When my father passed away, it was clear that we could no longer live at home because we were all very young. There was a meeting of both families, my mother's side and my father's side. There was an agreement that my sisters would go and live with my mother's side of the family, and I would live with my father's family. They said that because I am the only son, I have to go to my father's family to continue my father's legacy when I grow up (P8).

However, the time that he spent at his paternal uncle's home was characterised by trauma. P8 relayed events about his lived time and the traumatic experiences he went through during different periods of his life, while at his uncle's home:

“Day after day, I would go to bed crying because I was treated like a slave. If I made even the slightest of mistakes, I would be called names” (P8).

“When I helped the girls with their homework, the name-calling would start again if I did not know some of the answers, and I would be referred to as an idiot” (P8).

“I finished primary school and then proceeded to high school. The high school was far from home. I had to walk 30km to and from school every day” (P8).

### **b) The Time when he Planned his Revenge**

When he was in Grade 12, his aunt asked if he had ever sexually molested her disabled sister. He was angry at the question but later learned that his cousin (paternal aunt's son), who had visited, had sexually abused his paternal aunts' elderly sister, and ran away after the sexual assault. He reported that he also imagined doing what his cousin had done, in an attempt to get his revenge over his aunt:

After some time, I was in Grade 12. I started thinking that I had to also do something that would get me chased away because I was getting ill-treated even worse than before. I wanted my aunt to feel the pain... I thought if I did the same thing, she would feel the pain and chase me away because she was livid. I did not want to live there anymore (P8).

Here, one sees a young man who gets introduced to an idea that stayed with him and facilitated his plan to avenge himself. The participant added:

I could have just run away, but my aunt would not have felt any pain from me running away. She would have rejoiced. I wanted to do something that would hurt her because she loved her sister. I could not do this to her because my paternal uncle would have killed me (P8).

### **c) The Period When He Raped his Paternal Aunt's Elderly Disabled Sister**

Rooted in resentment, yearning for justice, and being consumed by anger, P8 could be seen as plotting his revenge over his aunt. He hoped that his paternal aunt would feel the pain he felt for many years due to her maltreatment. Using her aunt's loved one (her disabled sister) to inflict pain on her seemed to be the best option for him at that time. He elaborated on what happened on that day:

One day when she [paternal aunt] went to town with her daughter, and I was left alone with my aunt's sister - I raped her. That day I was furious because I was preparing for Matric trials. I was angered by my aunt's refusal to let me go and study with my friends for the upcoming tests. She told me to stay at home and look after her sister (P8).

#### **d) Time of Regret**

The participant related how he was immediately brought back to his senses after the rape act. He shared his regrets about what he had done and dreaded the thought of having ruined his future with one incident preceded by years of anger, abuse, and trauma. He related:

When I was done [with the act of rape], I realised that what I did was not right. My life was ruined. I did not even wait for them to come back; I ran away to stay with my maternal uncle - my mother's brother (P8).

#### **e) Time of Reflection in the Correctional Facility**

Upon reflection in the Correctional Centre, he regretted raping his paternal aunt's sister, which he realised he should not have done. He said:

I made a mistake. I took my stress out in an unacceptable manner, on the wrong person. It was a huge mistake ... Being abused did not mean I had to abuse other people and destroy their lives. The person that had wronged me was my aunt (P8).

### **5.9.4 Lived Other**

#### **a) The Paternal Aunt**

The participant's paternal aunt wielded a great deal of power against him. She was the lived other whose impact on him was one of trauma. This is how he described her, "That woman is the devil incarnate. I hate that woman. She abused me in inexplicable ways" (P8).

In his view, besides abusing him, she had also rendered him an orphan by organising people to kill his father. Speaking about the incident, he said:

Yes. It's my paternal aunts [my paternal uncles' wives] who killed my father. There were rumours going around in my family that my father killed my younger uncle by putting poison in his drink... It is also rumoured that my older uncle's wife was the one that went looking for the assassins. She believed that my father was evil and would keep on killing other family members (P8).

She even had power over his uncle as she was always able to get his uncle to punish him without first hearing his side of the story. The following quotation illustrates this point:

Even when his paternal uncle was around, they [paternal aunt and her daughters] would complain about me, and he would resort to slapping me without even hearing my side of the story. If a child is in the wrong, you talk to the child and figure out what is wrong, as a parent. He did not do that but hit me instead (P8).

The participant resented the fact that the act of vengeance (rape of her paternal aunt's sister) did not fulfill his desire to punish his aunt because that took his freedom away, yet again. He shared his plan for further revenge, saying, "When I get out of here, I want to pursue that issue [his father's murder] so that my aunt can also go to jail and feel what it is like to be incarcerated" (P8).

#### **b) The Paternal Uncle**

P8's paternal uncle did not play a very big part of his life. He worked far from home (Johannesburg) and only returned during Easter and Christmas holidays. He described this uncle as easily influenced by his wife and as someone who took no interest in listening to P8's side of the story whenever his aunt complained about him. Instead, he hit him without asking any questions. P8 remarked, "I do not hate my paternal uncle, but he is not a noble man; he just watched me get abused. He never protected me. He always took her side and hit me" (P8).

#### **c) Good Attachment Figures**

- **His Parents**

P8 experienced his parents as supportive and nurturing parental figures who valued education, as evidenced below:

My parents were very loving. My mother would get temporary jobs at the sugar cane farm. When she got paid, she would bring us goodies like KFC, and we would be happy. My father was a good man and did not want anything that was not right. He did not hit us but would sit us down and tell us what we did wrong.



Even though my parents were uneducated, they made sure that we had everything we needed for school (P8).

- **His Sisters**

After raping the elderly woman, P8 ran away from his paternal uncle's home and went to his maternal uncle's home, where his sisters lived. His sisters became a strong support system for him during that time; one of his sisters paid bail for him, and he was released. He said:

The Magistrate then asked what Grade I was doing. I said I was in Grade 12. He asked if I wanted bail, and I said "Yes". The Magistrate then asked why I wanted to get bail. I said that I wanted to write my Matric exams. The court granted me bail of R1000. Luckily, my sister had played Lotto and won about R2000, and she paid the R1000 bail from her winnings, and I was released (P8).

They also bought him a school uniform because his paternal aunt and uncle asked him to return everything they ever bought for him, including the school uniform, after the rape incident. He managed to go back to school to write his Matric exams:

They said I must return all the clothes that they had bought for me. It was a joke because they only bought school uniforms and Christmas clothes for me. They took away everything, including my school uniform. My sister then bought me new school uniform. I attended all my court proceedings while writing exams (P8).

He still experiences his sisters as loving and supportive. They are currently taking care of his children. He explained, "My sisters are the ones who are supporting my children because they are both working" (P8).

#### **d) The Mother of his Children**

The participant seemed to have empathy and compassion for the mother of his children. He mentioned that he loves her very much but is also aware that it is not easy to wait for someone who is serving a life sentence. The following extract illustrates this point:

My children are with their mother. I miss all of them. I love the mother of my children. I wanted to succeed in life one day, do all the right things, marry her, and raise our children... I love her, but I won't blame her if she decides to break up with me. She is also human and has her needs as a human being, and she won't keep waiting for someone in jail without moving on with her life. I told her that if she decides to move on with her life, she should leave my children with my sister (P8).

**e) The Woman he Raped (the paternal aunt's disabled sister)**

From the time he moved to his paternal uncle's home, P8 was put in the position of taking care of his aunt's disabled older sister. This caregiver role was imposed upon him, which fuelled his resentment towards his aunt even further. He stated, "When my aunt would go to town, I had to stay at home and look after her disabled sister. It would drive me crazy! Why couldn't one of the girls stay with her?" (P8)

**5.9.5 Other**

**a) The Education System**

P8 reported that he had to walk about 30km to and from school every day. As mentioned previously, the Department of Basic Education failed the impoverished learners because access to basic education requires learners to be able to access the school. Thus, access was impeded by not organising transport for learners to travel to and from school. The participant shared the following:

I finished primary school and then proceeded to high school. The high school was far from home. I had to walk for 30km to and from school every day. Other kids would be fetched by private school transport. Parents paid monthly for this transport, but other kids who were poor, like me, would walk. I started failing in high school because I was always tired... Most of them (learners who walked to school) decided to quit school before we even reached Matric and decided to go and work in Johannesburg instead (P8).

**b) Indoda Ayikhali (Real men don't cry)**

This negative stereotypical expectation of masculinity puts pressure on boys to prove their masculinity in all spaces in which they find themselves. It has a negative impact

on help-seeking behaviour and it promotes the bottling up of emotions, as P8 described:

You see, this notion of "boys don't cry", it oppresses a lot of men. Hiding your emotions kills you on the inside. What you bottle up will explode one day and create an even bigger mess (P8).

**Table 5.8: Summary of Lived Experience of Participant Eight**

<b>Analytical Categories</b>	<b>Quotations of Significance</b>
<b>Lived body</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Day after day, I would go to bed crying because I was treated like a slave.</li> <li>• Sometimes I thought I should maybe just kill myself. I felt it strongly within me that I was tired of living that life.</li> <li>• When I helped the girls with their homework, the name-calling would start again if I did not know some of the answers, and I would be referred to as an idiot ... [Pause] ... That used to hurt me so much.</li> <li>• Even when I wanted to attend school tournaments, my aunt would rarely let me go, but the girls went to every school tournament. This made me very angry. When my aunt would go to town, I would have to stay at home and look after her disabled sister. It would drive me crazy! Why couldn't one of the girls stay with her?</li> </ul>
<b>Lived other</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• That woman is the devil incarnate ... I hate that woman. She abused me in inexplicable ways.</li> <li>• She would deprive me of food and send me to fetch water from the communal tap.</li> <li>• My parents were very loving. Even though my parents were uneducated, they ensured that we had everything we needed for school and even paid our school fees in full at the beginning of the year.</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Even when he [paternal uncle] was around, they (paternal aunt and her daughters) would complain about me, and he would resort to slapping me without even hearing my side of the story.</li> <li>• Yes. It's my paternal aunts [my paternal uncles' wives] who killed my father. It is also rumoured that my older uncle's wife was the one that went looking for the assassins.</li> <li>• They [paternal uncle and aunt] said I must return all the clothes that they had bought for me. They took away everything, including my school uniform. My sisters then bought me a new school uniform.</li> </ul>
<b>Lived space</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I have never been to hell but living in that house felt like living in hell. Day after day, I would go to bed crying because I was treated like a slave.</li> <li>• Even when we would have dinner, I would get the girls' leftovers from the day before, and the rest of the family would get food that was cooked on that day.</li> </ul>
<b>Lived time</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• When my father passed away, it was clear that we could no longer live at home because we were all very young. There was a meeting of both families, my mother's side and my father's side. There was an agreement that my sisters would go and live with my mother's side of the family, and I would live with my father's family.</li> <li>• Day after day, I would go to bed crying because I was treated like a slave. If I made even the slightest of mistakes, I would be called names.</li> <li>• One day when she (paternal aunt) went to town with her daughter, and I was left alone with my aunt's sister - I raped her.</li> <li>• When I get out of here, I want to pursue that issue [his father's murder] so that my aunt can also go to jail and feel what it is like to be incarcerated.</li> </ul>
<b>Other</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I finished primary school and then proceeded to high school. The high school was far from home. I started failing in high school because I was always tired ... Most</li> </ul>

	<p>of them [learners who walked to school] decided to quit school before we even reached Matric and decided to go and work in Johannesburg instead.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• You see, this notion of "boys don't cry", it oppresses a lot of men. Hiding your emotions kills you on the inside. What you bottle up will explode one day and create an even bigger mess.</li></ul>
--	--

### 5.10 Lived Experience of Participant Nine

Participant Nine's (P9) father was from Mozambique, and his mother from KZN. He was born and raised on the North Coast of KZN. He reported that he has never been to Mozambique and that his first language was isiZulu. He appeared slightly emaciated and somewhat lethargic. His affect was flat, and he did not have any voice inflection, regardless of the content of his responses.

#### 5.10.1 Lived Body

##### a) Multiple Losses - Disrupted Attachments

P9 introduced his life history by telling the researcher about his loss of significant others at an early age. This point is further illustrated below:

"I do not know much about my father because he went back to Mozambique when I was four" (P9).

"When I was six, she [his mother] fell ill, and we went back to my maternal grandmother's home. My grandmother took care of her, but her [his mother's] condition deteriorated, and she died after a few months" (P9).

"When I was nine, my grandmother died. She slept, and she did not wake up in the morning. She died in her sleep. I tried to wake her up in the morning, but she did not respond. I was surprised when I woke up and realised that she was still sleeping because she was the one that always woke me up to prepare for school. I then called my uncles' wives, and they also tried to wake her up, but she was not responding. They then called the neighbours, and I heard the elderly woman who was granny's friend telling them that granny had passed

on. That was the saddest day of my life. I cried for days ... My grandmother was buried next to my mother just outside our yard” (P9).

After his grandmother's funeral, the participant went back to school. He reported that he never told anyone that he missed school because his grandmother had passed away. Participant 9 seemed to have had difficulty accepting that the loss had happened. Admitting it seemed to have been unbearable. This point is evident in the following extract:

I forgot to tell you that after my grandmother's funeral, I went back to school, but I did not tell anyone that I missed school because my grandmother had passed away. I just told my class teacher that I was sick, and she did not say anything. I just couldn't say that "my grandmother passed away". I just couldn't say it; I just couldn't. I still think about that a lot because that was the first serious lie that I ever told. [Lived time – time of grieving]. I still miss her; I miss her a lot. I miss her more than I miss my mother. After a few weeks, my uncles returned to Johannesburg, and I was left with their wives and children. I have no words to describe how they ill-treated me... [Long pause and a long sigh] (P9).

#### **b) Physical, Emotional, and Psychological Abuse**

After the death of his grandmother, P9 stayed with his maternal uncle's wives. Both his uncles were working in Johannesburg. Without his grandmother there, he had no one to care for him nor to protect him. He reported that he suffered various traumatic experiences under his maternal aunts' care. He had to sleep alone in his late grandmother's rondavel, which terrified him. The following extract illustrates this point:

I do not even know how to describe the way they ill-treated me. Before my uncles went back to Johannesburg, my one uncle told me to come and sleep with his sons. I was happy because I was terrified of sleeping alone. A few weeks after my uncle left, I wet the bed. Yo! My aunt was furious; she beat me and told me to go back to granny's rondavel. For about three months, I couldn't sleep properly. Each time I closed my eyes, I could see my grandmother lying there. It was terrifying being alone in that room... [Pause] (P9).

Furthermore, the participant was called derogatory terms, based on his mother's assumed sexual behaviours and his father's tribe, which left him hurt and confused as a child. He detailed his experience, as follows:

They [his maternal aunts] hated me. They used to call me *ingane yesifebe* [the child of a whore] or *ingane ye Shangane* [the child of a Shangaan; a xenophobic expression referring to his father's tribal affiliation/identity] ...They also told me that my mother was a whore, and that even when she was married to my father, she had Zulu boyfriends (P9).

The participant shared many experiences of being humiliated and 'othered' by his maternal uncles' wives (aunts), which affected his self-esteem and emotional development. There was no consideration for his emotions, even in the presence of his cousins. They treated him as someone who could contaminate them with AIDS. He reported :

They used to tell me that I would die of AIDS just like my mother. They said those things in front of their children. They eventually told me to use my own utensils because they said that I was going to infect them with HIV ...they used to hide food items like bread, sugar, and so on. Only their children had access to it. They used to tell me that I must tell my father to send money to support me because their husbands were sending money to support their children. I never understood why they said that because they knew that I had no contact with my father (P9).

The participant was heavily emotionally impacted by the constant abuse. This was aggravated by being treated differently, humiliated, and emotionally and physically hurt. He had to endure the experience of feeling 'othered' and that he did not belong. He said, "That killed me inside. I just wished I could strangle them."

### **c) Living in Fear**

Another feature of his lived body was living with the great mistrust and fear of being poisoned by his aunts. The participant said, "I was sometimes scared to eat their food, thinking that they would poison me." He further detailed that he was afraid of them

and, as a result, could not disclose his suffering to anyone. This was evident when he said:

“These things used to hurt me a lot, but I never told anyone... I was scared of the consequences. I suffered silently ... [Pause] Those women are devils. Sometimes I felt like they would not even hesitate to kill me” (P9).

His constant fear of his aunts became ingrained from a young age. As a result, he developed a fear of women in general. He said, “Even at school, I never had a girlfriend. I was scared of women” (P9).

#### **d) An Attempt to Create Agency in his Life**

He made wire cars and sold them to make pocket money, as shown in the following extract:

I only had one friend, my granny's friend's grandson. His mother also passed away. If his granny wanted to go to town, she used to ask my aunts [(his uncles' wives] if I could come and play with him until she got back from town. That is how we became friends. We used to build wire cars and sell them. We sold each car for about R10. That is how we made our pocket money. His grandmother also used to give us R20 each when she received her pension money. We used that money to buy more wire to make cars (P9).

#### **e) Craving Intimacy/Connection**

P9 did not just rape his victims. He kissed and touched them. He said, “I started kissing her and touching her, and I had sex with her” (P9). This could indicate the likelihood that the act was personal, meaningful, and intimate for him. He described himself as a “loner.” Therefore, intimacy/connection may have been what he craved, although he did not explicitly say it or express it. What he did express was, “I can describe myself as a loner. Even now, I enjoy my own company. I don't really mix with people.” (P9).

#### **f) Poor Problem-solving Skills**

Having grown up in a hostile environment, one could safely assume that his childhood was characterised by trauma. This would mean that his ability to self-regulate was severely compromised, not only because of his continual and varied experiences of



trauma, but also due to the lack of a significant caring figure after the age of 9 who could help him cultivate emotional awareness and adopt healthy coping skills. The inability to self-regulate meant that he was unable to effectively manage his thoughts, emotions, and behaviour to problem-solve or find appropriate means to problem-solve, as evidenced below:

My wife didn't like sex that much. She kept accusing me of being oversexed. I didn't know what to do because she said "No" most of the time. The first thing that came into my mind was to have a girlfriend, but then you know these young girls can embarrass you and start fighting with your wife. I then decided that I was going to ask for sexual favours from single elderly women (P9).

The participant ended up raping three elderly women. His beliefs about women, elderly and younger, were unfounded and led to his arrest. The following extract illustrate this point:

It is easy for younger women to go around talking to people about sex and so on. I did not know that even elderly people do report.... I never thought that those women would report me because they were all very old (P9).

When the researcher tried to probe about his reasoning that elderly women do not report rape, he responded, "I had never heard of that, never."

One finds this very interesting in terms of a possible reason he chose not to have an extramarital affair with women his own age but targeted elderly women. The only time he had trusted women was the elderly woman, his grandmother, and his grandmother's friend. His grandmother's friend used to give him food and money with which to buy wire for making toy cars. This must have meant a great deal to him, against the backdrop of cruelty and abuse from his aunts.

Is this gerontophilia, or is there another possible explanation for targeting elderly women and, in the process, kissing them and touching them?

### 5.10.2 Lived Other

- **Hostile Relationships**
- **His Maternal Aunts (Maternal Uncles' Wives) and Their Children**

His maternal aunts were hostile towards him, beating him regularly. He decided to run away from home. The participant shared the following:

What happened the night before I left was that my eldest uncle's wife lost money and she said that I had stolen it. They beat me so severely, and I cried so much that I eventually stopped crying, but they did not stop. They continued to hit me. I think they finally got tired of beating me, and I went to bed. My whole body was very sore. I never stole the money, I didn't. I left in the early hours of the morning the following day. I will never go back there. Never! (P9)

Even his cousins (aunt's children) ganged up against him and hit him. Their mothers colluded with them and hit him whenever he tried to defend himself. The participant shared the following:

Whenever there was a disagreement between one of my cousins and me, they ganged up against me and hit me. Their mothers never bothered to intervene, and I never hit them back because I tried once, and I am the one who ended up being beaten and strangled by my aunts to the point that I thought I was going to die (P9).

- **His Peers/Other Learners**

When the participant was in Grade eight (first year of high school), he ran away from home and dropped out of school. He reported that he was tired of the physical and emotional abuse that was happening both at school and home. The participant shared the following:

When I was in Grade eight, I ran away from home. I had some pocket money from selling the wire cars. I decided to go to the farm where my parents were working, to look for a job. I just couldn't take the physical and the emotional abuse anymore that was happening at home and at school. I was tired of everything... Because I took my father's surname, some learners used to bully

me and call me *ikwerekwere* [a derogatory name for African foreigners in South Africa] (P9).

- **Unhealthy Relationships**
- **His Roommates/Co-Workers at the Farm**

The participant reports that he was introduced to sex through watching pornography, by his roommates at the farm. He mentioned the words “a lot” signifying regular, consistent action. The participant shared the following:

The boys that I stayed with [at the farm] were very naughty. We used to watch pornography. Initially, I was uncomfortable with it because I was younger than them, but I eventually got used to the environment, and I found myself a girlfriend (P9).

- **His Mother**

He describes his mother as an emotionally-absent parent: He said:

“My mother never had time for me. After work, she spent all her time with friends, drinking alcohol. She had time for her friends and not me. My mother was strange” (P9).

- **Nurturing Relationships**
- **His Maternal Uncles**

He experienced short-lived nurturing when his uncles came home during Easter and Christmas holidays. This is evident in the following extract:

My uncles loved me. Whenever they came home for holidays, they would buy clothes for everyone, including me. The treatment was even better when they were there. I wouldn't even say better; it was good. My aunts and their children pretended that they loved me and that they cared about me (P9).

- **His Maternal Grandmother**

The care and love the participant received from his maternal grandmother was something that he recalled and embraced throughout his story. He felt loved and cared for by her:

“I stayed with my maternal grandmother. She took very good care of me. She loved me... She really loved me. She is the one person that ever loved me” (P9).

- **His Grandmother's Friend**

Participant 9 received love and care from his grandmother's friend after his grandmother passed on, as evidenced below:

His grandmother also used to give us R20 each when she received her pension money. We used that money to buy more wire to make cars. Sometimes his granny would invite me for lunch on weekends. My aunts used to get very angry. They used to say that my friend's granny was giving me food because I go around telling people that they do not give me food (P9).

- **The Induna (foreman) at the Farm**

The Induna embraced him when he arrived at the Farm where his parents were employees before they separated. Ironically it is the same Induna that had to report him to the farm owner, who called the police to arrest him after he was reported by the elderly women he had raped

When I got there, I introduced myself to the security guards at the gate. They then called *Induna* (Foreman). He was very happy to see me, and he took me to his home. They gave me food, and I was happy there. Within a few weeks, I was offered a job and a shared room (P9).

- **The Women he Raped**

The early experience with sexual visuals via pornography might have led to difficulty regulating his sexual behaviours. The women he raped seem to have been faceless. They were only a means to an end, the end being immediate gratification. He seemed to have resigned himself to obtaining sexual gratification through rape. This highlights a lack of boundaries and a lack of empathy for others towards fulfilling his needs. His account of his actions concerning raping three elderly women on the farm is detailed below:

The first woman that I raped was walking to her place. It was a Sunday. She was carrying a lot of stuff and I asked to help her. She agreed; when we got to

her place, I asked her if she wants to have sex. She just looked at me and did not respond. I think she was surprised that I had said that. I started kissing her and touching her, and I had sex with her. I left, and I went home (P9).

P9 did not seem to reflect on what he did. His lack of remorse for his actions and the impact on others did not show, as when he said, “After a month, I did the same thing with another woman. The second one, I also asked to assist her, and when we got inside her house, I started kissing her, and I had sex with her” (P9).

He went on to commit another crime by raping another elderly woman, using the same strategy as before. He explained, “The third one, it was after a month again, I also approached her with the same trick, and I also had sex with her. It was about six in the afternoon, but it was dark because it was raining” (P9).

### **5.10.3 Lived Space**

#### **a) Short-Lived Nurturing Home**

P9 received some love from his maternal grandmother after the death of his mother. This is evident in the following extract:

So, after the funeral, I stayed with my maternal grandmother. She took very good care of me. She loved me; I guess that is why my uncles' wives hated me because they felt that my grandmother spoiled me. You know that in rural areas, the whole family lives together (P9).

After the death of his grandmother, the participant received love and support from his grandmother's friend. This could have helped him form a link between kindness/goodness of old women. He reported:

Sometimes I thought that she somehow knew that things were not going well at home because whenever I walked past her house, she used to call me and give me food and told me not to tell anyone. I think she did not want to get into trouble (P9).

## **b) Tormenting Spaces**

### **• His Maternal Uncles' Home**

The participant had many experiences where he suffered abuse at his maternal family home. He said:

I have no words to describe how they ill-treated me in that home... [Long pause and a long sigh] ... I do not even know how to describe the way they ill-treated me (P9).

### **• The School**

The participant mentioned that he suffered at school due to bullying by his peers. This impacted on his self-concept and limited his social interactions, as shown in the following extract:

There was a lot of bullying, and teachers were not accessible. It is difficult at high school as a boy, to approach teachers and tell them that you are being bullied by other learners. During lunch breaks, I used to sit and do my schoolwork because I used to do chores until late at home. It was also a way of avoiding mixing with other children because I did not want to be bullied (P9).

### **• Correctional Centre**

Even at the Correctional Centre, he continued to be discriminated against because of his surname, as he mentioned:

Even here [in the correctional facility], some tease me and call me a *Shangaan* (to many South Africans, a *Shangaan* is considered to be a stupid person). Anyway, that is who I am (P9).

#### **5.10.4 Lived Time**

The period after his maternal grandmother's passing, his maternal aunts became hostile towards him. This period was characterised by severe ill-treatment. He was constantly insulted, degraded, and humiliated about his parents' sexual behaviours, as evident in the following extract:

My maternal uncles' wives told me that my mother was a whore. They also said that my father spent all his money with prostitutes instead of supporting me,

because he loved prostitutes. They did not know all of this, but they were just being horrible to me (P9).

#### **a) Disruption to Normal Development**

P9 struggled with abusive aunts and did not experience normal, consistent, and guided development. His social and emotional development was further disrupted by peers who bullied him and discriminated against him at school. He developed a habit of isolating himself from others due to fear of being bullied. As a result, he was deprived of healthy social interaction, which is essential for psychosocial well-being. The following extract illustrates this point:

During lunch breaks, I used to sit and do my schoolwork because I used to do chores until late at home. It was also a way of avoiding mixing with other children because I did not want to be bullied (P9).

The abuse eventually led to him running away from home and quitting school at the age of 15 years old. He relayed, “Anyway, I left home and school when I was in Grade 8. I was still a child” (P9).

He ran away from home when he was doing Grade 8 to work at the farm, which resulted in him having limited guidance, education, and personal orientation. He was introduced to sex through watching pornography with his roommates at the farm. He said, “The boys that I stayed with were very naughty. We used to watch a lot of pornography.”

#### **b) When he was Arrested**

P9 raped elderly women at the farm where he worked. He was 26 years old. The third woman he raped reported him to the Induna of the farm, and the Induna informed the farm owner, who then called the police. Speaking about the day of his arrest, he said:

The following morning- I remember it was a Sunday morning the Induna sent people to call me. The woman identified me. The Induna was very angry, and he phoned the farmer because the neighbours of that woman were all there. It was embarrassing. I nearly collapsed. It felt like I was dreaming. I never thought that elderly women would report me because they were all very old. The farmer called the police, and other farm workers wanted to beat me. The other two

women also told Induna that I also raped them, but they said it so that everyone could hear what they were saying. The farmer protected me and told people that he had called the police. I couldn't believe what was happening. My wife arrived, and Induna called her inside and told her what had transpired. She wailed. The police arrived, and that is how I got arrested [Long pause] (P9).

### 5.10.5 Other

#### a) Indoda Ayikhali (Real men Don't cry)

P9 held many beliefs about men and women. In particular, he held a belief that “men don't cry” which might have shaped his reasoning about not reaching out for help. He might have learned this on the occasions when he had been so badly beaten up at home and bullied at school, yet no one intervened. So, he learned that there was no point in crying or in crying out for help. He reported:

And this thing of *indoda ayikhali* [men don't cry] is not right. *Iyasicindezela thina madoda* [that is just oppressive to men]. Life became very difficult, both at home and at school and at home, things were just getting worse. I then decided to run away from home and go and look for a job (P9).

**Table 5.9: Summary of Lived Experience of Participant Nine**

Analytical Categories	Quotations of Significance
Lived body	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• When I was nine, my grandmother died .... That was the saddest day of my life. I cried for days .... My grandmother was buried next to my mother just outside our yard.</li> <li>• I forgot to tell you that after my grandmother's funeral, I went back to school, but I did not tell anyone that I missed school because my grandmother had passed away. I just told my class teacher that I was sick, and she did not say anything. I just couldn't say that "my grandmother passed away." I just couldn't say it; I just couldn't. I still think about that a lot because that was the first serious lie that I ever told. I still miss her; I miss her a lot. I miss her more than I miss my mother.</li> </ul>



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I do not even know how to describe the way they ill-treated me. Before my uncles went back to Johannesburg, my one uncle told me to come and sleep with his sons. I was happy because I was terrified of sleeping alone. A few weeks after my uncle left, I wet the bed. Yo! My aunt was furious; she beat me and told me to go back to granny's rondavel. For about three months, I couldn't sleep properly. Each time I closed my eyes, I could see my grandmother lying there. It was terrifying being alone in that room. [Pause]</li> <li>• That killed me inside. I just wished I could strangle them.</li> <li>• These things used to hurt me a lot, but I never told anyone..... I was scared of the consequences. I suffered silently... [Pause] Those women are devils. Sometimes I felt like they would not even hesitate to kill me.</li> </ul>
<b>Lived other</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What happened the night before I left was that my eldest uncle's wife lost money, and she said that I had stolen it. They beat me so severely, and I cried so much that I eventually stopped crying, but they did not stop. They continued to hit me. I think they finally got tired of beating me, and I went to bed. My whole body was very sore. I never stole the money, I didn't. I left in the early hours of the morning the following day. I will never go back there. Never!</li> <li>• Whenever there was a disagreement between one of my cousins and me, they ganged up against me and hit me. Their mothers never bothered to intervene, and I never hit them back because I tried once, and I am the one who ended up being beaten and strangled by my aunts to the point that I thought I was going to die.</li> <li>• My uncles loved me. Whenever they came home for holidays, they would buy clothes for everyone, including me. The treatment was even better when they were there. I wouldn't even say better; it was good. My aunts and their children pretended that they loved me and that they cared about me.</li> <li>• My wife didn't like sex that much. She kept accusing me of being oversexed. I didn't know what to do because she said "No" most of the time. The first thing that came into my mind was to have a girlfriend, but then you know these young girls can embarrass you and start fighting with your wife. I then</li> </ul>

	<p>decided that I was going to ask for sexual favours from single elderly women.</p>
<b>Lived space</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I have no words to describe how they ill-treated me in that home... Long pause and a long sigh] ... I do not even know how to describe the way they ill-treated me.</li> <li>• I was very quiet at school. Because I took my father's surname, some learners used to bully me and call me "<i>ikwerekwere</i>" [a derogatory name for African foreigners in South Africa].</li> <li>• There was a lot of bullying and teachers were not accessible. It is difficult at high school as a boy to approach teachers and tell them that you are being bullied by other learners.</li> </ul>
<b>Lived time</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• My maternal uncles' wives told me that my mother was a whore. ....They also said that my father spent all his money with prostitutes instead of supporting me because he loved prostitutes. They did not know all of this but they were just being horrible to me.</li> <li>• During lunch breaks, I used to sit and do my schoolwork because I used to do chores until late at home. It was also a way of avoiding mixing with other children because I did not want to be bullied.</li> <li>• Anyway, I left school when I was in Grade 8. I was still a child.</li> </ul>
<b>Other</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• And this thing of <i>indoda ayikhali</i> [men don't cry] is not right. <i>lyasicindezela thina madoda</i> [that is just oppressive to men]. Life became very difficult, both at home and at school and at home, things were just getting worse. I then decided to run away from home and go and look for a job.</li> </ul>

### 5.11 Lived Experience of Participant Ten

Participant Ten (P10) presented as a very angry young man. He spoke about the traumatic experiences he went through under the care of his stepmother and step grandmother, and later his stepfather, until he decided to leave his hostile home. He

described his lived body as an accumulation of trauma, anger, and resentment. His account described a young man who felt rejected, unloved, and constantly humiliated both at home and at school, by people who were supposed to love and nurture him. Throughout the interview, he portrayed his lived others, his caregivers, as individuals with whom he never formed a bond due to their mistreatment of him. His lived spaces, namely home, and school, were characterised by hostility.

### **5.11.1 Lived Body**

#### **a) Loss**

P10 began the interview by telling the researcher about the death of his parents and how he ended up living with his stepmother and step grandmother. The following extract illustrates

My parents got divorced when I was three years old, and my father got full custody. He moved with me to Northern Zululand but died when I was six years old. After the divorce, my dad moved in with his girlfriend and her family. I do not have any information about my mother, nor her whereabouts. I do not even know whether she is still alive or dead ... [Pause] (P10).

#### **b) Severe Abuse**

After his father's death, P10 seemed to have been severely abused by his stepmother and Th, which resulted in him feeling isolated, powerless, and helpless. The theme that seems to surpass all other themes in his lifeworld was one of having no one to defend him, after his father passed away. This is evident in the following extract:

My father died in December, and I started school in January. I was six years old, but I had to fetch water from the river to bath, and they (stepmother and stepmother and her mother) used to beat me, saying that I am slow with everything. I used to run out of the house, and that woman would chase me, hit me, swear at me, etc. That was my life; it was a tough life. No one ever defended me (P10).

Even when their neighbours physically abused him, no one would ever defend him. He expressed this as follows:

I remember that one day it was Christmas day, we left the cows grazing in our family's field... just a few metres from the fence ...while we were eating lunch,

some cows wandered into our neighbour's maize field and ate the maize that was ready to be reaped. I then went to check. I saw that some were eating the neighbour's maize, I screamed for help, thinking that the other boys (my stepmother's sons) would come and help, but they didn't. Instead, the neighbour came running carrying a *sjambok* [whip]. I ran back home and entered the gate, but I was young, and he was old; he caught up with me and beat me so severely that my body eventually felt numb. No one intervened ... none of them tried to stop him; instead, they all shouted at me...That night, I cried myself to sleep... I just wanted to die. I felt unwanted. That was just one out of a hundred incidents of abuse. It was just drama after drama, pain after pain, abuse after abuse. I was never happy (P10).

The participant further mentioned the unfair treatment he received from his school teacher, who put him through constant humiliation. He recalled how this teacher could not empathise with him but instead shamed him in front of everyone. He felt abused by an adult who was supposed to care for, love, and protect children. This is evident in the following quotation:

At school, there was another female teacher... I still hate her even today. One day it was raining, and it was very cold. I never really used to wear a jersey because my jersey was worn out, and it was small. I was in grade 10, and my stepmother last bought me a jersey when I started Grade 8. So, on that particular day, I wore that jersey, and she said. "Why are you wearing *ududuza izibindi* [an expression used as mockery which refers to wearing clothing which does not fit you anymore] on such a cold day?" Most of my classmates laughed, but a few didn't. I took my bag, and I left because I was crying. You know that as AmaZulu we say "men do not cry," but on that day, I cried. The following day, I was punished for leaving the classroom without the teacher's permission. What shit is that? Sorry (P10).

### **c) Anger and Resentment**

P10 expressed his lived body experience of being angry and resenting his caregivers. He painted a vivid picture of how much his family provoked anger in him as a young boy, and of how he wished he could retaliate, saying, "Instead, they [family] all shouted

at me I was very angry. If I had a gun, I would have killed all of them that night, but I was only a child. I was 10 years old” (P10).

The participant further stated that his stepmother and step grandmother never appreciated anything that he did, but that he was constantly criticised, which made him feel very angry. “It was a nightmare. What made me very angry was that they never appreciated anything that I did, and in their eyes, I did nothing right,” he said.

Participant 10 left home when he was 16 years old because of constant abuse. After living in the city for a while, he decided to visit his stepmother's family. He borrowed a car from a friend, bought expensive clothes, and then bought groceries for them. When he got there, only his step grandmother was at home. He mentioned that he was enraged when his step grandmother insulted him. He felt that he was being subjected to the same treatment he endured as a child. He reported the following:

I greeted her, and she started swearing at me, calling me names, and cursing me for leaving without thanking them for taking care of me. I kept quiet for about 20 minutes, but she just wouldn't stop. She told me that I must take all the food I had bought (for them) to my father's grave. I was overwhelmed with rage. I wanted to punch her or shoot her, but I just thought that that was not enough to show her that she was nothing and that she no longer had power over me. She was sitting on a chair. I closed the door, stuffed her *doek* (head scarf) into her mouth, shoved her to the floor, and raped her. I walked out and drove away (P10).

P10 did not plan to rape his step grandmother when he visited his stepmother's home. He mentioned that he wanted to prove his worth by showing off his success. Everything changed when his step grandmother insulted him, and he was consumed by rage so much that he acted on impulse. He further said that:

I did something that she never thought I would do. I have never been so angry in my life. I wished I had brought my friends because they would have raped her too so that she could feel the pain that I felt for many, many years. [Long pause]” (P10).

When the participant went to his stepmother's family, it was to show off his new life. He also wanted to show them that he had forgiven them. However, his step grandmother went on a tirade hurling insults and criticising him. He got very angry:

I was furious. You know when someone hurts you again and again and again, it is not nice. When I went home to visit, that should have been an opportunity for them to apologise for all that they did to me or rather to make peace. I didn't have to buy groceries to try and show them that I had forgiven them, but despite that, yo! she insulted me, said horrible, demeaning things, for what? (P10)

When the interviewer asked whether he had any thoughts of being arrested because of raping his step grandmother, he stated that he was so overcome by rage that he did not process the events until after that act. He responded, "No, I was too angry to think about that. I wasn't thinking about all those things. I drove back to my shack and regretted ever thinking about going home" (P10).

The participant described her step grandmother with a great deal of contempt and resentment. He further stated that he regretted not killing her after the rape incident. He saw killing her as an option that would have saved him from incarceration. He resented the fact that the act of vengeance did not fulfil his desire to punish his step grandmother, because that gave her the power to punish him, yet again. The following quotation illustrates this point:

She is an evil woman. I regret not killing that witch. That is why I am here; it is because I did not kill her. It feels like she has power over me all over again...Shit!!!! Sorry for swearing but you know what, I hate the fact that she was able to punish me all over again (P10).

The dialogue between the researcher and P10 revealed how deep-seated his resentment was towards the elderly woman:

**“Researcher:** If the opportunity presented itself, would you do it again?

**P10:** I am not a rapist. She was the first woman I raped, but if I could have an opportunity to go back there, yes, I would rape her and kill her.”

### 5.11.2 Lived Time

#### a) Loss of Parents and living with new Guardians

P10 faced significant difficulties from a young age, including experiencing his parent's divorce, moving with his father, and later losing his father through death, and being left with his stepmother and her mother (step grandmother). He said, "Like I told you the other day, my parents got divorced when I was three years old, and my father got custody. He moved with me to Northern Zululand but died when I was six" (P10).

#### b) Difficulty with Forming Attachments After the Death of his Father

P10 expressed how he could not find a meaningful title to call his father's wife after his death because of the way she ill-treated him, "After the divorce, my father moved in with his girlfriend and her family. I heard from that woman... I mean my father's woman or girlfriend or stepmother...I do not know what to call her" (P10).

The participant consistently relayed how he realised that his new guardians, his stepmother, and her mother, had ill intentions in their decision to take on the role of raising him after his father's death. He mentioned that these women sought his father's estate, and he proceeded to describe how he could not trust them nor form an attachment with them, as shown in the following extract:

The other thing that I remember is that after the funeral, there was a meeting with some people that came to attend the funeral; I think it was a meeting with my dad's family. There was a lot of noise ...but I do not know why my father's family was so angry. I later heard that woman's mother saying they wanted to take me because they wanted my father's pension money (P10).

Here again, he referred to his stepmother as 'that woman' and relayed the abuse he suffered under her care. This indicates a lack of secure attachment with his primary caregiver – his stepmother.

#### c) The Period After his Stepmother Married

When he was 13 years old, his stepmother got married, and the level of abuse intensified. He reported that his stepfather used to abuse him physically and emotionally, and his stepmother never defended him. He reported:

The worse was still to come. When I was about thirteen, my stepmother got married. Yo! That was a disaster. That man hated me. He turned me into a slave. He was forever shouting at me, and I became more restless than before. I was forever nervous because he screamed and complained about everything that I did. He used to beat me with a belt, for stupid things. Sometimes he used to punch me with his big fists. He was big and tall. No one ever said anything. Most of the time it was because of the things that that granny told him, like, I come back late from school - stupid things! (P10)

**d) Resorting to Anti-Social Behaviour to Take Care of Himself**

P10 spoke freely about how he resorted to anti-social behaviour to take care of himself. He told the interviewer about his survival strategies when he was living with his stepmother and her family. He shared the following:

Life was just tough; I had to learn to survive as a man. When I was about 12 years old, together with the guy that was also not her (stepmother) child, we started stealing maize from the neighbours' maize field when we were out looking after cattle. Sometimes, we stole chickens, and we used to braai the meat, eat it, and finish it... just the two of us. We stole chickens from the community but far from home in case, we got caught. We were scared that if they could see us, they would report us to our family, and we would get into trouble (P10).

**e) The Turning Point in his Life**

“Then I started Grade 10, and I asked for new school uniform, and they said that they did not have money. That granny told me to go to my father’s grave and ask my father for money– in a very sarcastic tone. That night, I cried for the whole night. Something in me changed- I realised that I could not continue living like that, but at the time, I did not have a plan” (P10).

Following the harsh comments made by his grandmother, P10 felt tired of feeling sad and constantly being humiliated and abused physically, emotionally and psychologically. He shared that he suddenly felt change within him. He described that he lost motivation for life, performed poorly at school, and started keeping bad



company. This continued until he decided to leave his home. Speaking about the day when he left home, he said:

One day I arrived home later than usual, and my grandmother wanted to beat me up, and I told her to stop. I told her that I was not a child. She tried, and I pushed her, and she screamed. My stepmother came running, and she slapped me across the face, and I also pushed her so hard that she fell. That was it. I packed my bag and left home. At that time, I did not know where I was going” (P10).

#### **f) Time of Independence**

P10 found himself in a new life position where he had to make his own decisions, find a place to stay, and a way to make a living. After leaving home, he experienced new hardships; as he described, “I lived on the street for about four weeks.” He added that he experienced inner peace, however. He eventually found a job as *uscabha* (minibus taxi conductor):

One day at the taxi rank, one *Baba* (an older man) asked me why I was there almost every day. I told him that I was looking for a job... He offered me a job as a minibus taxi conductor. He also provided me with accommodation for one month. I started work the following day, and I really enjoyed what I was doing.

He further reported that he made new friends who introduced him to pornography, alcohol, and crime. He further added that he feared rejection, so he agreed to most things that they encouraged him to try because he feared rejection. He reported:

I made friends - other taxi conductors. At the end of that month, I moved into a room [Laughs] at a nearby squatter camp. It was a tiny room - that is why I am laughing.....it was a real *mkhukhu* (shack) -do you know what that is? I lived there, made friends, wrong friends. I started drinking casually but it really felt awkward but I ...wanted to belong; I was terrified of rejection. I do not know why [Pause]. I also watched pornography for the first time in my life (P10).

### **g) Submerging into Crime and Identity Change**

He also related how he got involved in crime. He said:

I always wondered where they went. I was naïve; I was a farm boy. One day I asked them, and they asked me if I wanted to come with them. I said yes. Little did I know that my friends were hijacking cars in town and nearby suburbs! They stole the vehicles and sold them to the guys in the township who owned scrapyards. That was the beginning of many incidents of hijacking and stealing. I will never forget that first day. Sometimes in the vehicles, we would find laptops, cell phones, and suchlike and we sold most of the stuff at a nearby township (P10).

Because of the new life he had chosen, he had to hide his true identity. “No one knew my real name nor my surname, except my very close friends. As a man, I had to protect myself. Even my girlfriend didn't know my true identity. I used a false name and surname” (P10).

### **h) Desensitisation**

His criminal activity eventually became so entrenched that he stopped feeling guilty. He saw the criminal activities as an opportunity to build his future. This is evident in the following extract:

People have insurance; if I steal a car from you, your insurance will replace it. When my friends told me this, I stopped feeling guilty. I thought, oh, okay, why not use the opportunity to make money and prepare for my future? (P10)

## **5.11.3 Lived Other**

### **a) His Step-parents and Step Grandmother**

P 10 hardly had any sense of belonging at his stepmother's home. He reported that he was abused by his stepmother, his stepmother's husband and his step grandmother in inexplicable ways. He, however, noted that his step grandmother was the cause of most of the abuse, as evident below:

They are all evil, but she (step grandmother) is the worst. She influenced my step parents a lot. She was a bad influence. Most of the beatings that I got were because of her. When I went there, I expected my stepfather to be there, and I thought that if he ever said anything negative, I was going to beat him to a pulp.

I hate all of them, including their children. I wish I could wake up in the morning and hear that they all died. I hate them, all of them (P10).

### **b) His Criminal Friends**

The participant seemed to have experienced a sense of belonging with his criminal friends. Like P1, he also seemed to have been so captivated by his group identity that his thoughts featured less than what was going on in the group. His involvement in criminal activity was accelerated, not because of his thinking as an individual; instead, it was a process that involved him and his friends' thinking as a group entity. He said, "At that time, I also owned a gun. My friends gave it to me, and they taught me how to use it" (P10).

### **c) The "Other boy"**

However, the participant built a good bond with the other boy, who also lived at his stepmother's home, and shared good memories with him. According to his account, it seemed that the "other boy" may have been his only positive relationship, growing up, almost like having a brother. Knowing that he was not the only outcast and that he identified with someone - gave him a chance to grow emotionally, share and find some happiness amid traumas. He, however, repeatedly called him "the other boy," during both interviews, which could indicate his struggles with attachment

### **d) The Female Teacher**

Participant 10 experienced abuse both at home and at school, as evident below:

"At school, there was another female teacher I still hate even today. She hated me and ill-treated me. She used to tease me, and other children laughed at me because of what she used to say...teasing me about my clothes, my poor performance, etc. She never bothered even once to ask me what my problem was. She did not even know that I used to walk for 10km in the morning and another 10km back home. I was always tired. On top of that, I was never given breakfast at home" (P10).

#### 5.11.4 Lived Space

##### a) Hostile Environments

- **His Stepmother's Home and the School**

P10 experienced his home and school as hostile environments. He was continuously humiliated and physically abused both at home and school by his caregivers. As a result, he had difficulty forming healthy relationships with the caregivers in these lived spaces. Furthermore, the ill-treatment made him feel unwanted. The participant shared the following:

Sometimes they would dish *phuthu* (cooked maize meal) and pour chicken broth over it and leave the food uncovered, and the ants would get into our food.... we ate it like that; we couldn't complain because that would give them a reason to attack us.... I mean, we once complained, and they beat us so badly that both my eyes were swollen. I couldn't go to school for the whole week. When I went back to school, I was given a suspension letter, and I had to come back with a parent. I gave my stepmother the suspension letter, but she did not even bother to go to school. That witch, her mother, told her that she must not go to school because she would be wasting her time. After all, I would never finish school because I was stupid. Even when I tried to study, they told me that I was wasting their candles. After a week, I went back to school and told them that my mother could not come to school because she had a small baby. I lied because I did not know what to say. I was given corporal punishment .... like ten strokes... for being absent from school for such a long time. My bum was so sore that it was difficult to sit on the school bench. When I got home, I told them about what happened at school, and the grandmother said, "Good for you. Had I been there, I would have told them to give you 20 lashes (P10).

##### b) The Squatter Camp

After leaving home, the participant went and lived in a shack in a squatter camp. The shack was his own private space in an otherwise chaotic setting. The squatter camp was the lived space, lived time, and lived body of what he referred to as, "worst decisions". This is where he made decisions that changed the direction his life was to take from that point on. As he reflected, "I should never have joined that group of friends that hijacked cars. It was the worst decision ever. After all the

stealing and hijackings, my morals were switched off. I was a different person” (P10).

The participant said he felt safe living in a squatter camp, “Living in a squatter camp was safer because it was difficult to find someone there. There are no addresses in a squatter camp, so it’s really tough to find someone” (P10).

### 5.11.5 Other

#### a) The Education System

P10 reported that he had to walk for a long distance to access a secondary school. It was corroborated by two of the previous participants that walking long distances to school impacted on their education and the level of their absenteeism. The lack of accessible secondary schools seems to be a risk factor because high levels of absenteeism would lead to impaired education, which in turn leads to a lower probability of employment. He reported:

At about age 14 years, I started high school. Most parents in the community gave their children money for transport, but we (remember the other guy that I told you about) had to walk for about 20km to and from school every day (about 10km to school and 10km back). That was really challenging (P10).

**Table 5.10: Summary of Lived Experience of Participant Ten**

Analytical Categories	Quotations of Significance
Lived body	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I was a very angry child, and I used to fight a lot... I was very angry. If I had a gun, I would have killed all of them ... but I was only a child.</li> <li>• I ran back home and entered the gate, but I was young, and he was old; he caught up with me and beat me so severely that my body eventually felt numb... That night, I cried myself to sleep... I just wanted to die. I felt unwanted.</li> <li>• If I steal a car from you, your insurance will replace it. When my friends told me this, I stopped feeling guilty. I</li> </ul>

	<p>thought, oh, okay, why not use the opportunity to make money and prepare for my future.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>I should never have joined that group of friends that hijacked cars. It was the worst decision ever. After all the stealing and hijackings, my morals were switched off. I was a different person.</li> </ul>
<b>Lived other</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>He (stepmother's husband) used to beat me with a belt for stupid things. Sometimes he used to punch me with his big fists. He was big and tall. No one ever said anything. Most of the time it was because of the things that that granny told him, like, I come back late from school I- stupid things!</li> <li>No one intervened ...none of them tried to stop him; instead, they all shouted at me.</li> </ul>
<b>Lived space</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sometimes they would dish <i>phuthu</i> and pour chicken broth over it and leave the food uncovered, and the ants would get into our food .... we ate it like that; we couldn't complain because that would give them a reason to attack us. I mean, we once complained, and they beat us so badly that both my eyes were swollen. I couldn't go to school for the whole week.</li> <li>When I went back to school, I was given a suspension letter, and I had to come back with a parent. I gave my stepmother the suspension letter, but she did not even bother to go to school. That witch, her mother told her that she must not go to school because she would be wasting her time. After all, I would never finish school because I was stupid. Even when I tried to study, they told me that I was wasting their candles. I was given corporal punishment... like ten lashes.... for being absent from school for such a long time. My bum was so sore that it was difficult to sit on the school bench.</li> </ul>
<b>Lived time</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Then I started Grade 10, and I asked for new school uniform, and they said that they did not have money. That granny told me to go to my father's grave and ask my father for money – in a very sarcastic tone. That night, I cried for the whole night. Something in me</li> </ul>

	<p>changed - I realised that I could not continue living like that, but at the time, I did not have a plan.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>At the end of that month, I moved into a room... [Laughs]...at a nearby squatter camp. It was a tiny room -that is why I am laughing.....it was a real <i>mkhukhu</i> (shack)-do you know what that is? I lived there, made friends, wrong friends. I started drinking casually ...but it really felt awkward .....but I wanted to belong; I was terrified of rejection. I do not know why.... [Pause].</li> </ul>
<b>Other</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>At about age 14, I started high school. Most parents in the community gave their children money for transport, but we (remember the other guy that I told you about) had to walk for about 20km to and from school every day [about 10km to school and 10km back]. That was really challenging.</li> </ul>

**Table 5.11: Cross-Case Analysis: Lived Existentials**

<b>Lifeworld existential</b>	<b>P 1</b>	<b>P 2</b>	<b>P 3</b>	<b>P 4</b>	<b>P 5</b>	<b>P 6</b>	<b>P 7</b>	<b>P 8</b>	<b>P 9</b>	<b>P 10</b>
<b>Lived body (corporeality)</b>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
<b>Lived other (relationality)</b>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
<b>Lived space (spatiality)</b>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
<b>Lived time (temporality)</b>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
<b>Other</b>	X		X	X	X	X		X	X	X

### **5.12 Cross-Case Analysis: Themes**

Van Manen (2015, p.31) states: "A phenomenological description is always one interpretation, and no single interpretation of human experience will ever exhaust the possibility of yet another complementary, or even potentially richer or deeper description". Thus, "it would be simplistic to think of themes as conceptual formulations or categorical statements. After all, it is lived experience that we are attempting to describe, and lived experience cannot be captured in conceptual abstractions" (van Manen, 2015, p. 79). Understanding and formulating the thematic meaning of lived experiences is a process based on an act of 'seeing' the meaning through phenomenological, reduction, epoche, and reflective practice. In short, a theme has phenomenological power when it allows for the development of a genuinely phenomenological description of the lived experiences (van Manen, 2015/2016).

As already mentioned in the methodology chapter, imaginative variation was used to determine the essential themes around which the experiences of young men who have raped elderly women in KZN would be woven. In a cross-case analysis of all ten participants, the following themes emerged: (1) multiple losses that disrupt secure attachment; (2) abuse by family members after the death of a parental figure; (3) abject food insecurity, leading to theft and other criminal activities; (4) polygamy, resulting in conflict and fear of witchcraft; (5) anger and displaced aggression; (6) gradual desensitisation; (7) gerontophilia; and (8) use of shame to disempower and manipulate victims.



**Table 5.12: Cross-Case Analysis: Themes**

<b>Themes Emerging from Cross-Case Analysis</b>	<b>P 1</b>	<b>P 2</b>	<b>P 3</b>	<b>P 4</b>	<b>P 5</b>	<b>P 6</b>	<b>P 7</b>	<b>P 8</b>	<b>P 9</b>	<b>P 10</b>
Multiple losses that disrupt secure attachment	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X
Abuse by family members after the death of a parental figure	X			X		X		X	X	X
Abject food insecurity after the death of a parental figure or benevolent custodians	X		X		X	X		X	X	X
Polygamy which results in conflict and fear of witchcraft		X		X						
Desensitisation which initially shows a level of a conscience	X			X	X					X
Gerontophilia which is sexual attraction to eroticism and sexual gratification only with the elderly		X							X	
To make the victim feel powerless and hopeless as part of a strategy to rob them of their possessions	X		X		X					

### 5.13 Conclusion

This chapter presented the lived experiences of each participant of the study using van Manen’s four lifeworld existentials. Van Manen’s lifeworld existential, that is, lived body (corporeality), lived space (spatiality), lived time (temporality) and lived other (relationality) allows the researcher to enter into a hermeneutic circle when interpreting lived experiences of young men who have raped elderly women. As the researcher moves from one lifeworld existential to another, a fuller picture of participants’ lived experiences begins to emerge. The lifeworld existentials are interdependent, rather

than sequential. For example, the way respondents speak about their lived space (spatiality), like the home, is impacted/influenced by the fact that that space is shared with others (relationality).

The space experience of the home may turn out to have been experienced as either supportive or neglectful. It is therefore impossible to understand one lifeworld existential without considering the others. Relationships with others are themselves rooted in socio-cultural institutions and beliefs, such as family values and beliefs, which prescribe ways of relating to others, given one's position in that space. The circular nature of this process means that interview parts cannot be understood independently of the narrative. The lived experiences of each participant were presented in the sequence in which the participants were interviewed. In presenting the chapter, the within-case analysis of each participant interview was provided, as well as tables of the quotations of significance indicating a clear representation of the text obtained. The within-case analysis was then followed by the cross-case analysis to identify the common themes that emerged. Imaginative variation was used to decide on the essential themes. During this process, the researcher also reviewed her reflexive journal and her notes and continued with reflexive journaling, as this was essential to avoid compromising the participants' voices. The next chapter discusses the eight essential themes that emerged from the cross-case analysis.

## CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

### 6.1 Introduction

Rape has an enduring impact on the lives and health of the victims, their families and communities (Bows & Westmarland, 2017; Payne & DeMichele, 2011). Despite the fact that sexual violence affects victims regardless of age, race, and physical appearance, literature on sexual assault has remained predominantly focused on young female victims of sexual violence (Fileborn, 2017; Lea et al., 2011; Nóbrega Pinto et al., 2014; Payne, 2010). In contrast, literature rarely reports rape perpetrated against elderly women (Bows, 2017; Fileborn, 2017; Murphy & Winder, 2016), although recent media reports on such sexual assaults have been increasing in South Africa (Meels, 2017).

Jones and Powell (2006, p. 212) noted, "The age of the victim should not reduce societal response to the problem". The invisibility of elderly women as victims of sexual abuse in research and in clinical practice in South Africa needs urgent redress. Therefore, research on the lived experiences of the men who perpetrate this crime against elderly women is needed to inform a deeper understanding of the phenomenon, as well as to influence early prevention programmes, since the literature indicates that most rapists start raping at an early age (Jewkes, 2012; Jewkes et al., 2010; Wielstein, 2010).

The purpose of this study was to bring to light the lived experiences of young IsiZulu-speaking South African men who have raped elderly women in the KwaZulu-Natal Province. To this end, the study has attempted to unveil the world as experienced by these young perpetrators, through an interpretation of their lifeworld stories. This included exploring and understanding the life experiences the study participants faced and how they interpreted their personal and social worlds. The underlying premise for asking the participants to voice their lived experiences was to ensure that knowledge gained from these experiences can be utilised to construct better prevention and rehabilitation programmes that could mitigate the negative effects of their lived worlds.

This research was guided by van Manen's (1997) hermeneutic phenomenology (van Manen, 1997/2016). Specifically, van Manen's (1997/2016) lifeworld existentials were used to fully illuminate the lived experiences of the young perpetrators of the rape of

elderly women. As mentioned previously, the four lifeworld existentials are; lived body (corporeality), lived space (spatiality), lived time (temporality), and lived other/lived human relations (relationality or communality). Although each of these four lifeworld existentials offered a different focus, they are not separable; they are interwoven, interacting with one another in the exploration of the human lifeworld. Van Manen (1997/2016) contends that the lived experiences of all human beings can be understood as corresponding to these four lifeworld existentials, regardless of cultural, historical, or social situatedness.

This qualitative interpretive study was informed by social constructivist principles. The researcher used purposive sampling to recruit 10 young IsiZulu-speaking Black South African men, aged between 18 and 30 years, who have been incarcerated for raping elderly women in KZN. This age group was chosen based on international research on the rape of elderly women, which indicates that most offenders incarcerated for raping elderly women fall within this age range (Adedayo & Aborisade, 2020; Browne et al., 2018; Bows, 2017; Bows & Westmarland, 2017; Groth & Birnbaum, 2013; Lea et al., 2011; Nóbrega Pinto et al., 2014; Murphy & Winder, 2016).

The researcher used semi-structured interviews to collect data from the research participants. In addition, data were also collected using observation, field notes, and reflective journaling. According to van Manen (1997/2016), hermeneutic phenomenology is not a method of research but rather, it is both a theoretical perspective and a methodology, strategy, or plan embedded in the methods employed in a particular study. Therefore, van Manen's lifeworld existentials were used as a thematic method of analysis to gain a deeper understanding of the participants' lived experiences.

The key themes that emerged are: (1) multiple losses that disrupt secure attachment; (2) abuse by family members after the death of a parental figure; (3) abject food insecurity, leading to theft and other criminal activities; (4) polygamy, resulting in conflict and fear of witchcraft; (5) anger and displaced aggression; (6) gradual desensitisation; (7) gerontophilia; and (8) use of shame to disempower and manipulate victims.

The eight essential themes enabled the researcher to gain deeper insights into the participants' lived experiences. The discussion which follows is structured along the eight essential themes that emerged from the lived experiences. The lived experiences were analysed using van Manen (1997/2016) four lifeworld existentials.

The discussion is guided by the following research questions:

### **Primary Research Question**

What are the lived experiences of young men who rape elderly women?

### **Secondary Question**

How did these young men come to be the way they are?

- What personal factors seem to contribute to the rape of elderly women by young men?
- What contextual factors seem to contribute to the rape of elderly women by young men?

## **6.2. Primary Research Question: What are the Lived Experiences of Young men who Rape Elderly Women?**

### **6.2.1 Multiple Losses that Disrupt Secure Attachment**

The findings of this study indicate that young men who have raped elderly women have experienced multiple losses of primary caregivers during their childhood, disrupting secure attachment. Therefore, one can assume that the participants of this study were insecurely attached. Literature indicates that the experiences of attachment during childhood influence all later relationships in some way and can account for difficulties in psychological and relational functioning in adulthood (Venta et al., 2014).

While participants in this study experienced multiple losses at a young age, those in a study conducted by Murphy and Winder (2016) in the United Kingdom, experienced multiple losses of significant others in early adulthood. Whether the experiences of multiple losses manifest in childhood or early adulthood, the effects or outcomes seem

to be the same. Therefore, multiple losses could be considered a potential predisposing or precipitating factor for this type of sexual offending, as each loss exacerbates the impact of insecure attachment relationships.

The findings of this study also indicate that because of complicated grief, the participants' ability to self-regulate was severely compromised. The absence of self-regulation meant that they were unable to effectively manage their thoughts, emotions, and behaviours. Some researchers have concluded that children who experience multiple losses experience developmental disadvantages and may suffer several self-regulatory deficits. For instance, they may lack the skills necessary to respond to dysregulation in an adaptive way, or they may develop maladaptive coping strategies such as sexually abusive behaviour, or other impulsive and potentially harmful behaviours, as they attempt to regulate their cognitions, emotions, behaviours, and interpersonal relationships (Briggs-Gowan et al., 2019; Grady et al., 2017; Sitney & Kaufman, 2020; Stinson & Becker, 2012).

Multiple losses often result in multiple caregivers. Most participants in this study described their caregivers (after the death of their biological parents) as abusive, hostile, aggressive, distant, uncaring, unsympathetic, rejecting, and emotionally detached. The negative experiences with their caregivers appear to have handicapped their attachment relationships. For example, P8 described his lived other, his aunt who was his primary caregiver after the death of his parents, as follows: "That woman is the devil incarnate. I hate that woman. She abused me in inexplicable ways" (P8).

This statement by P8 corroborates findings by Bowlby (1994), who noted that youth who experienced problems with the justice system and reported negative experiences in their relations with their caregivers, were insecurely attached, likely to display poor social skills, and had difficulty with self-regulation (Bowlby, 1944). It is noteworthy that Bowlby (1994) was the first researcher to link insecure attachment to youth delinquency.

Furthermore, recent research indicates that insecurely attached individuals demonstrate aggressive behaviours later in life, including sexual aggression (Beech & Mitchell, 2005; Miner et al., 2014). This sexually aggressive behaviour stems from their inability to self-regulate, which is a manifestation of an insecure attachment style. Self-regulation is a process through which individuals manage their thoughts, emotions,

and behaviours. The lack of self-regulation seems to be at the core of this type of sexual offending behaviour. For example, P9 seemed to lack the ability to self-regulate and ended up raping three elderly women. He said:

My wife didn't like sex that much. She kept accusing me of being oversexed. I didn't know what to do because she refused having sex most of the time. The first thing that came into my mind was to have a girlfriend, but then you know these young girls can embarrass you and start fighting with your wife. I then decided to ask for sexual favours from single elderly women (P9).

Another example involves P7 also seemed to lack the ability to self-regulate on the day of the rape incident. He said:

I then prayed for her, and while I was praying for her, my manhood just got stronger and stronger. I tried to control myself, but I couldn't. Somehow, I was unable to continue praying [stopped involuntarily], and then I raped her (P7).

This finding supports those of Fraley and Shaver (2000), Goodall (2015), Karreman and Vingerhoets (2012), Malik et al. (2015), Mikulincer and Shaver (2007), and Schore (2003), who also noted that most sexual offenders struggle to self-regulate because of insecure attachments.

Hofer (1996, p. 581) advises clinicians who work with individuals experiencing complicated grief to "look carefully for exactly what was lost when a loved one dies". Based on the findings of this research, what was lost when the participants lost their primary caregivers, was a critical system of physiological and behavioural regulation that could have served as a protective factor against their sexually aggressive behaviour.

### **6.2.2 Abuse by Family Members After the Death of a Parental Figure**

The findings of this study further indicate that participants experienced severe physical, verbal, emotional, and psychological abuse at the hands of extended family members, particularly after the death of their parents and or grandparents. For example, P9 reported that:

What happened the night before I left was that my eldest uncle's wife lost money, and she said that I had stolen it. They beat me so severely, and I cried so much. that I eventually, I stopped crying, but they did not stop beating me up. They continued hitting me. I think they finally got tired of beating me, and I went to bed. My whole body was very sore. I did not steal the money; I didn't steal it (P9).

The abuse endured by the participants was mainly perpetrated by female extended-family members who were their primary caregivers. This finding supports the existing literature, specifically studies conducted by Jeary (2005), Leibowitz et al. (2010), and Murphy and Winder (2016), which indicated that the sexual offenders found guilty of raping elderly women reported being abused as children mostly by female caregivers. This abuse perpetrated by caregivers or family members caused trauma, which is referred to as *relational trauma* (Allen, 2005). Relational trauma is chronic and is perpetrated within close attachment relationships (usually by a caregiver of a child) where there is an imbalance of power and a dysfunctional relationship (Allen, 2005). This could explain why women are a target, but this premise does not explain why the young men target the elderly women in particular.

Participants in this study mentioned that they never reported their abuse to anyone because they feared causing family tension and dispute. For example, P8 reported that he did not inform his paternal uncle about the abuse. He said, "I would not dare to cause any conflict in other people's homes."

They eventually ran away from their homes. In the traditional Zulu culture, orphans are raised by grandparents and extended family members, without any legal arrangement being involved. This is referred to as *kinship care* (Rashe, 2006). It seems inconceivable that family members could ill-treat one of their own to the level reported by the participants in this study. In the Zulu culture, one's father's brothers are one's fathers as well, and their wives are one's mothers (*ubaba omncane* or *ubaba omkhulu/omdala* or *umamncane* or *mamdala*), and one's mother's sisters are one's mothers as well (*umamncane* or *mamkhulu*). Some participants hailed from polygamous families (see theme 6.2.4 below). Polygamy is a common practice in KwaZulu-Natal Province. In a polygamous family, all your father's wives are your mothers, and their children are your sisters and brothers. Zulus are very communal;



therefore, blood ties and lineage are perceived as significant, as they are believed to be linked to rituals and ceremonies of the clan name (Gerrand & Nathane-Taulela, 2015). This explains why they try to keep orphans within the family community. There is no explanation for this deviation from the Zulu culture by the caregivers; this could be a topic for future research.

Most participants in this study were related to adult males in their host families, and these men were migrant workers who only came home twice a year (during Easter and Christmas holidays). Therefore, their physically present primary caregivers were females (aunts and co-wives). P9, for example, reported that:

Both of my uncles were working in Johannesburg, and they only came home during Easter and Christmas vacations. After a few weeks, my uncles went back to Johannesburg, and I was left with their wives and their children... I have no words to describe how they ill-treated me. [Long pause and a long sigh]" (P9).

Research indicates that compared to the general population, sexual offenders reported higher rates of childhood physical abuse, verbal abuse, sexual abuse, and emotional neglect (Drury et al., 2017; Levenson et al., 2016). Child maltreatment is 'soul murder' (Laub & Auerhahn, 1989). It is relational trauma that has the potential to fundamentally affect the nature of the affected person's future relationships, including the relationship with oneself. As mentioned previously, relational trauma is chronic and is perpetrated within close attachment relationships (usually between a child and a caregiver), especially where there is an imbalance of power and a dysfunctional relationship (Allen, 2005). Growing up in hostile environments, where the caregivers were the source of extreme stress, seems to have resulted in participants in this study experiencing chronic states of anger and resentment. P4 reported that:

They [his co-mothers] would beat me up as if I were a criminal they found stealing in their home. No one ever came to my rescue or even told them to stop beating me. I reached a point where I was so angry that I hated all of them because of the constant beatings. I did not even want to see them. Every night I went to bed crying (P4).

It is this anger and resentment that seems to have been projected onto innocent victims.

Human beings associate a home with safety. A home should be a secure place from which children explore the world. It should be a haven for children to return to when the world's stressors become too unbearable to be withstood and handled. With relational trauma, the child's core sense of safety, which is crucial for all aspects of development, is violated (Hughes, Golding, & Hudson, 2019). For example, when P10 was attacked by the neighbour because the cows belonging to his family had eaten the neighbour's maize crop, he ran back home, but the family did not protect him. The neighbour hit him in front of his caregivers. He reported that:

I ran back home and entered the gate, but I was young, and he was old. He caught up with me and beat me so severely that I eventually felt numb. No one intervened; none of them tried to stop him. Instead, they all shouted at me. I was very angry. If I had a gun, I would have killed all of them that night, but I was only a child aged 10 years old. That night, I cried myself to sleep. In fact, that night, I just wanted to die. I felt unwanted (P10).

Bowlby (1973, p. 204) noted that "an unwanted child is likely to not only feel unwanted by his parents (caregivers) but also believes that he is essentially unwanted by anyone." Thus, the child is likely to project hatred toward others and fail to establish empathetic and healthy relationships with others (Ogilvie et al., 2014). Empathy is the core element of all relationships (Kimmes et al., 2014). Empathy connects individuals to one another. Chronic child maltreatment disrupts the development of this connection and thus hindering the development of an understanding of the self with regard to interaction and relationships with others (Herman, 1999). However, the participants in this study seemed to have empathy for their children and the mothers of their children, but not for the elderly women they raped. This finding was in line with a study conducted by Marshall and Marshall (2019), whose findings indicated that the lack of empathy was not apparent towards all people, but only towards their victims.

Furthermore, some research studies indicate that children who have experienced relational trauma are at risk of failing to develop complex cognitive, emotional,

psychological, and sometimes biological skills central to dealing with developmental challenges (Hughes et al., 2019). Most of the participants in this study left school at an early age, and most of them reported struggling academically. They also struggled to find jobs and ended up pushing trolleys in supermarkets, being car guards, mixing cement for builders, etcetera. This concurs with the findings established by Brozowski and Hall (2010), Cannell et al. (2014), and Soares et al. (2010), who also noted low levels of employment and educational attainment amongst such offenders. Struggling to master developmental challenges can lead to emotional and behavioural difficulties, which in turn may result in poor academic performance (Verboom et al., 2014), struggles with interpersonal relationships (Fergusson et al., 2005), and lifelong career challenges (Scott et al., 2001). Literature also indicated that lower levels of income and education were also associated with higher levels of sexual violence among men (Bows, 2017; Brozowski & Hall, 2010; Cannell et al., 2014; Soares et al., 2010).

The tragedy of child maltreatment is the intergenerational transmission of trauma. Child maltreatment could result in intergenerational childhood maltreatment (Wang, 2022). Thus, when survivors of childhood maltreatment become parents, they are likely to pass down their difficulties with self-regulation to their children, through emotion-regulation socialisation, which in turn compromises their child's developmental outcomes (Rutherford et al., 2015). Furthermore, children living with parents who have a history of childhood maltreatment are more likely to display emotional and behavioural problems, suggesting the intergenerational impact of childhood maltreatment (Pereira et al., 2018; Min et al., 2013).

Furthermore, the Attachment Theory posits that parents who experienced childhood maltreatment are likely to build insecure attachment relationships with their children (Cicchetti et al., 2006; Grady et al., 2017; Perry, 2008; Riggs, 2010; Schuengel et al., 1999)

### **6.2.3 Abject Food Insecurity, Leading to Theft and Other Forms of Criminal Activities**

The study findings highlighted that the participants experienced abject food insecurity or poverty after the death of their parents or grandparents. This led the participants to alleviate hunger or poverty through theft and other forms of criminal activity. Some of them went to the extent of breaking into people's houses to satisfy their physical

needs. Poverty was a pervasive theme across most of the participants' narratives. However, it was noted that many of the participants did not have a collective familial experience of poverty, but instead, had an othered, individualised experience thereof. This was reflected in their narratives where they described instances of the other children in the family receiving benefits such as food, transportation money, and tuckshop (in South Africa, tuckshop is a small retail shop located within the grounds of a school) money while they were left to struggle without these benefits. Research indicates that child attachment is developed in response to parental or caregiver behaviours; therefore, such problematic parenting or care-giving is likely to be a potential barrier to secure attachment for these children who eventually become sexual offenders (Grady et al., 2017).

Research further indicates that children who face adversities tend to gravitate towards seeking a sense of belonging from peers who are in similar situations because of acceptance, non-judgemental attitudes, and shared values (Choon et al., 2013). As seen in most of the participants' narratives, their needs led to petty theft, which in turn led to more serious offences over time. At school, they joined groups of peers who were stealing money from classmates, schoolmates, and teachers to buy at the school's tuck shop.

Perez et al. (2018) noted that chronic delinquency is often accompanied by other serious disruptions in an individual's life, such as gang activity. After running away from their homes, some participants joined peers in the community engaging in criminal activities, like stealing clothes on washing lines, then graduating to stealing clothes from clothing stores, and eventually hijacking cars and selling them for parts, breaking into homes, and mugging people in public places. The above-mentioned findings concur with those of Beauregard et al. (2018); Bows and Westmarland (2017), Lea et al. (2011), Murphy and Winder (2016), Nóbrega Pinto et al. (2014), and Ramsey-Klawnsnik et al. (2008), which indicated that offenders who assault elderly women have a significantly higher risk of exhibiting a history of theft and house break-ins, compared to those who sexually assault younger women.

Some participants reported that they were sometimes shamed by their teachers at school (particularly female teachers) and sometimes by their peers, because of their

poverty. This made their childhood more difficult. For example, P10 mentioned that because he wore an old jersey that did not fit him anymore, the female teacher asked:

Why are you wearing *ududuza izibindi* [an expression used as mockery which refers to wearing clothing which does not fit you anymore] on such a cold day? Most of my classmates laughed, but a few didn't. I took my bag, and I left, crying. You know that as AmaZulu we say "men do not cry" but on that day, I cried. The following day, I was punished for leaving the classroom without the teacher's permission (P10).

In the example above, P10 was traumatised and humiliated three times for being poor: 1. He received humiliating comments from the teacher, 2. Classmates laughed at him as a result of the humiliating comment from the teacher, 3. He was punished the next day for leaving the classroom without permission. This series of humiliating and traumatic incidents could have contributed to feelings of anger (towards women) and feelings of being rejected and unwanted.

Hanson and Morton-Bourgon (2019) explained that children who experience social rejection are characterised by developmental disadvantages and may suffer several self-regulatory deficits. They may lack the skills that are necessary to respond to dysregulation in an adaptive way, or they may develop maladaptive coping strategies, such as sexually abusive behaviour, or other impulsive and potentially harmful behaviours, to regulate their cognitions, emotions, and behaviours (Stinson & Becker, 2012; Stinson et al., 2008; Stinson et al., 2022).

Most participants dropped out of school at a young age because of poverty, abuse, and sometimes bullying. Dropping out of school coincided with leaving home at a young age, which put most of them in a vulnerable position as there was no longer a routine to their day; there was less adult supervision, and they could be easily influenced by their friends, who may have also dropped out of school or were not working to misbehave (Shong et al., 2018). As previously mentioned, there is a likelihood that they would have gravitated towards individuals who had similar value systems and possibly similar experiences.

Dropping out of school would also mean that their opportunities to earn a living wage were limited and placed them in a financially vulnerable position, which in turn may

have necessitated the commission of petty crime. However, as previously noted, their crimes became increasingly more serious over time, possibly and partly due to desensitisation to criminal actions, and possibly they were emboldened due to a lack of adverse consequences to their behaviour, which exacerbated their propensity to crime.

#### **g) 6.2.4 Polygamy, Resulting in Conflict and Fear of Witchcraft**

Polygamy is culturally and socially accepted in KZN and is prevalent (Mabaso et al., 2018). This study highlighted that participants from polygamous families lived in fear of being poisoned by their co-mothers because they were heirs-apparent in their families. P2 was the eldest son in a family of four wives and 16 children. By virtue of being the eldest son, he was the heir-apparent in his family. The other participant (P4), who hailed from a polygamous family, was the only son in a family of four wives and 16 daughters. Therefore, one could assume that they were the object of envy and jealousy. In the Zulu culture, the husband would take a second wife if the first wife was barren or unable to give him a son; therefore, giving birth to a male child is an honour and enhances the woman's value in the eyes of her husband, her in-laws, and the community. Nyathikazi (2013) mentioned that multiple wives in polygamous families increase the chances of the sought-after male offspring, who are usually heirs to their fathers. The participants further mentioned that because of jealousy, backbiting, and unresolved conflict, members of the polygamous family practiced witchcraft. These participants lived in fear throughout their childhood, believing that their co-mothers would poison them. As P2 relayed:

In polygamous families, you have to watch your back all the time. There is just no trust in such families. I lived in fear, thinking that I could be poisoned at any time because I am my family's heir (P2).

P4, also an heir and the only son, reported that:

At home [my father's home], traditional healers and *sangomas* used to come at night - for what? I do not know. No one ever told me anything except when my father was there. They [co-mothers] would be inside their houses with their children and not call me. No one ever told me what the problem was. Then I

thought to myself; there was a problem. What if I were the problem? I decided that as soon as I have money, I would consult with a traditional healer, and I would not tell anyone (P4).

This othering led to the participant developing feelings of loneliness, insecurity, and mistrust.

P4's mother died when he was four years old. He was the only son in his family. By virtue of being the only son, he was the heir apparent in his family. Therefore one could assume that he was the object of envy and jealousy. He reported that because of envy and jealousy, he was verbally, physically, emotionally, and psychologically abused by his co-mothers after his mother's death. In polygamous Zulu families, the care of children is vested in several caregivers, particularly the co-wives (Nyathikazi, 2013). One would assume that in the event of the death of one of the wives, the presence of multiple caregivers (co-mothers) would offer care and consistency, and thus secure attachment, which augurs well for the child's or children's emotional and psychological development (Killian, 2004). Mkhize (2015) noted that the presence of multiple caregivers in a polygamous African home might help generate warmth and affection and improve the general mental health of children in that family. On the contrary, Shaiful et al. (2021, p. 8) conducted a systematic review of the impact of polygamy on children and concluded that "polygamy should be recognised as a particular risk factor for developing social problems in children"; this seems to be the case in this study.

Participants attributed the conflict to the fact that in Zulu polygamous families, the lived space is congested because all wives and their children live on the same homestead. P2 said:

In rural areas in KwaZulu-Natal, polygamous families live together in one big homestead, the way it is with former President Zuma and all his wives and children. They all live together in different houses within the same homestead (P2).

As a result of this congestion, there was recurring conflict that remained unresolved. Regarding the impact of polygamy, a participant had this to say:

As children, we used to fight a lot when we were growing up. They [adults] would just come and hit those fighting without bothering to get to the bottom of the conflict (P2).

The participant further explained that, even if the wives had a problem with one another, his father would say, “you must not get involved in women's issues, just leave them, they will sort themselves out” (P2).

Literature suggests that polygamous families have specific household problems, usually emanating from jealousy between co-wives over the husband's affection and resources, thus predisposing the wives and their children to mental health challenges (Shaiful et al., 2021).

In a traditional Zulu household, the father is the head of the family and has absolute authority over his wife or wives and children. The father sets family rules and disciplines whoever disobeys them (Mncwango & Luvuno, 2015). It is therefore expected that the father would manage conflict in his family. However, according to P2, who was not just a son in the family but also an heir after the death of his father when he was 18 years old, he felt burdened by the responsibility of dealing with conflict in his family without conflict-resolution skills as he never learned conflict management skills from the adult male figures in his lived space, especially his father. Some researchers have suggested that inept parents tend to raise socially-incompetent children. Hudson and Ward (2000), for instance, viewed deficits in social competence as being central to offending.

Researchers such as Stinson et al. (2022) concluded that how others in an individual's immediate environment respond to signs of distress or dysregulation shapes that individual's ability to self-regulate appropriately and effectively. Unhealthy experiences (abuse, neglect, isolation, and failure to meet others' expectations) with adults and peers in the individual's environment (such as home, schools, or community) not only exacerbate dysregulation but also compromise the development of adequate coping skills to self-regulate. Individuals experiencing such developmental disadvantages may exhibit several self-regulatory deficits. For example, P4 reported that:

When I look at a woman, I would look at her bums and boobs and feel like having sex with her. I do not know how to explain how I felt. Even with my



father's wives, I would look at their boobs and be overwhelmed by lust. They were my father's wives; I don't know what had gone wrong with me. At least I was at home, and my wife was there. I would go to my wife and satisfy my lust. I don't know what had gone wrong with me (P4).

Specifically, individuals may lack the critical regulatory skills to respond effectively to dysregulation. They may also develop maladaptive strategies, such as sexually abusive behaviour, or other impulsive and potentially harmful behaviours, making it difficult for them to regulate their emotions, behaviours, cognitions, and interpersonal interactions (Stinson & Becker, 2012; Stinson et al., 2008).

### **6.2.5 Anger and Displaced Aggression**

Research indicates that when a victim of sexual assault is older, the assault is likely to be particularly brutal (Ball & Fowler, 2008; Browne et al., 2018; Burgess et al., 2007; Chopin & Beauregard, 2021; Nóbrega Pinto et al., 2014; Patel, 2021). Offenders also tend to use weapons such as knives, walking sticks, hammers, guns, and ropes to strangle victims and are more likely to kill or mutilate their victims compared to a situation when the victim is younger (Ball & Fowler 2008; Beauregard et al., 2020; Burgess, 2007; Groth & Birnbaum, 2013; Jordan et al., 2010). In this study, only one participant (P5), admitted to having raped and killed an elderly woman. However, two other participants indicated that they regretted not killing the elderly women they raped. The gruesome way in which P5 killed the elderly woman reveals the extent of his anger and resentment seemingly at his mother. During the interview, he referred to his mother as a dirty woman. He said, "You see, some parents are dirty; she [his mother] would say nothing. She would take the money [stolen money] and buy whatever she needed and not ask questions" (P5).

Participant 10 did not kill his victim, but the physical force used, as he described it was far beyond what was necessary to force his victim to comply with his sexual demands. The focus of these participants seemed to be directing their feelings of rage onto their victims. This finding concurred with the psychodynamic explanation of anger rape given by researchers such as Ball (2005), Burgess et al. (2007), Groth (1978), Groth and Birnbaum (2013), and Lanyon (1991), who contended that this type of rape is not primarily a sexual act, but that it occurs within a sexual context in which feelings of power, anger, and control are exerted onto the victim.

Participants whose victims were not strangers to them described their victims with a great deal of contempt and resentment; for example, P10 said:

I wanted to punch her or shoot her, but I just thought that that was not enough to show her that she was nothing and that she no longer had power over me. She was sitting on a chair. I closed the door, stuffed her *doek* (head scarf) into her mouth, and shoved her to the floor, and I raped her. I walked out and drove away. I have never been so angry in my life (P10).

This participant raped the elderly woman who was one of his caregivers during childhood (his step-grandmother). All the participants who were overwhelmed by anger seemed to be preoccupied with revenge, power, and control. The results of this study supported the research findings by Jeary's (2005), Groth (1978), and Cartwright and Moore (1989), who also indicated that revenge, power, and control were recurring themes in their research on offenders who had raped elderly women. The researchers explain that the main source of the desire for revenge stemmed from a history of physical, emotional, or psychological abuse experienced during childhood, at the hands of female adults who had some form of caring responsibility towards them (the perpetrators). This speaks to the perceived abuse and neglect reported by most participants in this study.

Most of the participants of this study, raped strangers. When one examines the probable reasons why they targeted strangers, that is, elderly women with whom they had no prior relationship, they seem to indicate that they were based on projection. Participants sought revenge because of the treatment they received from other female figures, like their caregivers and teachers. Raping, torturing, and/or killing the elderly women was a fitting substitute for raping/torturing/and or killing their caregivers. This concurred with some findings of researchers like Ball and Fowler (2008), Burgess et al. (2007), Chopin and Beauregard (2021). Groth and Birnbaum (2013), Murphy and Winder (2016), Nóbrega Pinto et al. (2014), Payne (2010), Pollock 1988, and Safarik et al. (2002) who concluded that the victim represents an authority figure like a teacher, mother, or grandmother, who needs to be controlled, hurt and degraded in the same way they felt when they were degraded. They further stated that the offender is motivated by revenge, power, and control, not sexual desire.

Groth and Birnbaum (2013) and Browne et al. (2018) mentioned that men who sexually assault elderly women show little or no capacity for compassion or empathy. Most participants in this study showed remorselessness regarding what they did. One such example is P10, who said:

I did something that she never thought I would do. I had never been so angry in my life. I wished I had brought my friends because they would have raped her too, so that she could feel the pain I went through for many years. [Long pause] (P10).

The lack of remorse shown by the participants signifies their long-held anger and resentment towards their caregivers and their actions.

### **6.2.6 Gradual Desensitisation**

The findings of this study highlight how the repeated exposure to a life of crime eventually resulted in desensitisation. The respondents described initial levels of conscience, thus indicating the absence of psychopathy, but with an erosion of conscience. It seems that the more they engaged in criminal activities, of which rape was a part, the more they showed what Mrug et al. (2015) referred to as diminished empathy and reduced emotional reactivity. As P10 reported, “People have insurance; if I steal a car from you, your insurance will replace it. When my friends told me about this reality, I stopped feeling guilty” ([P10).

The participant seemed to rationalise his actions, which then perpetuated his behaviour. The participants' criminal activity eventually became so entrenched that, as P3 also said, “Eventually, I stopped feeling guilty and being scared. I accepted that this was the life that I was going to live” (P3). He seemed to have resigned himself to stealing to fulfill his needs and desires, in the same way that he had resigned himself to obtaining sexual gratification through rape.

Participant 1 also mentioned, “As you live this life slowly but surely, you lose your conscience. Sometimes I felt guilty that I was taking my suffering and my hardship and using it in the wrong places, but I never stopped” (P1).

This seems to indicate that his involvement in crime, including rape, was not due to a lack of conscience. Once again, it could be argued that the anger and resentment the participants felt were displaced onto their victims. One can then argue that they may

not necessarily be psychopathic but that they became desensitised due to constant exposure to crime. The basic assumption is that violence breeds violence. Children exposed to a violent environment are often more aggressive and more involved in antisocial behaviour than children who are not (Bacchini & Esposito, 2020). The danger of desensitisation is that it is associated with hedonistic values (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2019); for example, P10 mentioned, “I thought, oh, okay, why not use the opportunity to make money and prepare for my future?”

It seems the life of criminality was rewarding, both financially and socially, within the participants’ context and therefore encouraged them to continue with it. Furthermore, Hanson and Morton-Bourgon (2019), stated that desensitisation could also lead to a lack of interest in conventional and communal values; as P3 reported, “Eventually, I stopped feeling guilty and being scared. I accepted that this was the life that I was going to live” (P3).

Kiriakidis (2008) noted that youth engaging in crime use moral disengagement at a higher degree than a community sample does. He further noted that the proneness of young offenders to disengage from moral values could also be indicative of failure to self-regulate morality. This was indicated by P5, who said:

When I was raping and killing innocent people, I would sometimes go for confession to the priest, and the priest was bound by Catholic law not to tell anyone. That did not help because I would confess and still go back and continue with my shenanigans. Maybe, if the priest had found me help or spoken to my family, I would not be here. Maybe they would have exposed my uncle to the police, and that would have ended everything (P5).

This participant seemed to be admitting to his inability to self-regulate to a point where he pointed out that he would have appreciated the assistance with regulating his behaviour. P5 was not the only one who mentioned that he would have appreciated an intervention to help him stop the rape. Participant 7 also noted that on the day of the rape incident, he would have appreciated help from his victim to help him control his body, “She did not fight back, and she did not say anything. Maybe had she fought back, that would have helped me to come back to my senses” (P7).

Lack of self-regulation seemed to be at the core of the rape of elderly women by young men in KwaZulu-Natal Province.

The effects of emotional desensitisation may increase the likelihood of violence perpetration in young males exposed to community violence, and this study also indicated that growing up in violent communities seems to contribute to desensitisation. As P5 reported, “Even growing up in a violent community can make one end up being involved in destructive behaviour.”

This seems to support research conducted by Tarabah et al. (2016), which indicated that children exposed to frequent violence are likely to experience desensitisation. This could habituate them to accept violence as normal and put them at risk of imitating violent behaviours.

### **6.2.7 Gerontophilia**

Some participants did not just rape their victims. They reported that they kissed and touched them; for example, P9 said, “I started kissing her and touching her, and I had sex with her.” This indicates the likelihood that the act was personal, meaningful, and intimate for him. Only one participant (P2) admitted to experiencing sexual attraction to elderly women. He is incarcerated for raping two elderly women. The other participant (P9), who also kissed and touched his victims, was incarcerated for raping three elderly women. He reported that when his wife was pregnant, she denied him sex and as a result he decided that he was going to “ask for sexual favours from single elderly women” (P9). This seems to indicate that victims were not chosen randomly. There seems to be a deliberate attempt to target the elderly women.

The participant ended up raping three women employees at the farm, in which he, too, was an employee. As mentioned in the participant's narrative, he would use the socially-appropriate behaviour of offering to carry heavy items for his elderly victims, and then he would commence his attack once they reached the seclusion of the victim's home. This finding supported conclusions reached by some researchers who reported that in cases of gerontophilia, rape is serial, and the attacks seem to be well-planned (Meel, 2017; Ball, 1998; Ball et al., 1992; Ball, 2005; Burgess et al., 2007). A reason that one participant gave for targeting elderly women was that he did not want

to have an extramarital affair with a young woman because, as he said, “These young girls can embarrass you and start fighting with your wife” (P9).

This could be an indication of his rationalisation that there was some kind of erotic relationship with his victims, as opposed to rape. Some studies have highlighted opportunity and vulnerability as key factors contributing to instigating the rape of elderly women (Adedayo & Aborisade, 2020; Cartwright & Moore, 1989; Muram & Cutler, 1992; Patel, 2021). However, Murphy and Winder (2016) questioned this explanation and queried whether it is rather not an indication of gerontophilia which is sexual attraction to eroticism and sexual gratification only with the elderly. The findings of this study suggest that there is a possibility that Murphy and Winder’s query is correct.

Participant 2, who seemed to be gerontophilic, described elderly women, with great admiration. He referred to them as “beautiful,” and when he mentioned their beauty, he also associated it with the care they provided. His description of his nanny was, “She was beautiful, and she took very good care of us.” He also described the nurse (one of his victims) with whom he was besotted, in a similar way, “The nurse (one of his victims) who took care of her (his girlfriend, after going into labour) was a very kind old woman, and she was beautiful.”

This participant claimed to have been initiated into sex by a 56-year-old woman, when he was 15 years old. This was not a once-off occurrence, as their sexual relationship continued until the nanny died when he was 18 years old. When he was 23 years old, he raped an 84-year-old woman, and he said, “That day, I felt different; I was sexually satisfied. I wished I could go back and have a second round with her, but I couldn’t” (P2).

These results are consistent with the findings of other researchers who mentioned that offenders also reported finding sex with elderly women pleasurable and claimed to have been seduced by an older woman when they were younger (Groth, 1978; Ball, 2005; Burgess et al., 2007).

Participant 9, who also seemed to have gerontophilic tendencies, mentioned that he never had a girlfriend when he was at school. He mentioned that he was scared of women because of the ill-treatment he received from his aunts, after the death of his grandmother. It seems the only time he had trusted women was when he was under the care of the elderly women, his grandmother, and his grandmother's friend. His maternal grandmother took very good care of him after his mother's death, and his grandmother's friend used to give him food and money to buy wire with which to make wire cars. This must have meant a great deal against the backdrop of cruelty and abuse from his aunts. He describes himself as a "loner."

P2 also mentioned that he:

Dated many women, searching for love and sexual satisfaction, but none of them gave me the pleasure I longed for. I was trying to be normal like everybody else, like other boys, but that only left me more confused and emptier (P2).

Marshall (2010) contends that attachment deficits, intimacy difficulties, and loneliness are significant characteristic features of sex offenders. As stated previously, the kissing and touching could indicate the likelihood that the act was personal, meaningful, and intimate for the offenders. Therefore, intimacy and connection may have been what the seemingly gerontophilic participants craved. The findings of this research supported those of studies conducted by Jeary (2005) and Burgess et al. (2007), which concluded that gerontophilic sexual offenders are motivated by sexual gratification.

### **6.2.8 Use of Shame to Disempower and Manipulate Victims**

The findings of this study indicated that during a house robbery or break-in, rape was used as a strategy to subdue victims in order to rob them without any resistance from them, as the act of rape is expected to shame them enough not to report their rape to the police, or the robbery. P1 stated:

To overpower someone [during a burglary] is important to rape them. After the rape, they stop focusing on you; they focus on what has happened to them. Even after you leave the house, they have to think about whether to call the police or not. Most people are ashamed to report rape. I broke into many homes and raped many women, but almost all of them never reported (P1).

This finding was also supported by Ball and Fowler (2008), Burgerss et al. (2007), Groth and Birnbaum (2013), Murphy and Winder (2016), Nóbrega Pinto et al. (2014), Payne (2010), Pollock (1988), and Safarik et al. (2002). These researchers noted that some sexual offenders are motivated by the desire to exert power and control.

The findings of this study are contradictory to the results of some researchers who concluded that many of the offences initially appear to have been linked to burglaries for financial reasons, but the theft of insignificant amounts of money or other items happen after the sexual assault (Jeary, 2005; Lea et al., 2011). According to these researchers, the extent of brutality directed at the victim, compared to the amount of money that is stolen, supports the view that theft is secondary to the sexual assault and the degree of violent behaviour (Lea et al., 2011; Safarik et al., 2002). Although the violent behaviour was largely directed at the victim during the assault, the findings of this study seem to indicate that theft was the primary motive. Jeary (2005), Lea et al. (2011), and Safarik et al. (2002) also noted that not only was most of the interaction happening with the victim, but chronologically, it was happening first. Furthermore, these researchers also mentioned that the removal of stolen property occurred after the rape and killing of the victim. The findings of this study support that chronologically, theft occurred after each rape incident; the reason behind that seemed to be to make the victim feel powerless before the robbery.

The main aim seemed to be to shame, humiliate, destroy and degrade the victim. In this case, it seems some offenders were not all out to target elderly women. They raped whomever they found in the house during a break-in, with elderly women not being immune to this type of violence. Although he was not part of the gang, P3 seemed to use this strategy; he raped his victims before robbing them of their money. He said, "I used to take the money and leave the purse, from all the women that I raped."

The total lack of empathy towards their victims seemed to indicate that their actions may be attributed to unconscious phenomena. They seemingly aimed to shame, humiliate, destroy and degrade, which seems to be a projection of their own feelings of shame. As mentioned in Chapter 5, which presented the findings, most of the participants in this study grew up in family environments characterised by adversity. Child maltreatment seems to be a predisposing factor for sexual offending. Fairbairn



(1943), one of the pioneers of the Shame Theory, posits that when, on an ongoing basis, a child experiences himself as the object of his caregiver's frustration, anxiety or resentment toward him, while having his needs met by that parent or caregiver at the same time, the child internalises this resentment and experiences their own neediness and dependence as shameful, burdensome, excessive and disgusting (Fairbairn, 1943). The findings of this study concurred with Fairbairn's (1943) explanation of shame. The participants whose parents passed on felt that they were objects of their caregiver's (stepmothers, uncle's wives, co-mothers - in case of polygamous families) pain, frustration, hostility, envy, and resentment. This made them feel unacceptable, unloved, and unwanted.

Furthermore, the participants in this study reported that being humiliated in front of others was unbearable for them. For example, P9 was always told in front of everyone that he was contaminated with the 'contagious' HIV and that his mother was a prostitute. This could have a devastating effect on a child whose natural needs are to belong, to be comforted, and be accepted. Celani (2010, p. 174) explained that, for a child, "being hopelessly attached to a demeaning parental shame is simply mortifying". The humiliation resulted in anger. Woodward (2000, p.215) described anger as "the boiling point of shame." Other proponents of the Shame Theory, such as Scheff and Retzinger (1991), suggested that shame could lead to rage, a quest for revenge, and a need to make others experience being destroyed just as they were destroyed. It seems likely that the quest to destroy their caregivers was projected to their victims by the participants in this study, in their actions towards their victims.

As previously mentioned, most of the participants of this study grew up in adverse family environments. According to Levenson et al. (2016), adverse childhood experiences are a fertile breeding ground for sexual offending because of anger. Abuse, neglect, and family dysfunction often lead to hostility, mistrust, and insecure attachment, which then contribute to social rejection, loneliness, negative peer associations, and delinquent behaviour (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2019). The findings of this study concurred with this earlier finding, as the participants of this study ended up finding a sense of belonging in their criminal friends or gangs. They seemed to be so captivated by their group identity that their own thoughts featured less than the activities of the group. Their involvement in criminal activity was accelerated, not

by their thinking as individuals, but rather by the processes that involved them and their friends' thinking as a group entity. As P1 reported, "One of my friends managed to get guns for us. Once we had guns, our level of "mischief" increased" (P1).

Carlson (2008) argued that rape, in a gang rape situation, enhances and strengthens the gang members' brotherhood and solidarity by degrading their victims. Making their victims feel powerless – a feeling of loss of control and loss of power - seems to render the perpetrators dominant. Although the context of Carlson's (2008) study was different, it does, however, shed some light on the understanding of gang rape in general. According to Gqola (2015), the proliferation of rape in South Africa is an expression of reclaiming power and manhood by young men emasculated by trauma, poverty, and social injustice. Levenson et al. (2022, p. 1) contend that "hurt people hurt other people."

### **6.3 Secondary Research Question: How did These Young men come to be the way they are?**

Burgess et al. (2007), Chopin and Beauregard (2021), and Knight et al. (1985) argue that one of the few indisputable conclusions about sexual offenders is that they constitute a distinctly heterogeneous group. Their childhood and developmental histories, adult competencies, criminal histories, and the motives and patterns that characterise their criminal offences differ considerably. The young men who were interviewed in this study certainly fit the heterogeneous characteristic. Given the complex and multifaceted nature of their lived experiences, the formulation of each case in this section is an attempt to unpack this complex phenomenon by providing thick, rich descriptions of the phenomenon. In Psychology, a formulation is used to organise complex and sometimes contradictory information that is taken from the interview data. These formulations were used in creating thick descriptions, including a salient background, setting, and enough context where meaning or significance can be determined so that someone who was not involved in the research can make meaning of the young men's behaviour. These descriptions provide subjective interpretations, explanations, and meanings, thus making the collected data more beneficial to other researchers interested in similar phenomena (Patton, 2015). Thick descriptions of the phenomenon also assist other researchers in determining the situations, the population, and the context, to which the findings could be applicable.

Schaffer (2014) stated that thick descriptions make explicit the complexity of human thought and experience.

As mentioned in previous sections, the underlying premise for asking the young men to voice their lived experiences is for other researchers to begin to construct better prevention and rehabilitation programmes that can mitigate the adverse effects of their lived worlds. Therefore, it was critical to understand the young men's lived experiences, not only in such a way that they speak to our intellectual capacities, but also to ensure that the understanding fosters practice insights and ethical sensitivities in professional practice. The linguistic description, a phenomenological writing and re-writing of the text on the essence of the lived experience, is the final product of the research process. In the final, written description, "a structure of a lived experience is revealed to us... [and the reader can better understand]...Now we are able to grasp the nature and significance of this experience" (van Manen, 1997, p. 39). By examining the thick descriptions of the interview data, despite the surface heterogeneity, the researcher was able to ultimately explicate the "connective tissue" in the concluding part of this section.

### **Participant One**

Participant 1 had numerous risk factors, according to Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Theory (1979), with hardly any protective factors. He was six years old when his mother died. A significant aspect of his lifeworld was that he was the product of his father's infidelity and the object of his stepmother's pain and hostility, a fact of which he was fully cognisant, as well as of the injustice associated with it. He commented that, "But it was not *my* fault, I was only a child, and I did not choose to be in that situation. It was not my fault" (P1).

This factor alone, in his life was, a major risk factor without any accompanying protective factor. The sibling he had was his half-sister who seems to have had a secure sense of belonging on her paternal side. He said, "This really hurt me because I also wanted to visit *my* father."

His lived experience was one in which there was neither fairness, justice, care, nor consideration. Initially, he experienced his perceived injustice when he observed his mother working hard and looking after the home while her sisters relaxed and drank

alcohol. The interviewer noted how his facial expression changed and showed disgust when he described, "She was their slave."

When his mother died, he felt so alone in the world. He seemed to have remained alone in his maternal home and had to face acute food insecurity. His maternal aunts were alcoholics and were never at home. At that stage, he resorted to asking for food and old clothes from his neighbours. His father, whom he had not known up to that point, eventually came to fetch him and introduced himself to P1 for the first time. After this encounter, the participant mentioned that he packed his clothes in a plastic bag and left with his father.

The love and nurturance that he initially enjoyed from his father after his mother's death were short-lived. His father had a wife who was hostile towards him. This situation was so intense that he thought of committing suicide as a way out of his distress. His father tried to defend and protect him against his wife's abuse, but she became so upset with this protection that she decided to leave her husband. They seemed to have settled the issue after a meeting between him and his wife's family. She returned, but after that, P1 reported that his father never took his side again.

In addition to the woes he experienced at home, he struggled at school and found it difficult to finish his schoolwork. He struggled with self-efficacy and indicated how overwhelming the situation was to him by saying, "Everything was a mess." In addition, he was also not given pocket money to spend at school. It would seem that other children were. His response to the turmoil was to begin to act out. He said, "I was naughty at school." The question is: What other option did he have at his disposal? One option was to inform his teachers of his plight, but he did not do so even when they specifically asked him if things were "okay" with him.

He eventually decided to leave his hostile home and begin a life of surviving through crime and hopping from a friend's house to another friend's house, evidently in search of a lived space he could call home. None of these places provided him with a solid foundation from which he could build his life, except possibly, the Pastor's house. Upon reflection, when he was already incarcerated, he regretted leaving the Pastor's house, which in hindsight, he realised he should not have. He pointed to that home as a lived

space that was loving, but which he left as he did not appreciate at the time, the value of the stability it provided.

Eventually, he found solace not in a lived space, but with drugs, crime, and friends with whom he could belong. He eventually resigned to living recklessly, as he put it:

“I had survived many encounters with the police and other criminals during those years. I do not know what to say besides that it was by God's grace that I survived. Honestly, I had accepted that anything could happen, and I didn't care” (P1).

As with the lived experience of other participants, his concern was the plight of his children, who are forced to live their lives without their father. Caring about the impact of his arrest on his children is indicative of empathy and compassion, features that rule out the possibility that he could be classified as a psychopath.

Another indication that his involvement in crime, including rape, was not due to having no conscience, manifests in the following statement:

“As you live this life slowly but surely, you lose your conscience. Sometimes, I felt guilty that I was taking my suffering and my hardship and using it in the wrong places, but I never stopped” (P1).

He eventually became involved in rape as a way to subdue his victims in order to rob them, without any resistance from them, as the act of rape was expected to shame them enough not to report their rape or the robbery to the police.

His life, which was characterised by crime, was lived with reckless abandon, and rape was a part thereof. Although he raped to subdue his victims, he also raped a woman with whom one could say he was on a date. He made a moving connection with nature that one does not expect from a gun-toting, serial rapist. He described the scene of the rape as follows:

“It was a full moon. My friend with whom I was, stayed behind. I told the girl that we were taking a walk. We walked until we reached a stream, a part of the stream where people could cross. I asked the girl to sit down with me” (P1).

The answer to what P1's lived experience was could be that he found no nurturance, justice, or a sense of belonging in his life and lived his life as best he knew how. He described his experience, thus; "Fear never occurred to me; the devil was still in control of my mind and heart" (P1).

While he referred to the devil as having been in control of his life, he also referred to God as having been a positive hand over his life; he stated, "I do not know what to say besides that it was by God's grace that I survived" (P1).

He also viewed God as a caring presence in his life when he said:

"When I first arrived here, it was difficult to accept that I would spend most of my life in prison. If I had a gun, I would have taken my own life. God loves us all, and I was able to accept the situation" (P1).

His lifeworld is one in which he is at the hands of fate, having no sense of agency in his own life, let alone protective factors. Participant 1 had previously raped an elderly woman during a house robbery. He was, however, not apprehended by the police for this crime. In the days following the rape of the elderly woman, he raped a young woman he was on a date with. Following the act, the young woman reported him to the police, and he was finally arrested. Following his arrest, he was identified as the assailant who raped the elderly woman.

### **Participant Two**

Participant 2 came from a polygamous family of four mothers and 16 brothers and sisters. His lived space seemed to be an environment that was congested and dominated by jealousy and backbiting, which resulted in tension and strain. His father worked as a farmworker, the only one with employment, and he struggled to support his large family. All his wives were unemployed, and P2 was the eldest child, the eldest son, and the family's heir. When he was 16 years old and in Grade 7, his girlfriend fell pregnant, and his father, his significant lived other, told him to leave school and find work as a farmworker to support his child.

He was the only member of his family who had studied up to Grade 7, which seemed to indicate that his family did not value education. This was a major disadvantage because he also ended up working as a farmworker, like his father.

When he was ten months old, his mother gave birth to his younger brother, and his maternal grandparents sent a nanny from their village to look after him. The nanny was loving and caring and, therefore, substituted adequately for his mother, which seems to have led to secure attachment. He slept in the same bed with the nanny until the age of 10 years. This lived space promoted intimacy between the two of them, and they became very close. His father built a rondavel for the nanny, but P2 went to her rondavel and “enjoyed spending time with her” whenever she was free.

When he was 15 years old, he was initiated into sex by a 56-year-old nanny when his parents were away for the weekend to attend a family funeral. This sexual relationship continued until the nanny died, when he was 18 years old. He was devastated and secretly mourned her death, but was not aware that the nanny was an invisible presence in his life, nevertheless. He dated many young women, looking for the love, sexual satisfaction, and nurturance that the elderly nanny provided, but he did not get the pleasure for which he longed. This left him feeling confused and empty. He ended up having five children with three different women, but he remarked to the researcher that, "But I did not love these women."

As part of his work as a farmworker, he went around delivering vegetables with his co-workers, one of whom was his brother. This resulted in an incident which to him, ironically, became a macabre "aha moment" for him. He referred to it as, "The day I realised that I was different." One day, while delivering vegetables, they entered one house and found that the owners were not there. There was only an elderly lady, her granddaughter, and their helper (maid). He said that:

“Out of the blue, the other guy dragged the maid to the bedroom [to rape her]. For some reason, I just walked to the elderly lady. The other guy took the granddaughter to another room, and we raped them. I did not even think of touching her granddaughter. We then robbed the house of its valuables. After this incident, we fled to a rural area and went into hiding” (P2).

He further reported that, "That day, I felt different; I was sexually satisfied. I wished I could go back and have a second round with her, but I couldn't" (P2). The participant was 23 years old when this happened. He then stalked an elderly woman with whom he was besotted and finally raped her. It was this incident that led to his arrest. He

said, "I love elderly woman as sex partners." This is an indication that P2 could be described as gerontophilic.

### **Participant Three**

Participant 3, from the age of fourteen years old, experienced life without any meaningful relationship. He was all alone in the world. That was his lifeworld. He referred to his situation of having no one, several times during the interview. Towards the end of the interview, the researcher asked him what he thought could have made a difference in his life. He mentioned his grandmother's church leader as someone he could have talked to about his problem. Arguably, his needs were greater than telling the Priest about his problem. He wished that someone had thought of fostering or adopting him, yet, no one thought about that, he lamented. It could be asserted that his lived body and lived other was that of society letting him down.

His significant relationship was with his maternal grandmother. He described her as loving on the one hand, but he did not completely trust her on the other because of what she gave as reasons for not taking him to his mother, who was in the Correctional Centre. This situation resulted in him only knowing about his parents through stories she told him. These stories seemed to be about his parents' criminal conduct, and nothing else. He believed that his grandmother had no consideration for him when she did not take him to the Correctional Centre to see his mother. He maintained that she only wanted to protect herself by not letting him see his mother.

What he knew about his parents were numerous stories that his maternal grandmother told him about his parents. None of those stories provided positive examples he could emulate. His mother was described as rude, loud, overly sensitive, and aggressive. There were so many of these stories that he remarked that he could sit for the whole day telling her stories about his mother. What he knew about his father is that he was, "always in and out of jail for stealing". The only other family member he knew was his grandfather who was so distant to him that he did not believe that he was his biological grandfather.

His lived other also consisted of community members, church members, and his grandmother's employers, who helped him out for a short while, but soon forgot about him. The only people who did not let him down were his primary school teachers, but



then, he had to proceed to high school, which became an adverse environment for him. High school teachers were distant, and he was picked on, and bullied by senior boys. Meals were also not provided, so he had to fend for himself. He eventually decided to drop out of school at the age of seventeen years old, when he was doing Grade 8.

At the age of seventeen, he not only lacked food and money, but he also did not have any other companion, especially a female companionship, for which he particularly longed. He 'resolved' these challenges through crime. He lived as a recluse, only relating to other members of society as a predator, lurking in spaces where he would find his victims.

He began his criminal behaviour by stealing; later, he proceeded to rape women. He initially felt scared in both these situations but later became desensitised to them. He got so accustomed to stealing that even when he was tied with a rope and beaten with a *sjambok* and nearly died for theft, he stopped temporarily before returning to it. After raping for the first time, his feeling was fear. He was so frightened that he did not return to the suburb where he had committed the rape, but his fear did not deter him from repeatedly raping women after that. His lived body was that committing rape was his way of gaining sexual gratification. He raped indiscriminately, as long as he had an opportunity to do so.

His lived other, namely, the women he raped, varied in age, race, and other characteristics, and he expressed that, "It did not matter to me." To him, his victims seemed to have been faceless objects of his gratification, regardless of who they were as individuals.

Participant 3 was not only alone in the world, but his experience of adults in his life was that there were times when they did not think of him. One could say that he lived in a world he did not trust. He went on to rape and plunder that world, not so much out of anger and resentment, but as a world in which he decided to survive by any means possible. Although it seemed that he felt let down, he nevertheless accepted the situation in which he found himself; he said, "I cannot blame people for not taking care of me, they were not obligated to; they were just assisting me" (P3).

## Participant Four

Participant 4's lifeworld was characterised by a series of conflicts. Firstly, on the one hand, the conflicting theme between being significant as an only son and heir; on the other hand, he felt unsafe, vulnerable, and unprotected by the lived other – his father. He was so vulnerable that he feared for his life; he feared being poisoned. He was also ostracised and beaten up regularly by his father's wives and his own father when his co-mothers told his father about his mistakes. He eventually lost confidence in his father when he realised that he did not take the time to listen to his side of the story. Neither did his father spare a minute to give him guidance as a man. His vulnerability escalated and reached a peak when he was sexually assaulted by his younger uncle's friend. The experience was so traumatic that he stated that he could hardly describe how he felt.

The lived space was disjointed, unstable, threatening, and oppressive, except for his older uncle's place, which he described as being like in heaven. He existed in these two majorly contrasting spaces but eventually chose to face his problems, that is, settling at his father's home after the death of his uncle and uncle's wife.

His character, his lived body, is one of boldness and self-reflection, as well as self-reliance. He responded to his threats and conflicts boldly by seeking the assistance of a mysterious woman who "Cleanses him and rids him of bad luck."

He felt good about himself; in other words, he felt secure. This security had a condition; that condition was that he rapes both young and old women, as well as virgins and elderly women. The intervention of the 'mysterious woman' not only removed "bad luck" but also boosted his power and confidence in virtually all aspects of his life.

When he consulted the 'mysterious old woman', he was still at school, and he did well in his studies. Added to this advantage was that he had power and money. The physiological effect thereof was the experience of inexplicable lust. He would look at women's boobs and bums and feel like raping them. His adeptness at raping was praised by the mysterious old woman. A possible answer to the question: How did they (young IsiZulu-speaking men who rape elderly women) become the way they are? In his case, the question could be partially answered by saying that the compulsion to

rape was typical of repetition compulsion, coupled with a feeling of power as well as of having money. His confidence and self-reliance, while it was an asset, also led him to make “bad choices”, a term he used at the beginning of the interview process.

He was eventually arrested and landed up in a correctional facility. In his case, one could say that his lived experience was one of insecurity which led him to seek a remedy for it. He was introduced to a remedy that violates women's bodies. The feeling of power, of having money, the ease with which he attracted women, while enjoyable to him, began to trouble him when his wife became pregnant. He was then reminded by the mysterious old woman of what he was told at the beginning of his assignment that once he joined her, there was no going back (see the lived experience of Participant 4 in Chapter 5). He was trapped for life until he entered the Correctional Centre.

### **Participant 5**

Participant 5 had an unnerving kind of brutality and callousness. He related the murder of a fellow schoolmate with the casual attitude of believing that the murdered schoolmate deserved it. He expressed this with an attitude similar to what one would expect if someone said that a fellow schoolmate deserved a hiding. Loss of life or terminating a life was a fitting punishment for all the people whom he perceived as having caused him pain or harm.

His behaviour seemed to be characterised by all the three maladaptive defense mechanisms: splitting, projection, and acting out. Apart from his mother, he viewed major role players in his life as either all good or all bad. His father was seen as all good. The people he killed on his own accord, that his paternal uncle did not instruct him to kill, were seen as all-bad. His paternal uncle was also seen in the same light, that is, all-bad.

Having grown up in a violent society, one could safely assume that his childhood was characterised by trauma. This would mean that his ability to self-regulate was severely compromised. This is the case when children experience trauma which results in the underdevelopment of the executive functions of the brain such as planning, reasoning, making good decisions and problem-solving. The absence of self-regulation meant that he was unable to effectively manage his thoughts, emotions, and behaviour to

solve problems, or to find appropriate means to solve problems. His solution to intense emotions was to splitting and projection of his pain onto his potential victims, and finally acting out by raping, torturing, and killing his perceived source of pain.

Participant 5 was arrested at the age of 18 years old for raping and killing an elderly woman. His reason for raping and killing the elderly woman was so flawed that the researcher followed it closely by asking him questions that one expected would jolt his awareness and give him better insight into his behaviour. He failed to gain appropriate insight. This lack of insight seemed to indicate that his actions were based on unconscious defences namely, splitting, projection, and acting out.

When one examines probable reasons for targeting elderly women instead of the men who actually pulled the trigger to kill his father, they seem to indicate that they were based on projection. His feelings towards his mother were ambivalent and conflictual. He mentioned in the interview that he was raised to respect his elders and described his relationship with his mother as a "normal mother-son relationship," yet he also refers to her as "dirty." If that is how he perceived their relationship, the anger and the disgust he expressed regarding her would have been significantly anxiety-provoking to him. Employing the primitive defence of projecting his resentment of his mother onto the elderly woman, would have substantially reduced his anxiety.

As stated previously, raping and killing the elderly woman was a fitting substitute for raping, torturing, and killing his own mother. The elderly woman was perceived as having harboured people who caused him intense pain by maiming and subsequently killing his father. His mother had similarly harboured a man that P5 referred to as "the devil" – his paternal uncle. His mother went beyond harbouring him in her home; she went on to be his "bed pal", thus replacing his "loving, wise father." Upon reflection, it would seem that his paternal uncle's relationship with his mother caused him deep-seated anger. Such intense anger towards parental figures was inappropriate within his cultural context. It would, therefore, have resulted in an uncontainable level of anxiety. His projection on to the elderly woman served to resolve his unconscious anxiety.

When he avenged his father's death, he acted out his trauma, anger, and resentment towards the people he saw as having "betrayed his father". After killing the elderly

woman, he reported, "I felt at peace that my father would rest in peace as I had avenged his death." It was evident that raping, torturing, and killing the elderly woman had a cathartic effect on him. Seemingly, his catharsis would have led to a self-perpetuating cycle of killing more people to resolve situations that were uncomfortable and threatening in his life. The basis for this supposition is that he was on his way to rape and kill another elderly woman when he was arrested.

### **Participant 6**

Participant 6 suffered multiple losses before the age of ten years old. His father, whom he was greatly fond of, died when he was six years old. After his father's death, his mother had a relationship with another man, leaving him to face his grief without any emotional support. Instead of support, he lost his home as his father's family dispossessed them of his home (his father's house). Both he and his mother went to live with his mother's family, who ill-treated him.

His mother died a year later, and he was taken to live with the paternal relatives, where he was also ill-treated. His final and significant loss was at the age of eleven years old, when his paternal grandmother passed away.

It was at that stage that he not only became destitute, but also got involved in delinquent behaviour, but there is no indication that he got involved in crime. What is significant about P6's criminal act is that he did not have any desire or motive for rape rather than, he simply did what his friend suggested. His act and his response to the researcher superficially seemed to indicate a low level of moral development when he said that he wished that he had not stopped his friend from killing the elderly lady.

A closer examination indicates that his change of mind regarding killing the elderly rape victims seemed to emanate from a low frustration tolerance, and his lack of trust in his own ability to master difficult situations. He seemed to overreact to situations that he found to be unmanageable, such as the time when he failed Matriculation, where his first thought was to commit suicide.

**The researcher's dilemma:** Participant 6 seemed to be oblivious to the contradiction when he said, "After raping her [the elderly woman], he [his friend] said "*asimcishe*" [slang for; let us kill her], and I said, 'No, let's go, this is an elderly woman; why should we kill her?'" (P6).

He said that he raped the elderly woman because he "was too drunk to think clearly." On the other hand, he realised that it was wrong to murder the elderly woman after raping her, and he "stopped his friend from killing her".

He is the only participant who not only blamed his behaviour on his friend, but also on alcohol.

### **Participant 7**

When one examines P7's lived experience, the possibility of raping one of his clients was predictable because it was from his clients that he seemed to have had the possibility of close and meaningful relationships, one in which he enjoyed a sense of power and control over his life. He did not seem to have any significant relationship with his mother, at least not one that he considered worth mentioning. When the researcher asked him directly about it, he responded by talking about how helpful she was to the community. He also did not mention anything about his actual relationship with his sister. His father came across as an efficient, business-like, and as a well-respected member of the community. He helped P7; however, outside of this business-like connection, nothing else was mentioned by P7, about his father.

His business as uMthandazi (Spiritual healer) was significant to this participant, and it seemed to be a source of meaning and fulfilment in his life. It was a point of connection with his father, something that provided him with an identity different from that of being the boy who was a menace to his peers and teachers. His formative years were dominated by feelings of inadequacy and fear. His business was the one area in which he seemed to function without feeling out of control or overwhelmed by the unexpected onslaught of his seizures.

Despite not having seizures at home, he did not mention any friends, cousins, or any significant acquaintances, thus indicating the absence of any significant connections in his life. His relationship with his fiancée was not close enough to provide him with the sense of connection and intimacy he needed. It was rather a long-distance relationship. His only source of positive identity and connection with his lived other was his work as a traditional healer.

Not only did he seem to have limited contact with others prior to becoming a traditional healer, but he also hardly had any life experience prior to becoming a faith healer. He left school when he was doing Grade 9, to pursue his career as a traditional healer.

His identity as a healer was of paramount importance in his lifeworld. It gave him not only a sense of self, but also a sense of connection with others. Based on how he described the encounter with the client who became his victim, his work gave him a well-rounded sense of self-efficacy. He described how methodical and focused he was on doing everything correctly. He described how, "When we were busy with the ritual, I was focused on making sure that everything was done correctly and that we understood each other well"(P7). It was in this situation that he had a meaningful connection with another individual.

He also said that what happened was something he did not anticipate, meaning that his body responded in a way that overwhelmed him. The question is, what was it about that situation that made his body respond the way it did? The second question is: Why was he not able to regulate his body and focus on the work he was doing rather than being overpowered by eroticism?

The answer to these two questions could be linked to the literature, which points to self-esteem which, in his case, derived from being a methodical and successful healer, a characteristic which enhanced his feeling of being a worthwhile individual. Koval et al. (2020) contend that positive self-esteem is linked to optimum serotonin levels, which are instrumental in the process of healthy erectile function.

The answer to the second question seems to be related to the fact that at the time of the rape incident, P7 described the experience in a manner that indicated that he was overwhelmed by it. He even wished that his rape victim could have done something to stop him because, as stated earlier, he neither saw it coming nor did he have any control over his body. These feelings were typical of the experience he had with his body, while growing up. He was overwhelmed by unpredictable seizures the same way he was overwhelmed by a strong erotic feeling, which "he could not see coming" and seemed to lack the ability to control or regulate his body.

Not only did P7 regret his action, but he also spent a great deal of time ruminating about how his actions led to the death of his closest relations in his life. His lived

experience was one of being bewildered, overwhelmed, and feeling out of control of his body.

### **Participant 8**

Participant 8 became an orphan at the age of ten years old. His mother passed away when he was eight years old, and his father, two years later. After his father's funeral, he was instructed by the extended family members to go and live with his older paternal uncle and aunt. His uncle was working in Johannesburg and only came home during Easter and Christmas vacation. After his uncle left for Johannesburg, he was alone with a hostile aunt. The environment was repressive, and he felt trapped. This situation was so intense that he thought of committing suicide as a way out of his distress.

He hardly had any sense of belonging at his paternal uncle's home. He reported being overworked and exploited by his aunt. In his view, besides abusing him, she had also rendered him an orphan by organising people to murder his father. The anger and resentment towards his aunt for arranging the assassination of his father, and the view of the punishment she needed to receive for it, were evident throughout the interview.

Furthermore, when his aunt wanted to go to town with her daughters, she would force P8 to stay home and look after her disabled sister. He said, "This drove me crazy." On the day of the rape incident, he was enraged because he was refused permission to go and study for the Matriculation trials with his friends and instead was forced to look after his aunt's disabled sister. This fueled his anger to a point where he saw an opportunity for revenge by doing something that would deeply hurt his aunt for ill-treating him, and for arranging people to murder his father. Consumed by anger and resentment, he acted impulsively and raped his aunt's treasured person, her disabled sister.

As noted previously with other participants, having grown up in a hostile home, one could safely assume that his childhood was characterised by trauma. This would mean that his ability to self-regulate was severely compromised. This happens when children experience trauma which results in the underdevelopment of the executive functions of the brain, such as planning, reasoning, making good decisions, and problem-solving. The absence of self-regulation meant that he was unable to effectively



manage his thoughts, emotions, and behaviour to problem-solve or to find appropriate means to problem-solve.

An examination of his behaviour on the day of the rape incident seems to be indicative of displaced anger. It would appear that his aunt's behaviour towards him caused him deep-seated anger. When he raped his aunt's sister, he acted out his trauma, anger, and resentment he held towards his aunt. Raping the elderly aunt's sister was a fitting substitute for raping his aunt because his aunt denied him the opportunity to secure his future due to her [aunt's disabled sister], as noted earlier. This resulted in a lot of anger and resentment towards her in the same way that he felt anger and resentment towards his aunt. As he worded it, "It [looking after her] drove me crazy."

### **Participant 9**

Participant 9 presented with disrupted attachments due to multiple losses. After the death of his mother, his lived space was a nurturing environment with a nurturing grandmother, but it was short-lived. After his grandmother's death, his lived space was characterised by hostility and ill-treatment under his maternal aunts' (maternal uncles' wives) care. His lived time portrayed a child who got stuck in a hostile environment plagued with verbal, physical, and emotional abuse, which created a conundrum from which he could not seem to escape.

From a young age (9 years old), his lived body's experience showed trends of constant abuse, discrimination, and rejection from people around him. In a significant way, his parents' identities were used derogatorily, to demean him. One aspect of the discrimination came from his father's nationality (Mozambican), and the other from his mother's social and assumed, sexual practices. He was further shamed and insulted because of his parents' positive HIV status.

Participant 9 was physically hurt, rejected, and humiliated in so many different aspects of his life and had no safe place growing up, neither at home nor at school. He then developed a habit of isolating himself from others due to fear of ill-treatment, bullying, and discrimination from his aunts, cousins, and peers at school. As a result, he was deprived of healthy social interaction, essential for his psychosocial well-being. In addition to being emotionally and psychologically deprived, the constant abuse facilitated a disruptive and unhealthy development of his self-regulation.

His wife described him as oversexed. Having sex might have been a way of restoring comfort and soothing, a sense of belonging, and a sense of being wanted. When his wife denied him sex, his psychological, social, and emotional deprivation prevented him from thinking logically about things, expressing his thoughts, and trusting that he would be heard and helped. He then secretly made a poor decision to "seek sexual favours from elderly women", which resulted in him raping three elderly women. He seemed to be oblivious of the fact that rape is a crime and a violation of human rights. He was then arrested and ended up at the Correctional Centre.

He mentioned being "in disbelief" that the elderly woman he raped had reported him to the Induna. He spent less time explaining further details about the rape experience and seemed still not to understand the gravity of his actions against the women he raped, his wife, and the farm community. In part, this could be unresolved grief and anger at his beloved grandmother for abandoning him through death, and his longing to be close to her again when kissing and touching the elderly women, unaware of their lack of consent. In greater detail, this shows, the intensity of the trauma and abuse he suffered, the condoning of violence and lack of consent, and the effects of negative social conditioning by his aunts and the surrounding environment. It can be assumed that from an early age, when his mother was alive, P9 was already psychologically and emotionally disadvantaged as she, too, neglected him.

The multiple losses he experienced made him vulnerable. The trauma he later experienced happened to a young boy who was already fragile. This gave the abuse he suffered, the power, and more space to influence his psychological and emotional development. He also held the belief about men not being allowed to cry, which was unhealthy as it prevented him from seeking help.

### **Participant 10**

Participant 10's life was characterised by trauma, rejection, anger, and resentment. He had disorganised attachments with his caregivers and struggled to fit into a family system that consistently denied him an opportunity to belong. His parents got divorced when he was four years old, and his father was awarded full custody. It seems that the divorce, and his father's subsequent attainment of full custody of him, completely deprived him of a relationship with his mother. His father moved to Northern KZN with

him, re-married, and moved in with his wife's family. However, he passed away when P10 was only six years old.

After his father had passed away, P10 could not form a bond with the women (stepmother and step-grandmother), who soon took over guardianship from his late father. Participant 10 indicated that he suffered significantly because of the physical abuse and humiliation his guardians subjected him to. His experience of trauma was conveyed throughout the interview, from the day he lost his father, and then stayed with his stepmother and step-grandmother. His timeline showed a constant experience of being stuck or caught up in a web of physical and emotional abuse and humiliation, both at home and at school. He persistently felt pain and rejection, and he spent much of his time consumed with anger and resentment.

One person with whom he had a good relationship within his stepmother's family was "the other boy," who was not his stepmother's child. His portrayal of the boy showed limited emotional attachment. He constantly called him "the other boy" and did not attach any form of relatedness such as brother, family friend, or cousin, when he spoke of him. He seemed to have struggled with attachments throughout his childhood.

Participant 10 spoke about his path to criminal behaviour after he left home at the age of 16 years old and how his "morals were switched off" when he started "hanging out" with his new friends and became involved in crime. His journey highlighted the significant internal change in a young boy going through traumatic experiences and then progressing to immoral actions. It also showed how the experience of being morally deviant facilitated his immoral actions towards his step-grandmother when he raped her and felt no remorse. Instead, he stated that "he regrets not bringing his friends also to rape her," thus making the act more demoralising for his step-grandmother.

Unfortunately, even raping his step-grandmother did not bring him any closure because he was incarcerated for raping her. He said:

"She is an evil woman. I regret not killing that witch. That is why I am here. It is because I did not kill her. It feels like she has power over me all over again...Shit! Sorry for swearing, but you know what, I hate the fact that she was able to punish me all over again" (P10).

The lack of remorse shown by P10 signified his long-held anger and resentment towards his guardians and over their actions towards him.

Participant 10's childhood was also characterised by trauma. This would mean that his ability to self-regulate was severely compromised and yet again, one finds the absence of self-regulation would have meant that he was unable to effectively manage his thoughts, emotions, and behaviour to problem-solve, or to find appropriate problem-solving strategies. His solution to intense emotions was to act out by stealing, hijacking, and raping. When he raped his step-grandmother, he acted out his trauma, anger, and resentment, towards an individual who caused him immense pain throughout his childhood.

### ***Discussion***

After considering the lived experiences of all the 10 participants in this study, it was evident that each one of them experienced childhood trauma (Adverse Childhood Experiences). Experiencing multiple deaths of caregivers during childhood is traumatic, poverty breeds trauma, being raped during childhood is traumatic, being forced to rape and kill and to watch others doing so during childhood is traumatic, and being physically, emotionally, and psychologically abused as a child is equally traumatic. Trauma harms the human psyche and actually may beget greater violence (Levers, 2022). For example, a boy-child who was raped may become a serial rapist in adulthood due to repetition compulsion (trauma re-enactment), as in the case of P4. Trauma threatens an individual's physical and/or psychological well-being and challenges their abilities to cope with life's challenges. Literature indicates that sexual offenders have significantly higher rates of childhood trauma compared to the general population (Creeden, 2013; Dierkhising et al., 2013; Grady et al., 2018; Levenson et al., 2015, 2016; Yoder et al., 2019).

Waldram (2007, p. 967) poses significant questions, thus:

“How do we portray those who are violent, who cause harm to others? Do we condone, even encourage, evil when we talk about it? When we learn that, contrary to the beliefs of many, evildoers are not entirely evil, how do we communicate that in a manner that restores their life-representations to the appropriate level of complexity?”

### **6.3.1 Personal and Contextual Factors That Seem to Contribute to The Rape of Elderly Women by Young Men**

The original Adverse Childhood Experiences Study (Felitti et al., 1998) can contribute to better understandings of the contextual factors that seem to have contributed to shaping the psychosocial makeup of the young men who rape elderly women in KZN Province. Understanding the neurobiology of trauma further contributes to an understanding of the personal factors that seem to contribute to the rape of elderly women by young men. In this study, the researcher decided to discuss the contextual factors first (Adverse Childhood Experiences) as they are the ones that seem to have the most significant impact on the neurobiology of individuals.

***“Our children are our greatest treasure. They are our future. Those who abuse them tear at the fabric of our society and weaken our nation.” – Nelson Mandela***

#### **6.3.1.2 Adverse Childhood Experiences**

The lived experiences of the participants of this study indicate that they all experienced severe and multiple childhood traumas. Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) are traumatic incidents or exposures in childhood that happen within a child’s family or social environments. The ACE Study (Felitti et al., 1998), originally conducted from 1995-1997 with 17,000 subjects, is considered to be landmark research and has been replicated across cultures, with robust results. The ACE’s have the potential to cause damage or suffering, with subsequent potential to disrupt the child’s neurological, physical, psychological, emotional, and social developmental trajectories (Anda, 2007; Kalmakis & Chandler, 2014). ACEs, in other words, can cause childhood trauma and initiate health and mental challenges across the lifespan.

Research conducted by Levenson et al. (2015); Baglivio et al. (2017) also concluded that even compared to other adolescents in the juvenile justice system, youth incarcerated for sexual offences had significantly higher prevalence rates of adverse childhood experiences such as physical abuse, sexual abuse, neglect, and household dysfunction. Some researchers, like Jeary (2005), have suggested that offenders may report adverse childhood experiences to mitigate court proceedings as self-justification and minimisation of their sexual offending behaviour. However, this does

not apply to this study, because only participants whose cases had been finalised and were not appealing their sentences were interviewed.

Adverse childhood experiences, in the form of multiple losses, poverty, abuse (physical, emotional, psychological, sexual), neglect, or hostile home environments, can contribute to neurobiological changes in the child's brain; such changes may involve self-regulation deficits, distorted cognitive schema, disorganised attachment styles, and poor boundaries, which increases the risk of sexual violence and other criminal offences (Cicchetti & Banny, 2014; Grady et al., 2016; Manyema & Richter, 2019; Marshall, 2010). Multiple chronic traumas occurring during early childhood have significant effects on neurobiology, cognitive processing, interpersonal relationships, impulse control, mental health, executive functioning, self-esteem, self-regulation, and attachment (Anda et al., 2006; Creeden, 2009; Creeden, 2013; Dube et al., 2005; Felitti et al., 1998; Krupnick et al., 2004; Maniglio, 2011; McDonald et al., 2016; Reckdenwald et al., 2013; Spaccarelli et al., 1997). Neuroscience reveals that ACEs experienced at these ages can affect an individual's lifelong health because they can disrupt brain development during this critical phase of development (Manyema & Richter, 2019). Some studies suggest that the younger the age at which ACEs are experienced, the more significant the impact on mental health (Schroeder & Mittal, 2020).

### **“The body keeps the score” - Bessel van der Kolk**

#### **6.3.1.3 Self-Regulation Challenges -The Neurobiology of Trauma**

It is well-established that a personal history of trauma contributes to self-regulation challenges (Grady & Shields, 2018; Howells et al., 2004; Marshall & Barbaree, 1990; van der Kolk, 2015; Ward et al., 1995; Zaremba & Keiley, 2011). Self-regulation is a function of how individuals are able to manage their thoughts, emotions, and behaviours (Stinson et al., 2022). Grady et al. (2017), Grady et al. (2022), and Ward and Fortune (2016) contend that childhood trauma can cause dysregulation, which can result in maladaptive coping strategies, which in turn can contribute to dynamic risk for sexual offending. These may include antisocial attitudes and behaviours, impulsivity, intimacy deficits, sexual entitlement or preoccupation, poor decision-making, substance abuse, and negative or hostile moods.

Trauma drives individuals to the edge of comprehension (van der Kolk, 2015), as P4 reported (after he was raped by his uncle's friend when he was 14 years old): "I do not know how to describe how I felt." P9 also reported that "I have no words to describe how they ill-treated me in that home." [Long pause and a long sigh] (P9). As van der Kolk (2015, p. 60) explained, "when words fail, haunting images capture the experience and return as flashbacks". The right brain captures flashbacks as if the traumatic event is happening, which brings back anger, rage, terror, and so forth; this, then, perpetuates the cycle of sex offending behaviour. Because the functioning of the left brain has been affected by the trauma in individuals who have experienced trauma, the individuals lack the awareness that they are re-enacting and re-experiencing the trauma (van der Kolk, 2015). This lack of awareness hinders the regulation of thoughts, emotions, and behaviours. Trauma profoundly affects an individual's brain; as van der Kolk (2015, p.) stated, "The body keeps the score". The neuroscience literature, such as a study conducted by Porges (2011), continues to illuminate just how the brain keeps the score.

According to the Attachment Theory, the ability to regulate emotions results from a secure attachment with caregivers (Bender et al., 2015; Bowlby, 1973; Schore, 2003). Securely attached individuals can internalise and utilise cognitive and affective resources because they have positive views about themselves and their own capacities. They also have positive attitudes about others' skills to help them relieve stress (Goodall, 2015; Malik et al., 2015). In contrast, insecurely-attached individuals tend to perceive themselves and others negatively. As a result, they engage in maladaptive behaviour to regulate their affect. (Goodall, 2015; Malik et al., 2015). Secure attachment relationships with caregivers promote the development of the brain's vital self-regulatory systems, including affect regulation (Schore, 2003).

As children with insecure attachments get older, their self-regulatory deficits become more pronounced, leading to increased emotional dysregulation (Stinson et al., 2022). These deficits result in the development of negative patterns in which individuals experience heightened emotional states as they attempt to cope with life challenges, using maladaptive coping skills, frequently leading to a host of behavioural disturbances (Bender et al., 2015; Goodall, 2015; Karreman & Vingerhoets, 2012;

Malik et al., 2015), including aggression and sexual violence (Keiley et al., 2015; Nguyen & Parkhill, 2014; Venta et al., 2015)

Traumatic events are experienced differently by different individuals; the effects of these events will also differ, depending on the individual's meaning-making process concerning their experience, as well as their resilience capabilities (SAMHSA, 2014a). Childhood trauma does not directly cause offending, but high levels of early adversity are associated with sexual delinquency (Willis et al., 2017; Naramore et al., 2017). Therefore, mistreated children are likely to engage in risky behaviours and the violation of the boundaries of others (Grady et al., 2022). Without trauma-focused interventions, even if individuals try to leave the trauma behind (for instance, by running away from home), their brains will keep them trapped in the past, because their brains will keep the score.

In this study, the participant's trauma experiences were not intended to condone violence against women. Their experience of trauma was viewed as one piece of the puzzle in conceptualising the factors that seemed to contribute to the psychological profiles of the young men who raped elderly women in KwaZulu-Natal.

#### **6.4 Conclusion**

Previous researchers on the phenomenon of the rape of the elderly have focused mostly on victims of this violent crime, the elderly women. While some researchers have focused on the perpetrators, none of them have focused on the lived experiences of the sexual offenders. Delving into the lived experiences of young men, using van Manen's (2016) four lifeworld existentials as an analytical tool, enabled a deeper and more nuanced understanding of their experiences and how they came to be the way they are. This phenomenological approach allowed the researcher to capture the richness of their experiences from their own point of view. The findings of this study support previous research, which suggests that adverse childhood experiences could be a significant contributing factor to sexual offending. This study was conducted in the Kwa-Zulu-Natal province, and further research in other provinces would inform more detailed examinations of the link between adverse childhood experiences and sexual assault. Such research would also assist health and mental health professionals in designing and developing prevention-based and developmental-oriented school and community programmes to prevent this heinous crime.



In this chapter, the researcher discussed the findings of the study in relation to the relevant literature. The chapter provided an in-depth discussion of the eight essential themes to explore the lived experiences of the 10 participants. From the lived experiences, a formulation of each case was provided in order to answer research question two. In the next chapter, the researcher presents the study's summary, implications, recommendations, limitations, and conclusions.

## CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

### 7.1 Introduction

The voices of sexual offenders have been underrepresented in scholarly literature. A recent systematic literature review discovered that 11.3% of the 8 522 articles published in the top 17 criminal justice/criminology journals between 2010 and 2019, only 18 articles in the journals were focused on individuals who had committed sexual violence (Copes et al., 2020). This study was an attempt to begin to fill this gap in the research literature concerning this area. However, “a phenomenological description is always ‘one’ interpretation, and no single interpretation of human experience will ever exhaust the possibility of yet another complementary, or even potentially richer or deeper description” (van Manen, 2015, p. 31). This means that different readers could find different interpretations when reading the same text. In the previous chapter, the researcher discussed the findings of the study guided by the two research questions. In this last chapter, the researcher discusses the following, among others: a concise response to the research questions, implications of the study, recommendations, suggestions for future research, limitations, and a general conclusion to the study.

### 7.2 Research Question 1

What are the lived experiences of young men who have raped elderly women in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN)?

The themes that emerged from deconstructing the lived experiences of the 10 participants using van Manen’s four lifeworld existentials are (1) multiple losses that disrupt secure attachment; (2) abuse by family members after the death of a parental figure; (3) abject food insecurity, leading to theft and other criminal activities; (4) polygamy, resulting in conflict and fear of witchcraft; (5) anger and displaced aggression; (6) gradual desensitisation; (7) gerontophilia; and (8) use of shame to disempower and manipulate victims.

### 7.3 Research Question 2

1. How did these young men come to be the way they are?
2. What personal factors seem to contribute to the rape of elderly women by young men?

3. What systemic or contextual factors seem to contribute to the rape of elderly women by young men?

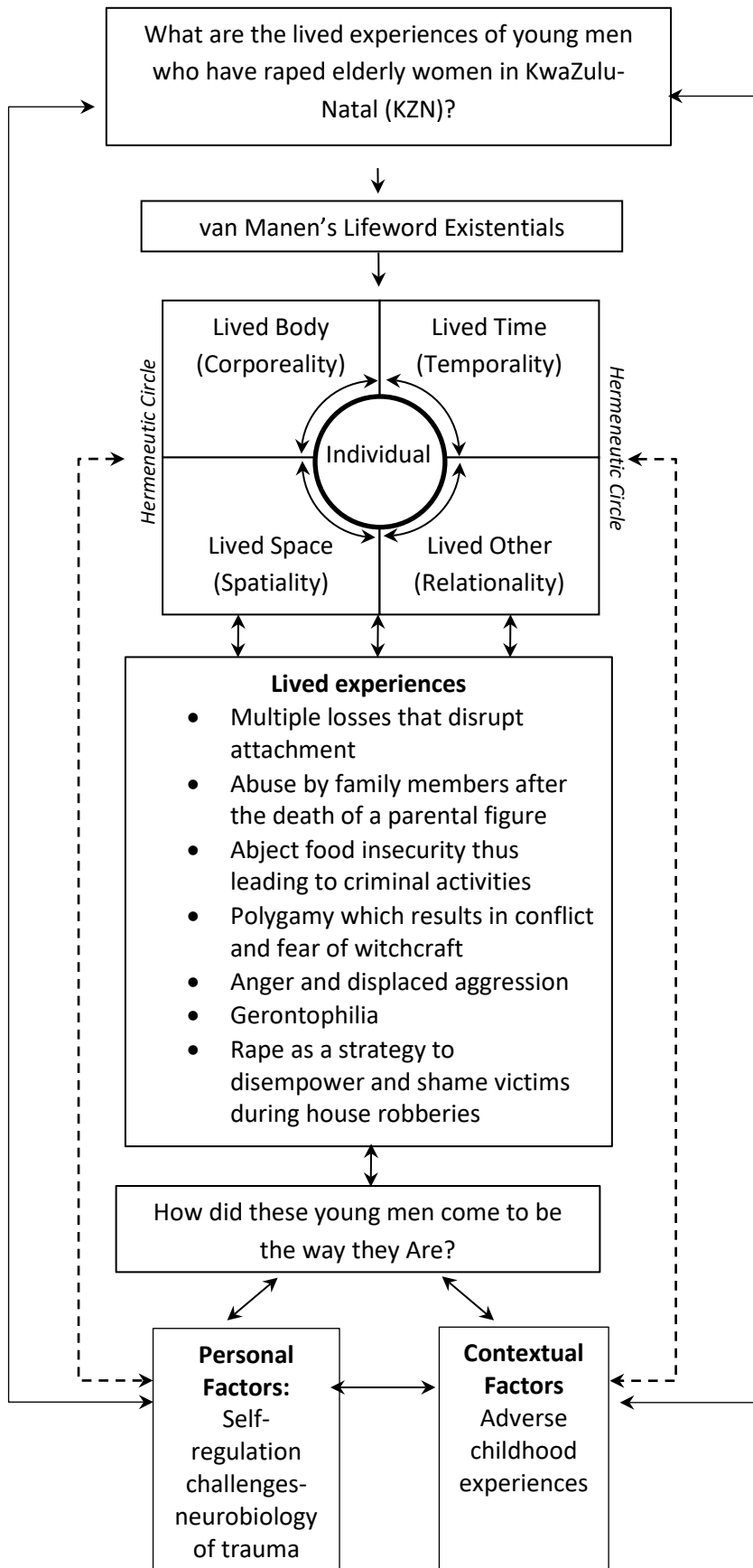
This question was answered through the process of writing and rewriting with a particular focus on the personal and contextual factors which could be attributed to the rape of elderly women by young men in KZN.

Two possible contributory and interconnected factors emerged – adverse childhood experiences that lead to self-regulation challenges (see Figure 7.1).

#### **7.4 Summary of the Findings**

The key findings of the study have been integrated into the conceptual framework underpinning it and, as illustrated in Figure 7.1, overleaf.

Figure 7.1: Integrated conceptual model



## 7.5 The Study Implications

The underlying premise for asking the young men who have raped elderly women in KwaZulu-Natal to voice their lived experiences was to begin to construct better prevention and rehabilitation programmes that can mitigate the negative effects of their lived worlds. As stated previously, adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) seem to be at the core of the heinous act of raping elderly women in KZN. ACEs disrupt brain development (Shonkoff, 2010; Shonkoff et al., 2012), leaving lasting effects on brain structure and functioning (Anda, 2007). This disruption interferes with the development of the executive functions of the brain. Some trauma proponents suggested that in the quest to provide support using trauma-informed approaches, mental health care professionals, must shift their mindsets from asking such questions as “What is wrong with you?” to considering: “What happened to you?” (Sweeney et al., 2018; Winfrey & Perry, 2022).

Corporal punishment is abuse and a violation of children’s rights. In some township and rural schools in South Africa, corporal punishment is endorsed by parents and approved by the schools' governing bodies, who feel that corporal punishment is the only way to curb lawlessness among learners (Ntuli, 2020; Singh, 2017). The literature indicates that parents who support corporal punishment unlawfully mandate teachers to use it, too (Reyneke, 2013). The intergenerational use of corporal punishment often influences adults to accept this punitive disciplinary method as effective and useful (de Zoysa, 2011). By administering or condoning corporal punishment, caregivers and teachers are modeling and normalising violence. In addition, this acclimates the children to violence. As mentioned in Chapter 6, violence begets violence. Research indicates that corporal punishment is associated with an increased risk of aggression and violence, in childhood and adulthood. This contributes to the broader cycle of violence in South Africa, of which sexual violence is a part thereof (Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor, 2016; Shamu et al., 2016). Therefore, to reduce the likelihood of criminal sexual behaviour, children must be protected from various forms of childhood trauma, including physical violence masked as discipline. Mampane et al. (2014, p. 9) argued that “by observing adults in positions of power and authority engaging in violent behaviour, adolescents internalise the idea that violence constitutes a justifiable means to dominate others.”

The findings of this study indicated that young men who have raped elderly women, seem to have experienced multiple losses of primary caregivers during childhood, which seems to have disrupted secure attachment. Therefore, one can argue that perhaps, the participants in this study were insecurely attached.

As mentioned earlier in Section 6.2 of this thesis, almost all the participants in this study seemed to be insecurely attached. Initially, researchers believed that an attachment style is static, but recent research shows that attachment is dynamic and malleable (Bender et al., 2015; Grady & Shields, 2018; Keiley et al., 2015). Altered attachment has been noted in romantic and therapeutic relationships. This indicates that the attachment style can change from insecure to secure, with proper interventions from teachers and therapists. This is applicable to both school-going children and incarcerated youth.

## **7.6 Recommendations**

From the above implications, the following recommendations emanating from the lived experiences of the participants and how to address their adverse childhood experiences, can be made. Given the degree to which experiences of childhood trauma were evident in the current study's participants, there is a need to adopt trauma-focused treatment models at Correctional Centres to mitigate recidivism. Mental health care staff should also be trained in trauma-informed approaches. The training should include a holistic understanding of the impact of childhood trauma on child development, including neurodevelopment. Promoting post-traumatic growth requires mental healthcare professionals to respond to clients in ways that are client-centred, empowering, and collaborative (Levenson et al., 2017; Olver et al., 2020; Pettus-Davis et al., 2019). Post-traumatic growth refers to an individual's capacity to thrive after experiencing trauma (Levers,2022).

Furthermore, teachers (*in loco parentis*), parents, and caregivers should receive training on parenting and the use of alternative methods of discipline, so that they have other corrective techniques as an alternative to corporal punishment. In South African schools, corporal punishment was banned in 1996, but some teachers still use it as a disciplinary measure, especially in township and rural schools (Makhasane & Chikoko, 2016). How others in the child's immediate environment respond to signs of distress shapes that child's ability to appropriately and effectively self-regulate. Importantly,

unhealthy relationships with family, peers, or systems in the child's environment, exacerbate dysregulation and compromise the development of adequate coping skills for self-regulation (Stinson, 2022).

Schools must focus on early prevention programmes as extant literature indicates that most rapists start raping at an early age (Jewkes, 2012; Jewkes et al., 2010; Wielstein, 2010). Teachers, especially those specialising in Life Orientation, require training in the early identification of trauma-related behaviours in children. Trauma-based interventions should be organised for children who experience some form of trauma at home, to help them address the potential challenges that may emanate from traumatic experiences. Learners can be referred to psychological services at the Department of Basic Education or local social workers. Parents' school meetings should also include conversations on the impact of trauma on child development. Health care professionals can be invited by school governing bodies, principals, and Life Orientation teachers, to address teachers and parents on trauma and its impact on children.

The participants in this study reported that they experienced abuse at home, at school, and sometimes in the wider community. Some of them also reported that they grew up in violent communities. Chronic exposure to violence can result in complex trauma. Environments that are characterised by hostility and unrelenting violence may fail to nurture the development of functional or adaptive self-regulatory strategies in the child. A fundamental postulate is that violence begets violence. Children exposed to violent environments are often aggressive and engage in antisocial behaviour, compared to their counterparts who are not exposed to hostile environments. A violent context negatively influences children's capability to resolve social problems and shapes a conception of the social world as hostile and dangerous (Bacchini & Esposito, 2020). Trauma seems to be a systemic issue; therefore, interventions targeting trauma cannot only involve the individual child but should also target teachers, family, the school system, and the wider community. The traditional African proverb: *It takes a village to raise a child* – holds wisdom and begs for application in this instance. This traditional African proverb refers to the need for the entire community to work together to help a child succeed.

Several participants in this study indicated that they were scared to report the abuse that was happening to them at home to their teachers or trustworthy community members. The notion of *Indoda ayikhali* (men do not cry) seems to be a significant barrier to young men's unwillingness to seek help for abuse. Psychoeducation around abuse and mental health issues (as some of them reported that they thought of committing suicide because of the abuse they were experiencing) could be a sustainable solution to this problem. Teachers and school governing bodies, in collaboration with the Department of Basic Education Psychological Services, need to sensitise learners on the prevalence of abuse (physical, emotional, and sexual) among young men. Male learners should also be given an opportunity to discuss the subject of abuse during Life Orientation lessons. This could help to reduce stigma and nurture help-seeking behaviour, turning it into a social norm within families, schools, and the communities.

The psychological services of the Department of Basic Education can also organise trauma awareness campaigns with the aim of encouraging learners to speak out or break the silence to end the scourge of child abuse. Trauma awareness campaigns can facilitate learners' access to professional support.

Bullying also emerged as a contributing factor to the notion of *indoda ayikhali*. Learners become disempowered because of bullying by peers. Therefore, bullying needs to be addressed as a matter of agency in schools before it adversely impacts the development of the male child.

### **7.7 Limitations of the Study**

The individual interviews with the offenders were conducted in isiZulu, while the findings and discussion were presented in English. Attempts were made to translate the interviews without losing equivalent meaning. The researcher is a first language isiZulu speaker who is also proficient in English. They were aware that the meaning of various concepts might have been lost during translation (Nkoala, 2013). In such cases, the researcher made every effort to retain the original isiZulu word, and to offer an accompanying translation in English.

Another limitation of this study was the sampling strategy that was used. The participants interviewed were purposively selected. Only participants who volunteered to be interviewed, participated in this study. However, the strength of qualitative



research was analysing data in context and ensuring an attempt at obtaining representation of the population under study.

Another possible limitation was the potential for the researcher's personal biases to influence the analysis of the data (Patton, 2002). In a qualitative research inquiry such as this, the researcher is the primary research instrument and plays a fundamental role in the design, data collection, and analysis of the findings (Glesne, 2011). Reflective journaling was used to mitigate the researcher's prejudices, preunderstandings, or presuppositions, and the ways in which these influenced the research journey. As a hermeneutic phenomenologist, it was important to undergo a process of reflexivity in order to provide a credible and plausible explanation of the participants' accounts, to avoid assumptions and biases (Clancy, 2013).

Furthermore, qualitative research approaches are criticised for lacking objectivity. Qualitative traditions have always held that when dealing with people's lives, it is misplaced to ask for objectivity, as what we seek is people's subjectivity (Bayer, 1994). Phenomenology as a research methodology is essentially the study of lived experience, of the lifeworld (van Manen, 1997). This methodology rejects the concept of objective research. As an alternative, the emphasis in this study was on the world as lived or experienced by an individual, not the world or reality as something separate from the individual. It was the lived experience that gave meaning to each individual's perception of the phenomenon and, thus, what was true or real in their lives (Giorgi, 2000).

Lastly, this study was located in KwaZulu-Natal only. There are nine provinces in South Africa, which means that eight of the country's provinces were not represented in the sample. Furthermore, this was a hermeneutic phenomenological inquiry; therefore, the sample size was very small, which means that the findings may not be generalised beyond young IsiZulu-speaking men in KZN.

## **7.8 Opportunities for Future Research**

Given the importance of the phenomenon, which was examined in this study, that is, the rape of elderly women in KZN, it is recommended that future research endeavours be done on the same phenomenon, but in different provinces of South Africa. This

would yield a better understanding of the lived experiences of young men who rape elderly women in the country.

Furthermore, a national survey can be conducted, subject to funding availability, to examine the extent of the rape of elderly women in South Africa.

Given that ACEs seem to have been one of the main contributory factors in the perpetration of sexual violence against elderly women, it is recommended that a study be done on the prevalence of ACEs among learners. The results of that study could be utilised to plan early interventions at the school level to mitigate this form of violence. The importance of early intervention programmes cannot be overemphasised as literature indicates that most rapists start raping at an early age (Jewkes, 2012; Jewkes et al., 2010; Wielstein, 2010).

Several participants indicated that they watched pornography with friends or peers after running away from home. Pornography can shape attitudes towards women and objectify them as sexual objects for male gratification. Considering the above, research on the extent to which watching pornography at a young age can influence the rape of elderly women is needed to inform early prevention programmes.

Polygamy and gerontophilia only appeared in the lived experiences of two participants; however, these two themes were classified as essential themes by the researcher of this study. The reason is that polygamy is culturally and socially accepted in KZN and is prevalent. Gerontophilia was classified as an essential theme because a study that was done in Nigeria (in Africa) on the rape of elderly highlighted it. The relationship between these two themes and self-regulation challenges requires further research.

## **7.9 General Conclusion**

The purpose of this study was to investigate the lived experiences of young isiZulu-speaking South African males who had been incarcerated for raping elderly women, using van Manen's hermeneutic phenomenology (1997/2016) of the four lived existentials, as the theoretical and coding framework. This was a qualitative interpretive study, and it was informed by social constructivist principles.

After analysing the lived experiences of 10 participants, eight themes emerged, which illuminated the lived experiences of the participants and allowed a deeper understanding of how they came to rape elderly women. The study also sought to

identify and understand the personal and contextual factors that may have contributed to the rape of elderly women by young men in KZN. The conclusion drawn from this study is that adverse childhood experiences are likely to contribute to self-regulation challenges thus making young men vulnerable to violent behaviour such as rape perpetration. This study has contributed to a deeper understanding of the lived experiences of young males who have been incarcerated for raping elderly women, however, as stated in the limitations of the study, additional and wider research is needed on the phenomenon of the rape of elderly women in South Africa, for a fuller understanding of the problem and how best to address it.

*“What matters in life is not what happens to you, but what you remember and how you remember it”*

*~ Gabriel Garcia Marquez*

## References

- Abbey, A. (2011). Alcohol's role in sexual violence perpetration: Theoretical explanations, existing evidence and future directions. *Drug and alcohol review, 30*(5), 481-489.
- Abbey, A., Parkhill, M. R., BeShears, R., Clinton-Sherrod, A. M., & Zawacki, T. (2006). Cross-sectional predictors of sexual assault perpetration in a community sample of single African American and Caucasian men. *Aggressive Behavior: Official Journal of the International Society for Research on Aggression, 32*(1), 54-67.
- Abbey, A., Wegner, R., Woerner, J., Pegram, S. E., & Pierce, J. (2014). Review of survey and experimental research that examines the relationship between alcohol consumption and men's sexual aggression perpetration. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 15*(4), 265-282.
- Abbiati, M., Mezzo, B., Waeny-Desponds, J., Minervini, J., Mormont, C., & Gravier, B. (2014). Victimization in childhood of male sex offenders: Relationship between violence experienced and subsequent offenses through discourse analysis. *Victims & Offenders, 9*(2), 234-254.
- Adedayo, S. S., & Aborisade, R. A. (2020). Sexual Abuse of Elderly Women in Southwest Nigeria: A Sociological Exposition of an Emerging Crime. *Nigerian Journal of Sociology and Anthropology, 16*(2), 18-32.
- Anda, R. (2007). The health and social impact of growing up with adverse childhood experiences: The human and economic costs of the status quo. *Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 1-20*.
- Anda, R. F., Felitti, V. J., Bremner, J. D., Walker, J. D., Whitfield, C., Perry, B. D., . . . Giles, W. H. (2006). The enduring effects of abuse and related adverse experiences in childhood. *European archives of psychiatry and clinical neuroscience, 256*(3), 174-186.
- Anney, V. N. (2014). Ensuring the quality of the findings of qualitative research: Looking at trustworthiness criteria. *Journal of Emerging Trends in Educational Research and Policy Studies (JETERAPS), 5*, 272-281
- Artz, L., Meer, T., & Müller, A. (2018). Women's Exposure to Sexual Violence Across the Life Cycle: An African Perspective. In *Global Perspectives on Women's Sexual and Reproductive Health Across the Lifecourse* (pp. 273-293). Springer, Cham.
- American Psychiatric Association. (2013). *Desk reference to the diagnostic criteria from DSM-5*. USA: Amazon Digital Services.
- Audage, N. C., & Middlebrooks, J. S. (2008). *The effects of childhood stress on health across the lifespan*. Atlanta (GA): Centres for Disease Control and Prevention, National Centre for Injury Prevention and Control.
- Bacchini, D., & Esposito, C. (2020). Growing up in violent contexts: differential effects of community, family, and school violence on child adjustment. In *Children and peace* (pp. 157-171): Springer, Cham.
- Baglivio, M. T., Wolff, K. T., Epps, N., & Nelson, R. (2017). Predicting adverse childhood experiences: The importance of neighborhood context in youth trauma among delinquent youth. *Crime & Delinquency, 63*(2), 166-188.
- Ball, H. (1998). Offending pattern in a gerontophilic perpetrator. *Medicine, Science and the Law, 38*(3), 261-262.

- Ball, H. N. (2005). Sexual offending on elderly women: A review. *Journal of Forensic Psychiatry & Psychology*, 16(1), 127-138.
- Ball, H. N., & Fowler, D. (2008). Sexual offending against older female victims: An empirical study of the prevalence and characteristics of recorded offences in a semi-rural English county. *The Journal of Forensic Psychiatry & Psychology*, 19(1), 14-32.
- Band-Winterstein, T., Goldblatt, H., & Lev, S. (2021). Breaking the taboo: Sexual assault in late life as a multifaceted phenomenon—Toward an integrative theoretical framework. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 22(1), 112-124.
- Beauregard, E., DeLisi, M., & Hewitt, A. N. (2018). Sexual murderers: Sex offender, murderer, or both? *Sexual Abuse*, 30(8), 932–950.
- Beauregard, E., Chopin, J., & Winter, J. (2020). Lethal outcome in elderly sexual violence: Escalation or different intent?. *Journal of criminal justice*, 71, 101704.
- Becker, J. V., & Stinson, J. D. (2012). Sexual Dysfunctions. *Psychiatry Review and Canadian Certification Exam Preparation Guide*, 293.
- Beech, A. R., & Mitchell, I. J. (2005). A neurobiological perspective on attachment problems in sexual offenders and the role of selective serotonin re-uptake inhibitors in the treatment of such problems. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 25(2), 153-182.
- Bender, P. K., Sørhøvd, M., Pons, F., Reinholdt-Dunne, M. L., & Esbjørn, B. H. (2015). The impact of attachment security and emotion dysregulation on anxiety in children and adolescents. *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 20, 189–204.
- Bergum, V. (1991). Being a phenomenological researcher. *Qualitative nursing research: A contemporary dialogue*, 55-71.
- Bernard, C. (2015, May 2015). Life terms for nun's killers welcomed. Retrieved August, 2022, from <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/kwazulu-natal/life-terms-for-nuns-killers-welcomed-1859203>
- Bhattacharjee, A. (2012). *Social science research: Principles, methods, and practices*. Florida: Global Text Project.
- Blagden, N., & Pemberton, S. (2010). The challenge in conducting qualitative research with convicted sex offenders. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 49(3), 269-281.
- Boland Jr, R. J. (1985). 10 phenomenology: a preferred approach to research in information systems. *Research Methods in Information Systems, Amsterdam: North-Holland*, 181-190.
- Bowlby, J. (1944). Forty-four juvenile thieves: Their characters and home-life. *The international journal of psycho-analysis*, 25, 19.
- Bowlby, J. (1973). Attachment and loss: Volume II: Separation, anxiety and anger. In *Attachment and loss: Volume II: Separation, anxiety and anger* (pp. 1-429): London: The Hogarth press and the institute of psycho-analysis.
- Bowlby, J. (1994). 12. Pathological Mourning and Childhood Mourning. *Essential papers on object loss*, 1, 185.
- Bowman, B., Stevens, G., Eagle, G., Langa, M., Kramer, S., Kiguwa, P., & Nduna, M. (2015). The second wave of violence scholarship: South African synergies with a global research agenda. *Social Science & Medicine*, 146, 243-248.
- Bowman, B., Stevens, G., Eagle, G., & Matzopoulos, R. (2015). Bridging risk and enactment: The role of psychology in leading psychosocial research to

- augment the public health approach to violence in South Africa. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 45(3), 279-293.
- Bows, H. (2017). Researching sexual violence against older people: Reflecting on the use of freedom of information requests in a feminist study. *Feminist Review*, 115(1), 30-45.
- Bows, H. (2018a). *The 'ideal'rape victim and the elderly woman: a contradiction in terms?* : Policy Press, University of Bristol Bristol.
- Bows, H. (2018b). Practitioner views on the impacts, challenges, and barriers in supporting older survivors of sexual violence. *Violence Against Women*, 24(9), 1070-1090.
- Bows, H. (2018c). Sexual violence against older people: A review of the empirical literature. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 19(5), 567-583.
- Bows, H., & Westmarland, N. (2017). Rape of older people in the United Kingdom: Challenging the 'real-rape' stereotype. *British Journal of Criminology*, 57(1), 1-17.
- Briggs-Gowan, M. J., Estabrook, R., Henry, D., Grasso, D. G., Burns, J., McCarthy, K. J., . . . Wakschlag, L. S. (2019). Parsing dimensions of family violence exposure in early childhood: Shared and specific contributions to emergent psychopathology and impairment. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 87, 100-111.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). Contexts of child rearing: Problems and prospects. *American psychologist*, 34(10), 844.
- Browne, K. D., Hines, M., & Tully, R. J. (2018). The differences between sex offenders who victimise older women and sex offenders who offend against children. *Aging & mental health*, 22(1), 11-18.
- Brozowski, K., & Hall, D. R. (2010). Aging and risk: physical and sexual abuse of elders in Canada. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 25(7), 1183-1199.
- Bryman, A. (2016). *Social research methods*: Oxford university press.
- Burgess, A. W., Commons, M. L., Safarik, M. E., Looper, R. R., & Ross, S. N. (2007). Sex offenders of the elderly: Classification by motive, typology, and predictors of severity of crime. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 12(5), 582-597.
- Burgess, A. W., Dowel, E. B., & Prentky, R. A. (2000). Sexual abuse of nursing home residents. *Journal of Psychosocial Nursing and Mental Health Services*, 38(6), 10-18.
- Burgess, M. (2006). *Comparative federalism: Theory and practice*: Routledge.
- Burgess, A. W., Commons, M. L., Safarik, M. E., Looper, R. R., & Ross, S. N. (2007). Sex offenders of the elderly: Classification by motive, typology, and predictors of severity of crime. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 12(5), 582-597.
- Burgess-Proctor, A., Comartin, E. B., & Kubiak, S. P. (2017). Comparing female-and male-perpetrated child sexual abuse: A mixed-methods analysis. *Journal of child sexual abuse*, 26(6), 657-676.
- Burnett, A. (2016). Rape culture. *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Gender and Sexuality Studies*, 1-5.
- Burton, D. L., Leibowitz, G. S., & Howard, A. (2010). Comparison by crime type of juvenile delinquents on pornography exposure: The absence of relationships between exposure to pornography and sexual offense characteristics 1. *Journal of Forensic Nursing*, 6(3), 121-129.
- Cannell, P., & Gilmour, A. (2014). Staff: enhancing teaching. *Educational Developments*, 15(1), 17-20.
- Carlson, M. (2008). I'd rather go along and be considered a man: Masculinity and bystander intervention. *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 16(1), 3-17.

- Cartwright, P. S., & Moore, R. A. (1989). The elderly victim of rape. *Southern Medical Journal*, 82(8), 988-989.
- Casey, B. J., Getz, S., & Galvan, A. (2008). The adolescent brain. *Developmental Review*, 28(1), 62-77.
- Celani, D. P. (2010). *Fairbairn's object relations theory in the clinical setting*: Columbia University Press.
- Choon, L. J., Hasbullah, M., & Ling, W. S. (2013). Parental attachment, peer attachment, and delinquency among adolescents in Selangor, Malaysia. *Asian Social Science*, 9(15), 214.
- Chopin, J., & Beauregard, E. (2020). Elderly sexual abuse: An examination of the criminal event. *Sexual Abuse*, 32(6), 706-726.
- Chopin, J., & Beauregard, E. (2021). Sexual abuse of elderly victims investigated by the police: From motives to crime characteristics. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 36(13-14), 6722-6744.
- Cicchetti, D., & Banny, A. (2014). A developmental psychopathology perspective on child maltreatment. In *Handbook of developmental psychopathology* (pp. 723-741): Springer.
- Cicchetti, D., Rogosch, F. A., & Toth, S. L. (2006). Fostering secure attachment in infants in maltreating families through preventive interventions. *Development and psychopathology*, 18(3), 623-649.
- Clancy, M. (2013). Is reflexivity the key to minimising problems of interpretation in phenomenological research? *Nurse researcher*, 20(6).
- Cohen, E., Kuo, D. Z., Agrawal, R., Berry, J. G., Bhagat, S. K., Simon, T. D., & Srivastava, R. (2011). Children with medical complexity: an emerging population for clinical and research initiatives. *Pediatrics*, 127(3), 529-538.
- Connolly, A. C., Guntupalli, J. S., Gors, J., Hanke, M., Halchenko, Y. O., Wu, Y.-C., . . . Haxby, J. V. (2012). The representation of biological classes in the human brain. *Journal of Neuroscience*, 32(8), 2608-2618.
- Courtney, D., & Maschi, T. (2013). Trauma and stress among older adults in prison: Breaking the cycle of silence. *Traumatology*, 19(1), 73-81.
- Cowburn, M. (2010). Principles, virtues and care: Ethical dilemmas in research with male sex offenders. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 16(1-2), 65-74.
- Creeden, K. (2009). How trauma and attachment can impact neurodevelopment: Informing our understanding and treatment of sexual behaviour problems. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 15(3), 261-273.
- Creeden, K. (2013). Taking a developmental approach to treating juvenile sexual behavior problems. *International Journal of Behavioral Consultation and Therapy*, 8(3-4), 12.
- Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2016). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*: Sage publications.
- Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2017). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Sage publications.
- Crotty, M. J. (1998). The foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process. *The foundations of social research*, 1-256.
- Dartnall, E., & Jewkes, R. (2013). Sexual violence against women: the scope of the problem. *Best practice & research Clinical obstetrics & gynaecology*, 27(1), 3-13.
- De Zoysa, P. (2011). A study on parental disciplinary practices and an awareness program to reduce corporal punishment and other forms of negative parental practices. Retrieved October, 3, 2012.

- Del Bove, G. D., Stermac, L., & Bainbridge, D. (2005). Comparisons of sexual assault among older and younger women. *Journal of Elder Abuse & Neglect*, 17(3), 1-18.
- del Pilar Plazas, M., Cameron, B., & Salas, A. (2016). Being Attentive to the Inquiry: Lifeworld Existentials to Understand Chronic Illness in the Age of Globalization. *CIAIQ2016*, 5.
- DeLisi, M., & Beauregard, E. (2018). Adverse childhood experiences and criminal extremity: New evidence for sexual homicide. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 63(2), 484-489.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 1–32). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Denzin, N. K., Lincoln, Y. S., & Giardina, M. D. (2006). Disciplining qualitative research. *International journal of qualitative studies in education*, 19(6), 769-782.
- Dewey, J. (1958). *Experience and nature* (Vol. 471): Courier Corporation.
- Dierkhising, C. B., Ko, S. J., Woods-Jaeger, B., Briggs, E. C., Lee, R., & Pynoos, R. S. (2013). Trauma histories among justice-involved youth: Findings from the National Child Traumatic Stress Network. *European journal of psychotraumatology*, 4(1), 20274.
- Dilthey, W. (1976). The development of hermeneutics. In W. Dilthey (Ed.), *Selected writings* (H. Rickman, Trans.) (pp. 246-263). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Drury, A., Heinrichs, T., Elbert, M., Tahja, K., DeLisi, M., & Caropreso, D. (2017). Adverse childhood experiences, paraphilias, and serious criminal violence among federal sex offenders. *Journal of criminal psychology*.
- Dube, S. R., Anda, R. F., Whitfield, C. L., Brown, D. W., Felitti, V. J., Dong, M., & Giles, W. H. (2005). Long-term consequences of childhood sexual abuse by gender of victim. *American journal of preventive medicine*, 28(5), 430-438.
- Dube, S. R., Felitti, V. J., Dong, M., Chapman, D. P., Giles, W. H., & Anda, R. F. (2003). Childhood abuse, neglect, and household dysfunction and the risk of illicit drug use: the adverse childhood experiences study. *Pediatrics*, 111(3), 564-572.
- Eckert, L. O., & Sugar, N. F. (2008). Older victims of sexual assault: An underrecognized population. *American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology*, 198(6), 688. e681-688. e687.
- Edwards, V. J., Freyd, J. J., Dube, S. R., Anda, R. F., & Felitti, V. J. (2012). Health outcomes by closeness of sexual abuse perpetrator: A test of betrayal trauma theory. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*, 21(2), 133-148.
- Enaifoghe, A., Dlelana, M., Durokifa, A. A., & Dlamini, N. P. (2021). The Prevalence of Gender-Based Violence against Women in South Africa: A Call for Action. *African Journal of Gender, Society & Development*, 10(1), 117.
- Erikson, E. H. (1963). *Childhood and society* 2nd ed. *Erikson-New York: Norton*.
- Erikson, E. H. (1993). *Childhood and society*: WW Norton & Company.
- Fairbairn, W. R. D. (1943). The repression and the return of bad objects (with special reference to the 'war neuroses'). *British Journal of Medical Psychology*.
- Fattah, E. A., & Sacco, V. F. (2012). *Crime and Victimization of the Elderly*: Springer Science & Business Media.



- Felitti, V. J., & Anda, R. F. (2010). The relationship of adverse childhood experiences to adult medical disease, psychiatric disorders, and sexual behavior: Implications for healthcare. *The impact of early life trauma on health and disease: The hidden epidemic*, 77-87.
- Felitti, V. J., Anda, R. F., Nordenberg, D., Williamson, D. F., Spitz, A. M., Edwards, V., & Marks, J. S. (1998). Relationship of childhood abuse and household dysfunction to many of the leading causes of death in adults: The Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) Study. *American journal of preventive medicine*, 14(4), 245-258.
- Fergusson, D. M., John Horwood, L., & Ridder, E. M. (2005). Show me the child at seven: the consequences of conduct problems in childhood for psychosocial functioning in adulthood. *Journal of child psychology and psychiatry*, 46(8), 837-849.
- Fileborn, B. (2017). Sexual assault and justice for older women: A critical review of the literature. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 18(5), 496-507.
- Finkelhor, D., Turner, H. A., Shattuck, A., & Hamby, S. L. (2013). Violence, crime, and abuse exposure in a national sample of children and youth: An update. *JAMA pediatrics*, 167(7), 614-621.
- Finlay, L. (2009). Debating phenomenological research methods. *Phenomenology & Practice*, 3 (1), 6-25. In.
- Fonagy, P., & Target, M. (2003). *Psychoanalytic theories: Perspectives from developmental psychopathology*: Whurr publishers.
- Fonseka, R. W., Minnis, A. M., & Gomez, A. M. (2015). Impact of adverse childhood experiences on intimate partner violence perpetration among Sri Lankan men. *PLoS one*, 10(8), e0136321.
- Font, S. A., & Maguire-Jack, K. (2016). Pathways from childhood abuse and other adversities to adult health risks: The role of adult socioeconomic conditions. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 51, 390-399.
- Fox, B. H., Perez, N., Cass, E., Baglivio, M. T., & Epps, N. (2015). Trauma changes everything: Examining the relationship between adverse childhood experiences and serious, violent and chronic juvenile offenders. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 46, 163-173.
- Fraley, R. C., & Shaver, P. R. (2000). Adult romantic attachment: Theoretical developments, emerging controversies, and unanswered questions. *Review of general psychology*, 4(2), 132-154.
- Frisoli, A. (2016). The South African elderly: Neglect, social contribution and the HIV/AIDS epidemic.
- Gadamer, H.-G. (1975). Hermeneutics and social science. *Cultural hermeneutics*, 2(4), 307-316.
- Gadamer, H.-G. (2004). *Truth and Method*. London: Continuum.
- Gadamer, H.-G., Weinsheimer, J., & Marshall, D. (1960). *Truth and method*. 2004. *Continuum, London*.
- Gerrand, P. A., & Nathane-Taulela, M. (2015). Developing a culturally relevant adoption model in South Africa: The way forward. *International Social Work*, 58(1), 55-62.
- Gershoff, E. T., & Grogan-Kaylor, A. (2016). Spanking and child outcomes: Old controversies and new meta-analyses. *Journal of family psychology*, 30(4), 453.
- Giorgi, A. (2000). Concerning the application of phenomenology to caring research. *Scandinavian journal of caring sciences*, 14(1), 11-15.

- Glesne, C. (2011). *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction* Boston, MA: Pearson.
- Glucksmann, M. (1994). The work of knowledge and the knowledge of women's work. *Researching women's lives from a feminist perspective*, 149-165.
- Goldblatt, H., Band-Winterstein, T., Lev, S., & Harel, D. (2022). "Who Would Sexually Assault an 80-Year-Old Woman?": Barriers to Exploring and Exposing Sexual Assault Against Women in Late Life. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 37(5-6), 2751-2775.
- Goodall, K. (2015). Individual differences in the regulation of positive emotion: The role of attachment and self esteem. *Personality and Individual differences*, 74, 208-213.
- Gqola, P. D. (2015). *Rape: A South African Nightmare*. Johannesburg: MF Books.
- Grady, M. D., Levenson, J. S., & Bolder, T. (2017). Linking adverse childhood effects and attachment: A theory of etiology for sexual offending. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 18(4), 433-444.
- Grady, M. D., Levenson, J. S., Glover, J., & Kavanagh, S. (2022). Is sex-offending treatment trauma-informed? Exploring perspectives of clinicians and clients. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 28(1), 60-75.
- Grady, M. D., & Shields, J. J. (2018). The relationship between attachment dimensions and emotion regulation in individuals who have committed sexual crimes. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 24(1), 51-65.
- Groenewald, T. (2004). A phenomenological research design illustrated. *International journal of qualitative methods*, 3(1), 42-55.
- Groth, A. N. (1978). The older rape victim and her assailant. *Journal of Geriatric Psychiatry*.
- Groth, A. N., & Birnbaum, H. J. (2013). *Men who rape: The psychology of the offender*. Springer.
- Groth, A. N., & Burgess, A. (1979). Sexual trauma in the life histories of rapists and child molesters. *Victimology*, 4(1), 10-16.
- Guba, E. G. (1981). Criteria for assessing the trustworthiness of naturalistic inquiries. *Ectj*, 29(2), 75-91.
- Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. *Handbook of qualitative research*, 2(163-194), 105.
- Hammond, M. (1991). Understanding phenomenology.
- Hanson, R. K., & Morton-Bourgon, K. E. (2005). The Characteristics of Persistent Sexual Offenders: A Meta-Analysis of Recidivism Studies. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 73(6), 1154-1163.
- Hanson, R. K., & Morton-Bourgon, K. E. (2019). The characteristics of persistent sexual offenders: A meta-analysis of recidivism studies. In *Clinical Forensic Psychology and Law* (pp. 67-76): Routledge.
- Heidegger, M. (2002). *Supplements: From the earliest essays to being and time and beyond*: suny Press.
- Heidegger, M., Macquarrie, J., & Robinson, E. (1962). Being and time.
- Herman, A. (2019). Literature Review: Analyzing the Reasons for Returning to Abusive Partners. *Intuition: The BYU Undergraduate Journal of Psychology*, 14(1), 11.
- Herman, J. (1997). Trauma and Recovery. Revised Edition. *New York City, NY: Harper Collins. Addressing Trauma among Women with Serious Addictive Disorders*, 235.

- Hofer, M. A. (1996). On the nature and consequences of early loss. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 58(6), 570-581.
- Horsburgh, D. (2003). Evaluation of qualitative research. *Journal of clinical nursing*, 12(2), 307-312.
- Howells, K., Day, A., & Wright, S. (2004). Affect, emotions and sex offending. *Psychology, Crime and Law*, 10(2), 179-195.
- Hudson, S. M., & Ward, T. (2000). Interpersonal competency in sex offenders. *Behavior Modification*, 24(4), 494-527.
- Hughes, K., Bellis, M. A., Hardcastle, K. A., Sethi, D., Butchart, A., Mikton, C., Jones, L., & Dunne, M. P. (2017). The effect of multiple adverse childhood experiences on health: a systematic review and meta-analysis. *The Lancet Public Health*, 2(8), e356-e366. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S2468-2667\(17\)30118-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S2468-2667(17)30118-4)
- Hughes, D. A., Golding, K. S., & Hudson, J. (2019). *Healing relational trauma with attachment-focused interventions: Dyadic developmental psychotherapy with children and families*: WW Norton & Company.
- Husserl, E. (1970). *The crisis of European sciences and transcendental phenomenology: An introduction to phenomenological philosophy*: Northwestern University Press.
- Jacobs, M. S. (2017). The violent state: Black women's invisible struggle against police violence. *Wm. & Mary J. Women & L.*, 24, 39.
- Janssen, D. F. (2014). Gerontophilia": A forensic archaism. *Sexual Offender Treatment*, 9(1).
- Jeary, K. (2005). Sexual abuse and sexual offending against elderly people: A focus on perpetrators and victims. *The Journal of Forensic Psychiatry & Psychology*, 16(2), 328-343.
- Jewkes, R. (2012). Rape perpetration: A review. *Pretoria: Sexual Violence Research Initiative*.
- Jewkes, R., Sikweyiya, Y., Morrell, R., & Dunkle, K. (2010). Why, when and how men rape-understanding rape perpetration in South Africa. *SA Crime Quarterly*, 2010(34), 23-31.
- Jewkes, R., Sikweyiya, Y., Morrell, R., & Dunkle, K. (2011). Gender inequitable masculinity and sexual entitlement in rape perpetration South Africa: findings of a cross-sectional study. *PLoS one*, 6(12), e29590.
- Jones, H., & Powell, J. L. (2006). Old age, vulnerability and sexual violence: Implications for knowledge and practice. *International Nursing Review*, 53(3), 211-216.
- Jordan, C. E., Campbell, R., & Follingstad, D. (2010). Violence and women's mental health: the impact of physical, sexual, and psychological aggression. *Annual review of clinical psychology*, 6, 607-628.
- Kafle, N. P. (2011). Hermeneutic phenomenological research method simplified. *Bodhi: An interdisciplinary journal*, 5(1), 181-200.
- Kalmakis, K. A., & Chandler, G. E. (2014). Adverse childhood experiences: towards a clear conceptual meaning. *Journal of advanced nursing*, 70(7), 1489-1501.
- Karremans, A., & Vingerhoets, A. J. (2012). Attachment and well-being: The mediating role of emotion regulation and resilience. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 53(7), 821-826.
- Keiley, M. K., Zaremba-Morgan, A., Datubo-Brown, C., Pyle, R., & Cox, M. (2015). Multiple-family group intervention for incarcerated male adolescents who sexually offend and their families: Change in maladaptive emotion regulation

- predicts adaptive change in adolescent behaviors. *Journal of marital and family therapy*, 41(3), 324-339.
- Khandelwal, T., & Parashar, M. R. (2022). Violence Against Women: A State Level Analysis in India. In: Ministry of.
- Killian, B. J. (2004). *The development and evaluation of a community-based programme offering psychosocial support to vulnerable children affected by HIV/AIDS, poverty and violence*.
- Kimmes, J. G., Edwards, A. B., Wetchler, J. L., & Bercik, J. (2014). Self and other ratings of dyadic empathy as predictors of relationship satisfaction. *The American Journal of Family Therapy*, 42(5), 426-437.
- King, N., Horrocks, C., & Brooks, J. (2018). *Interviews in qualitative research: sage*.
- Kiriakidis, S. P. (2008). Bullying and suicide attempts among adolescents kept in custody. *Crisis: The Journal of Crisis Intervention and Suicide Prevention*, 29(4), 216.
- Kivunja, C., & Kuyini, A. B. (2017). Understanding and applying research paradigms in educational contexts. *International Journal of higher education*, 6(5), 26-41.
- Knight, R. A., Rosenberg, R., & Schneider, B. (1985). Classification of sexual offenders: Perspectives, methods, and validation. *Rape and sexual assault: A research handbook*, 222-293.
- Kohlberg, L. (1984). *Essays on moral development/2 The psychology of moral development*: Harper & Row.
- Kruger, D. (1988). *An introduction to phenomenological psychology*. 2nd revised edition. Cape Town: Juta.
- Krupnick, J. L., Green, B. L., Stockton, P., Goodman, L., Corcoran, C., & Petty, R. (2004). Mental health effects of adolescent trauma exposure in a female college sample: Exploring differential outcomes based on experiences of unique trauma types and dimensions. *Psychiatry*, 67(3), 264-279.
- Kumar, S., & Cavallaro, L. (2018). Researcher self-care in emotionally demanding research: A proposed conceptual framework. *Qualitative Health Research*, 28(4), 648-658.
- KwaZulu-Natal Department of Social Development (2013). Member of Executive Committee for Social Development: "Elder Abuse" Polity Daily Podcast. Retrieved from:  
[https://provincialgovernment.co.za/department\\_annual/309/2015-kwazulu-natal-socialdevelopment-annual-report.pdf](https://provincialgovernment.co.za/department_annual/309/2015-kwazulu-natal-socialdevelopment-annual-report.pdf). Accessed 15 July, 2018
- Lamb, G., & Warton, G. (2016). WHY IS CRIME IN SOUTH AFRICA SO VIOLENT? *Updated Rapid Evidence Assessment on Violent Crime in South Africa*. Cape Town: Safety and Violence Initiative.
- Langa, M., & Kiguwa, P. (2013). Violent masculinities and service delivery protests in post-apartheid South Africa: A case study of two communities in Mpumalanga. *Agenda*, 27(1), 20-31.
- Lanyon, R. I. (1991). Theories of sex offending. In C. R. Hollin & K. Howells (Eds.), *Clinical approaches to sex offenders and their victims*, (pp. 35–54). London: John Wiley & Sons
- Laub, D., & Auerhahn, N. C. (1989). Failed empathy--a central theme in the survivor's holocaust experience. *Psychoanalytic psychology*, 6(4), 377.
- Laverty, S. M. (2003). Hermeneutic phenomenology and phenomenology: A comparison of historical and methodological considerations. *International journal of qualitative methods*, 2(3), 21-35.

- Lea, S. J., Hunt, L., & Shaw, S. (2011). Sexual assault of older women by strangers. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 26*(11), 2303-2320.
- Leibowitz, G. S., Laser, J. A., & Burton, D. L. (2010). Exploring the relationships between dissociation, victimization, and juvenile sexual offending. *Journal of Trauma & Dissociation, 12*(1), 38-52.
- Levenson, J. S., & Socia, K. M. (2016). Adverse childhood experiences and arrest patterns in a sample of sexual offenders. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 31*(10), 1883-1911.
- Levenson, J. S., Willis, G. M., & Prescott, D. S. (2015). Adverse childhood experiences in the lives of female sex offenders. *Sexual Abuse, 27*(3), 258-283.
- Levenson, J. S., Willis, G. M., & Prescott, D. S. (2016). Adverse childhood experiences in the lives of male sex offenders: Implications for trauma-informed care. *Sexual Abuse, 28*(4), 340-359.
- Levers, L. L. (2022). An Introduction to Counseling Survivors of Trauma: Beginning to Understand the Historical and Psychosocial Implications of Trauma, Stress, Crisis, and Disaster. *Trauma Counseling: Theories and Interventions for Managing Trauma, Stress, Crisis, and Disaster, 1*.
- Levers, L. L., & Levers, L. L. (2012). *Trauma counseling: Theories and interventions*: Springer Pub.
- Locher, S. C., Barenblatt, L., Fourie, M. M., Stein, D. J., & Gobodo-Madikizela, P. (2014). Empathy and childhood maltreatment: A mixed-methods investigation. *Annals of Clinical Psychiatry, 26*(2), 97-110.
- Lochrie, S., Curran, R., & O'Gorman, K. (2015). Qualitative data gathering techniques. *O'Gorman, K. and MacIntosh, 118-139*.
- Lopez, K. A., & Willis, D. G. (2004). Descriptive versus interpretive phenomenology: Their contributions to nursing knowledge. *Qualitative Health Research, 14*(5), 726-735.
- Lune, H., & Berg, B. L. (2017). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*: Pearson.
- Mahlalela, N. B., Johnson, S., & Mills, E. (2017). Feasibility and acceptability of a mobile phone intervention to improve post-rape service delivery in South Africa.
- Maitse, T., & Majake, C. (2005). *Enquiry into the gendered lived experience of older persons living in conditions of poverty*. Braamfontein, South Africa: Commission on Gender Equality
- Makhasane, S. D., & Chikoko, V. (2016). Corporal punishment contestations, paradoxes and implications for school leadership: A case study of two South African high schools. *South African Journal of Education, 36*(4), 1-8.
- Malmedal, W., Iversen, M. H., & Kilvik, A. (2015). Sexual abuse of older nursing home residents: A literature review. *Nursing research and practice, 2015*.
- Mampane, R., Ebersöhn, L., Cherrington, A., & Moen, M. (2014). Adolescents' views on the power of violence in a rural school in South Africa. *Journal of Asian and African Studies, 49*(6), 733-745.
- Maniglio, R. (2011). The role of child sexual abuse in the etiology of suicide and non-suicidal self-injury. *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica, 124*(1), 30-41.
- Mann, R., Horsley, P., Barrett, C., & Tinney, J. (2014). *Norma's Project. A Research Study into the Sexual Assault of Older Women in Australia*: La Trobe University.

- Manyema, M., & Richter, L. M. (2019). Adverse childhood experiences: prevalence and associated factors among South African young adults. *Heliyon*, 5(12), e03003.
- Maphanga, C., 2021. Crime stats don't reveal 'true extent' of sexual offences in SA, says gender equality body. News24. Retrieved from: <https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/crime-stats-dont-reveal-true-extent-of-sexual-offences-in-sa-says-gender-equality-body-20210901>. Accessed . 10 June, 2022
- Marini, V. A., Leibowitz, G. S., Burton, D. L., & Stickle, T. R. (2014). Victimization, substance use, and sexual aggression in male adolescent sexual offenders. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 41(5), 635-649.
- Marshall, W. L. (2010). The role of attachments, intimacy, and loneliness in the etiology and maintenance of sexual offending. *Sexual and Relationship Therapy*, 25(1), 73-85.
- Marshall, W. L., & Barbaree, H. E. (1990). An integrated theory of the etiology of sexual offending. In *Handbook of sexual assault* (pp. 257-275): Springer.
- Marshall, W. L., & Marshall, L. E. (2019). Empathy and sexual offending: Theory, research and practice. In *Handbook of sexual assault and sexual assault prevention* (pp. 229-239): Springer.
- Maschi, T., Gibson, S., Zgoba, K. M., & Morgen, K. (2011). Trauma and life event stressors among young and older adult prisoners. *Journal of Correctional Health Care*, 17(2), 160-172.
- Masten, A. S. (2001). Ordinary magic: Resilience processes in development. *American psychologist*, 56(3), 227.
- Maxwell, J. A. (2012). *A realist approach for qualitative research*: Sage.
- Mbele, B., Makhaba, L., Nzima, D., Hlongwane, M., Thwala, J., Edwards, D., . . . Edwards, S. (2015). An experiential investigation into the phenomenon of respect in Zulu culture. *Indilinga African Journal of Indigenous Knowledge Systems*, 14(1), 87-102.
- Mbiti, J. S. (1990). *African religions & philosophy*: Heinemann.
- McCombie, S. L. (2012). *The rape crisis intervention handbook: A guide for victim care*: Springer Science & Business Media.
- McDonald, S. E., Shin, S., Corona, R., Maternick, A., Graham-Bermann, S. A., Ascione, F. R., & Williams, J. H. (2016). Children exposed to intimate partner violence: identifying differential effects of family environment on children's trauma and psychopathology symptoms through regression mixture models. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 58, 1-11.
- Meel, B. L. (2017). An epidemiology of sexual assault among elderly women in the Mthatha area of South Africa. *Medicine, Science and the Law*, 57(2), 69-74.
- Merleau-Ponty, M. (2005). *The Cambridge Companion to Merleau-Ponty*: Cambridge University Press.
- Middlebrooks, J. S., & Audage, N. C. (2008). The effects of childhood stress on health across the lifespan. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. *National Center for Injury Prevention and Control*.
- Mikulincer, M., & Shaver, P. R. (2007). Boosting attachment security to promote mental health, prosocial values, and inter-group tolerance. *Psychological inquiry*, 18(3), 139-156.
- Miles, H., & Huberman, A. M. (2018). Saldana.(2014). *Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook*, 3.

- Miles, M., Chapman, Y., & Francis, K. (2015). Peeling the onion: understanding others' lived experience. *Contemporary Nurse*, 50(2-3), 286-295.
- Miles, M., Francis, K., & Chapman, Y. (2010). Challenges for midwives: pregnant women and illicit drug use. *Australian Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 28(1), 83-90.
- Min, M. O., Minnes, S., Kim, H., & Singer, L. T. (2013). Pathways linking childhood maltreatment and adult physical health. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 37(6), 361-373.
- Mkhize, N. (2004). *Psychology: An African. Self, community and psychology*.
- Mkhize, N. J. (2003). *Culture and the self in moral and ethical decision-making: a dialogical approach*. Thesis (Ph.D.)-University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg. <http://hdl.handle.net/10413/3019>
- Mkhize, N. J., & Frizelle, K. (2000). Hermeneutic-dialogical approaches to career development: An exploration. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 30(3), 1-8.
- Mncwango, E. M., & Luvuno, M. D. (2015). Language, gender and women development in South Africa. *Journal of Educational and Social Research*, 5(2), 245-245.
- Moffett, H. (2006). 'These women, they force us to rape them': Rape as narrative of social control in post-apartheid South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32(1), 129-144.
- Moffett, L. (2009). Ending the cycle of violence in the Congo: is peace possible in the heart of darkness? *Journal of peace, conflict and development*, 13(1), 1-23.
- Montemurro, B., & Siefken, J. M. (2014). Cougars on the prowl? New perceptions of older women's sexuality. *Journal of Aging Studies*, 28, 35-43.
- Morris, A. S., Silk, J. S., Steinberg, L., Sessa, F. M., Avenevoli, S., & Essex, M. J. (2002). Temperamental vulnerability and negative parenting as interacting predictors of child adjustment. *Journal of Marriage and family*, 64(2), 461-471.
- Morrow, S. L. (2005). Quality and trustworthiness in qualitative research in counseling psychology. *Journal of counseling psychology*, 52(2), 250.
- Morse, J. M., & Field, P. A. (1995). *Nursing research: The application of qualitative approaches*: Nelson Thornes.
- Mrug, S., Madan, A., Cook, E. W., & Wright, R. A. (2015). Emotional and physiological desensitization to real-life and movie violence. *Journal of youth and adolescence*, 44(5), 1092-1108.
- Muram, D., Miller, K., & Cutler, A. (1992). Sexual assault of the elderly victim. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 7(1), 70-76.
- Murphy, R., & Winder, B. (2016). 'If you'd had my life, you'd have done it too': exploring the experiences of adult males who rape elderly females. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 22(8), 798-816.
- Myers, B., & Shaw, L. (2004). *The social sciences*: Nelson Thornes.
- Naramore, R., Bright, M. A., Epps, N., & Hardt, N. S. (2017). Youth arrested for trading sex have the highest rates of childhood adversity: A statewide study of juvenile offenders. *Sexual Abuse*, 29(4), 396-410.
- Naughton, C., Drennan, J., Treacy, M. P., Lafferty, A., Lyons, I., Phelan, A., . . . Delaney, L. (2010). Abuse and neglect of older people in Ireland. *Report on The National Study of Elder Abuse and Neglect. Report Summary. Ireland: National Centre for the Protection of Older People*.
- Neuman, L. (2011). Social research methods: qualitative and quantitative approach 7th ed. In: Boston: Pearson. Available at: [www.pearson.com/us/higher-education/program](http://www.pearson.com/us/higher-education/program) ....

- Ngidi, N. D., Moletsane, R., & Essack, Z. (2021). "They abduct us and rape us": Adolescents' participatory visual reflections of their vulnerability to sexual violence in South African townships. *Social Science & Medicine*, 287, 114401.
- Ngulube, P. (2016). Methodological issues in knowledge management research: 2009–2013. *Knowledge Management Research and Practice*.
- Ngulube, P., & Ngulube, B. (2017). Application and contribution of hermeneutic and eidetic phenomenology to indigenous knowledge research. In *Handbook of research on theoretical perspectives on indigenous knowledge systems in developing countries* (pp. 127-155): IGI Global.
- Nguyen, D., & Parkhill, M. R. (2014). Integrating attachment and depression in the confluence model of sexual assault perpetration. *Violence Against Women*, 20(8), 994-1011.
- Nhongo, T. M. (2004). *The changing role of older people in African households and the impact of ageing on African family structures*. Paper presented at the African Conference on Ageing, Johannesburg, South Africa.
- Nieuwenhuis, J. (2007). Introducing qualitative research. *First steps in research*, 5, 224-254.
- Nkoala, S. M. (2013). Songs that shaped the struggle: A rhetorical analysis of South African struggle songs. *African Yearbook of Rhetoric*, 4(1), 51-61.
- Nóbrega Pinto, A., Rodrigues, F., Dinis-Oliveira, R. J., & Magalhães, T. (2014). Sexual offenses against elderly people: Forensic evaluation and judicial outcome. *Journal of Elder Abuse & Neglect*, 26(2), 189-204.
- Ntuli, L. W. (2020). *Attitude, knowledge and beliefs about corporal punishment: a case study of four schools in KwaMashu township, Durban*.
- Nyathikazi, T. J. L. (2013). *Investigating the association between HIV and AIDS and polygamy among practising polygamists in KwaZulu-Natal, north coast area*. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University,
- O'Gorman, K., & MacIntosh, R. (2015). Mapping research methods. *Research methods for business and management: A guide to writing your dissertation*, 50-74.
- Ogilvie, C. A., Newman, E., Todd, L., & Peck, D. (2014). Attachment & violent offending: A meta-analysis. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 19(4), 322-339.
- Olver, M., Marshall, L. E., Marshall, W., & Nicholaichuk, T. (2020). A long-term outcome assessment of the effects on subsequent reoffense rates of a prison-based CBT/RNR sex offender treatment program with strength-based elements. *Sexual Abuse*, 32(2), 127-153.
- Pandey, S. C., & Patnaik, S. (2014). Establishing reliability and validity in qualitative inquiry: A critical examination. *Jharkhand journal of development and management studies*, 12(1), 5743-5753.
- Patel, M. (2021). Ageing agony: Rape against elderly women. *Journal of the Indian Academy of Geriatrics*, 17(2), 73.
- Patel, V., Flisher, A. J., Hetrick, S., & McGorry, P. (2007). Mental health of young people: a global public-health challenge. *The Lancet*, 369(9569), 1302-1313.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research & evaluation methods*: sage.
- Payne, B. K. (2010). Understanding elder sexual abuse and the criminal justice system's response: Comparisons to elder physical abuse. *Justice Quarterly*, 27(2), 206-224.
- Payne, B. K., & DeMichele, M. (2011). Sex offender policies: Considering unanticipated consequences of GPS sex offender monitoring. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 16(3), 177-187.



- Pereira, L. M., Karpouzoglou, T., Frantzeskaki, N., & Olsson, P. (2018). Designing transformative spaces for sustainability in social-ecological systems. *Ecology and Society*, 23(4).
- Perez, N. M., Jennings, W. G., & Baglivio, M. T. (2018). A path to serious, violent, chronic delinquency: The harmful aftermath of adverse childhood experiences. *Crime & Delinquency*, 64(1), 3-25.
- Perry, B. D. (2008). Child maltreatment: A neurodevelopmental perspective on the role of trauma and neglect in psychopathology. In T. P. Beauchaine & S. P. Hinshaw (Eds.), *Child and adolescent psychopathology* (pp. 93–128). London: John Wiley & Sons.
- Pettus-Davis, C., Renn, T., Lacasse, J. R., & Motley, R. (2019). Proposing a population-specific intervention approach to treat trauma among men during and after incarceration. *Psychology of Men & Masculinities*, 20(3), 379.
- Phakathi, N. N. (2011). *Exploring elder abuse among clinic attendees in a selected Durban hospital*.
- Pietkiewicz, I., & Smith, J. A. (2014). A practical guide to using interpretative phenomenological analysis in qualitative research psychology. *Psychological journal*, 20(1), 7-14.
- Pollock, N. L. (1988). Sexual assault of older women. *Annals of sex research*, 1(4), 523-532.
- Porges, S. W. (2011). *The polyvagal theory: Neurophysiological foundations of emotions, attachment, communication, and self-regulation (Norton Series on Interpersonal Neurobiology)*: WW Norton & Company.
- Poulos, C. A., & Sheridan, D. J. (2008). Genital injuries in postmenopausal women after sexual assault. *Journal of Elder Abuse & Neglect*, 20(4), 323-335.
- Powell, A., & Henry, N. (2017). Rape culture unveiled. In *Sexual violence in a digital age* (pp. 79-116): Springer.
- Predali, D. (2021). The Elderly Women# metoo Left Out. In *Older Women and Well-Being* (pp. 379-399). Springer, Singapore.
- Preece, S. (2009). Multilingual identities in higher education: Negotiating the 'mother tongue', 'posh' and 'slang'. *Language and Education*, 24(1), 21-39.
- Ramsey-Klawnsnik, H. (2004). Elder sexual abuse perpetrated by residents in care settings. *Victimization of the Elderly and Disabled*, 6(6), 81.
- Ramsey-Klawnsnik, H., Teaster, P. B., Mendiondo, M. S., Marcum, J. L., & Abner, E. L. (2008). Sexual predators who target elders: Findings from the first national study of sexual abuse in care facilities. *Journal of Elder Abuse & Neglect*, 20(4), 353-376.
- Rapanyane, M. B. (2021). Women in Trouble? A Critical Reflection on the Major Hindrances to Addressing Gender Based Violence in South Africa. *African Journal of Gender, Society & Development*, 10(4), 209.
- Rashe, S. (2006). *An evaluation of care and support centres for HIV/AIDS orphans in Khayelitsha*. Cape Peninsula University of Technology,
- Reavis, J. A., Looman, J., Franco, K. A., & Rojas, B. (2013). Adverse childhood experiences and adult criminality: how long must we live before we possess our own lives? *The Permanente Journal*, 17(2), 44.
- Reckdenwald, A., Mancini, C., & Beauregard, E. (2013). The cycle of violence: Examining the impact of maltreatment early in life on adult offending. *Violence and Victims*, 28(3), 466-482.
- Reid, K., Flowers, P., & Larkin, M. (2005). Exploring lived experience. *The psychologist*.

- Reyneke, J. M. (2013). *The best interests of the child in school discipline in South Africa*. Tilburg University,
- Richards, L., & Morse, J. M. (2012). *Readme first for a user's guide to qualitative methods*: Sage.
- Richters, J. E. (1997). The Hubble hypothesis and the developmentalist's dilemma. *Development and psychopathology*, 9(2), 193-229.
- Riggs, S. A. (2010). Childhood emotional abuse and the attachment system across the life cycle: What theory and research tell us. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*, 19(1), 5-51.
- Robertiello, G., & Terry, K. J. (2007). Can we profile sex offenders? A review of sex offender typologies. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 12(5), 508-518.
- Roberto, K. A., & Teaster, P. B. (2005). Sexual abuse of vulnerable young and old women: A comparative analysis of circumstances and outcomes. *Violence Against Women*, 11(4), 473-504.
- Rutherford, H. J., Wallace, N. S., Laurent, H. K., & Mayes, L. C. (2015). Emotion regulation in parenthood. *Developmental Review*, 36, 1-14.
- Safarik, M. E., Jarvis, J. P., & Nussbaum, K. E. (2002). Sexual homicide of elderly females: Linking offender characteristics to victim and crime scene attributes. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 17(5), 500-525.
- Scheff, T. J., & Retzinger, S. M. (1991). *Emotions and Violence: Shame and Rage in Destructive Conflicts*. Lexington, MA. In: Lexington Books. Makkai, Braithwaite/CORPORATE DETERRENCE.
- Schore, A. N. (2003). *Affect dysregulation and disorders of the self (Norton Series on Interpersonal Neurobiology)*: WW Norton & Company.
- Schroeder, A., Slopen, N., & Mittal, M. (2018). Accumulation, timing, and duration of early childhood adversity and behavior problems at age 9. *Journal of Clinical Child & Adolescent Psychology*.
- Schuengel, C., Bakermans-Kranenburg, M. J., & Van IJzendoorn, M. H. (1999). Frightening maternal behavior linking unresolved loss and disorganized infant attachment. *Journal of consulting and clinical psychology*, 67(1), 54.
- Scott, S., Webster-Stratton, C., Spender, Q., Doolan, M., Jacobs, B., & Aspland, H. (2001). Multicentre controlled trial of parenting groups for childhood antisocial behaviour in clinical practice Commentary: nipping conduct problems in the bud. *Bmj*, 323(7306), 194.
- Seedat, M., Van Niekerk, A., Jewkes, R., Suffla, S., & Ratele, K. (2009). Violence and injuries in South Africa: prioritising an agenda for prevention. *The Lancet*, 374(9694), 1011-1022.
- Seto, M. C., & Lalumiere, M. L. (2010). What is so special about male adolescent sexual offending? A review and test of explanations through meta-analysis. *Psychological bulletin*, 136(4), 526.
- Shaiful Bahari, I., Norhayati, M. N., Nik Hazlina, N. H., Mohamad Shahirul Aiman, C. A. A., & Nik Muhammad Arif, N. A. (2021). Psychological impact of polygamous marriage on women and children: a systematic review and meta-analysis. *BMC pregnancy and childbirth*, 21(1), 1-10.
- Shamu, S., Gevers, A., Mahlangu, B. P., Jama Shai, P. N., Chirwa, E. D., & Jewkes, R. K. (2016). Prevalence and risk factors for intimate partner violence among Grade 8 learners in urban South Africa: baseline analysis from the Skhokho Supporting Success cluster randomised controlled trial. *International health*, 8(1), 18-26.

- Shenton, A. K. (2004). Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. *Education for information*, 22(2), 63-75.
- Shong, T. S., Abu Bakar, S. H., & Islam, M. R. (2019). Poverty and delinquency: A qualitative study on selected juvenile offenders in Malaysia. *International Social Work*, 62(2), 965-979.
- Shonkoff, J. P. (2010). Building a new biodevelopmental framework to guide the future of early childhood policy. *Child development*, 81(1), 357-367.
- Shonkoff, J. P., Richter, L., van der Gaag, J., & Bhutta, Z. A. (2012). An integrated scientific framework for child survival and early childhood development. *Pediatrics*, 129(2), e460-e472.
- Singh, L. (2021). Evidence for an early novelty orientation in bilingual learners. *Child Development Perspectives*, 15(2), 110-116.
- Sitney, M. H., & Kaufman, K. L. (2020). The impact of disrupted caregiving for juvenile sexual offenders. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 26(2), 274-287.
- Smith, J. (2009). Flowers P. Larkin M. *Interpretative phenomenological analysis: theory, method and research*.
- Smith, J. A. (2004). Reflecting on the development of interpretative phenomenological analysis and its contribution to qualitative research in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 1(1), 39-54.
- Soares, J. L. (2010). *Attitudes toward sex offenders: A comparison of psychology and criminal justice majors*: Alliant International University, Fresno.
- Soga, J. H. (2013). *The Ama-Xosa*: Cambridge University Press.
- Spaccarelli, S., Bowden, B., Coatsworth, J. D., & Kim, S. (1997). Psychosocial correlates of male sexual aggression in a chronic delinquent sample. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 24(1), 71-95.
- Speck, P. M., Kennedy, B. L., Henry, N. D., & Ernst, E. (2013). Analysis of possible sexual assault or abuse in a 67-year-old female with early Dementia post-brain attack. *Advanced emergency nursing journal*, 35(3), 217-239.
- Spiegelberg, E. (2012). *Doing phenomenology: Essays on and in phenomenology* (Vol. 63): Springer Science & Business Media.
- Squires, A. (2009). Methodological challenges in cross-language qualitative research: A research review. *International journal of nursing studies*, 46(2), 277-287.
- Steinbrenner, S. Y., Shawler, C., Ferreira, S., & Draucker, C. (2017). The lived experience of help-seeking by South African women after sexual assault. *Health care for women international*, 38(5), 425-438.
- Stevens, K. (2009). Developing a descriptive system for a new preference-based measure of health-related quality of life for children. *Quality of Life Research*, 18(8), 1105-1113.
- Stinson, J. D., Becker, J. V., & Sales, B. D. (2008). Self-regulation and the etiology of sexual deviance: Evaluating causal theory. *Violence and Victims*, 23(1), 35.
- Stinson, J. D., Puskiewicz, K. L., & Lasher, M. P. (2022). Associations between self-regulation, experiences of childhood adversity, and problematic sexual and aggressive behaviors. *Sexual Abuse*, 10790632211058067.
- Stinson, J. D., Sales, B. D., & Becker, J. V. (2008). *Sex offending: Causal theories to inform research, prevention, and treatment*: American Psychological Association.
- Stones, C. (1988). Research: toward a phenomenological praxis (pp. 141-156).

- Strode, A., Slack, C., & Essack, Z. (2010). Child consent in South African law: Implications for researchers, service providers and policy-makers. *South African Medical Journal*, 100(4).
- Sweeney, A., Filson, B., Kennedy, A., Collinson, L., & Gillard, S. (2018). A paradigm shift: relationships in trauma-informed mental health services. *BJPsych advances*, 24(5), 319-333.
- Tappan, M. B. (1997). Interpretive psychology: Stories, circles, and understanding lived experience. *Journal of Social Issues*, 53(4), 645-656.
- Tarabah, A., Badr, L. K., Usta, J., & Doyle, J. (2016). Exposure to violence and children's desensitization attitudes in Lebanon. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 31(18), 3017-3038.
- TERRE BLANCHE, M., DURRHEIM, K., & PAINTER, D. (Eds.). (2006). *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences* (2nd ed.). Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.
- Tindall, L. (2009). J.A. Smith, P. Flower and M. Larkin (2009), Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis: Theory, Method and Research. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 6(4), 346-347. doi:10.1080/14780880903340091
- Treadwell, K. L., Lane, F. C., & Paterson, B. G. (2020). Reflections from crisis: A phenomenological study of the Texas A&M bonfire collapse. *Journal of Student Affairs Research and Practice*, 57(2), 119-131.
- Tudge, J. (2008). *The everyday lives of young children: Culture, class, and child rearing in diverse societies*: Cambridge University Press.
- Tyra, P. A. (1993). Older women: Victims of rape. In (Vol. 19, pp. 7-9): SLACK Incorporated Thorofare, NJ.
- Van der Kolk, B. (2014). *The body keeps the score: Brain, mind, and body in the healing of trauma*. New York.
- Van Manen, M. (1997). Phenomenological pedagogy and the question of meaning. *Phenomenology & education discourse*, 41-68.
- Van Manen, M. (2007). Phenomenology of practice. *Phenomenology & Practice*, 1(1). 11-30 doi: 10.29173/pandpr19803
- Van Manen, M. (2016). *Researching lived experience: Human science for an action sensitive pedagogy*. Routledge.
- Van Manen, M. (2012). The call of pedagogy as the call of contact. *Phenomenology & Practice*, 6(2), 8-34.
- VAN SCHALKWYK, S., BOONZAIER, F., & GOBODO-MADIKIZELA, P. (2016). CHAPTER THREE WOMAN ABUSE IN SOUTH AFRICA: REFLECTING ON THE COMPLEXITY OF WOMEN'S DECISIONS TO LEAVE ABUSIVE MEN. *A Reflexive Inquiry into Gender Research: Towards a New Paradigm of Knowledge Production & Exploring New Frontiers of Gender Research in Southern Africa*, 47.
- Venta, A., Hatkevich, C., Mellick, W., Vanwoerden, S., & Sharp, C. (2017). Social cognition mediates the relation between attachment schemas and posttraumatic stress disorder. *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy*, 9(1), 88.
- Venta, A., & Sharp, C. (2015). Mentalizing mediates the relation between attachment and peer problems among inpatient adolescents. *Journal of Infant, Child, and Adolescent Psychotherapy*, 14(3), 323-340.
- Verboom, C. E., Sijtsema, J. J., Verhulst, F. C., Penninx, B. W., & Ormel, J. (2014). Longitudinal associations between depressive problems, academic

- performance, and social functioning in adolescent boys and girls. *Developmental psychology*, 50(1), 247.
- Vessey, D. (2009). Gadamer and the Fusion of Horizons. *International Journal of Philosophical Studies*, 17(4), 531-542.
- Vogelman, L. (1990). *The sexual face of violence: Rapists on rape*: Ravan Press Johannesburg.
- Waldram, J. B. (2007). Everybody has a story: Listening to imprisoned sexual offenders. *Qualitative Health Research*, 17(7), 963-970.
- Wang, X. (2022). Intergenerational effects of childhood maltreatment: The roles of parents' emotion regulation and mentalization. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 128, 104940.
- Ward, M. J., & Carlson, E. A. (1995). Associations among adult attachment representations, maternal sensitivity, and infant-mother attachment in a sample of adolescent mothers. *Child development*, 66(1), 69-79.
- Wertz, F. J. (2005). Phenomenological research methods for counseling psychology. *Journal of counseling psychology*, 52(2), 167.
- Whitaker, R. C., Dearth-Wesley, T., Gooze, R. A., Becker, B. D., Gallagher, K. C., & McEwen, B. S. (2014). Adverse childhood experiences, dispositional mindfulness, and adult health. *Preventive medicine*, 67, 147-153.
- White, J. W., & Smith, P. H. (2004). Sexual assault perpetration and re-perpetration: From adolescence to young adulthood. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 31(2), 182-202.
- Whitfield, C. L. (1998). Internal evidence and corroboration of traumatic memories of child sexual abuse with addictive disorders. *Sexual Addiction & Compulsivity: The Journal of Treatment and Prevention*, 5(4), 269-292.
- Wielstein, L. H. (2010). *The sex offender and his Experience of Sexual Assault: A Phenomenological study*: Capella University.
- Wiklund, L., Lindholm, L., & Lindström, U. Å. (2002). Hermeneutics and narration: a way to deal with qualitative data. *Nursing inquiry*, 9(2), 114-125.
- Willis, G. M., Kelley, S. M., & Thornton, D. (2020). Are protective factors valid constructs? Interrater reliability and construct validity of proposed protective factors against sexual reoffending. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 47(11), 1448-1467.
- Winfrey, O., & Perry, B. (2021). *What happened to you?: Conversations on trauma, resilience, and healing*. UK: Pan Macmillan.
- Wojnar, D. M., & Swanson, K. M. (2007). Phenomenology: an exploration. *Journal of holistic nursing*, 25(3), 172-180.
- Womersley, G., & Maw, A. (2009). Contextualising the experiences of South African women in the immediate aftermath of rape. *Psychology in Society*(38), 40-60.
- Wood, K., Lambert, H., & Jewkes, R. (2007). "Showing roughness in a beautiful way": Talk about love, coercion, and rape in South African youth sexual culture. *Medical anthropology quarterly*, 21(3), 277-300.
- Woodward, K. (2000). Traumatic shame: Toni Morrison, televisual culture, and the cultural politics of the emotions. *Cultural Critique*(46), 210-240.
- Woolf, V. (2005). Orlando: novel/Virginia Woolf. *Selected Works of Virginia Woolf.—London: Wordsworth Editions*, 393-560.
- World Health Assembly, 49. (1996). Prevention of violence: public health priority. World Health Organization. <https://apps.who.int/iris/handle/10665/179463>

- World Health Organization (2013). *Responding to intimate partner violence and sexual violence against women: WHO clinical and policy guidelines*: World Health Organization.
- World Health Organization. (2021). Violence against women prevalence estimates, 2018: global, regional and national prevalence estimates for intimate partner violence against women and global and regional prevalence estimates for non-partner sexual violence against women.
- Yoder, J. R., Grady, M., & Dillard, R. (2019). Maternal caregiving practices and child abuse experiences as developmental antecedents to insecure attachments: Differential pathways between adolescents who commit sexual and non-sexual crimes. *Sexual Abuse, 31*(7), 837-861.
- Zaremba, L. A., & Keiley, M. K. (2011). The mediational effect of affect regulation on the relationship between attachment and internalizing/externalizing behaviors in adolescent males who have sexually offended. *Children and Youth Services Review, 33*(9), 1599-1607.

## Appendix A: Permission to Conduct Study



### correctional services

Department:  
Correctional Services  
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Private Bag X136, PRETORIA, 0001 Poyntons Building, C/O WF Nkomo and Sophie De Bruyn Street, PRETORIA  
Tel (012) 307 2770, Fax 086 539 2693

Dear Ms CK Khanyile

### RE: VOICING THE LIVED EXPERIENCES OF YOUNG MEN INCARCERATED FOR RAPING ELDERLY WOMEN

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

Your attention is drawn to the following:

- This ethical approval is valid from **13 October 2020 to 13 October 2023**.
- The relevant Regional and Area Commissioners where the research will be conducted will be informed of your proposed research project.
- Your internal guide will be **Area Coordinator: Development & Care: Pietermaritzburg and Durban Management Area**.
- You are requested to contact the Area Commissioners for Pietermaritzburg at telephone number (033) 8455502 and Durban Management Area at 031 -2670834 before the commencement of your research.
- It is your responsibility to make arrangements for your interviewing times.
- Your identity document/passport and this approval letter should be in your possession when visiting regional offices/correctional centres.
- You are required to use the terminology used in the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (February 2005) and Correctional Services Act (No.111 of 1998) e.g. "Offenders" not "Prisoners" and "Correctional Centres" not "Prisons".
- You are not allowed to use photographic or video equipment during your visits, however the audio recorder is allowed.
- You are required to submit your final report to the Department for approval by the Commissioner of Correctional Services before publication (including presentation at workshops, conferences, seminars, etc) of the report.
- Should you have any enquiries regarding this process, please contact the REC Administration for assistance at telephone number (012) 307 2463.

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

Yours faithfully



**ND MBULI**  
**DC: POLICY COORDINATION & RESEARCH**  
**DATE: 13/10/2020**

## Appendix B: Informed Consent in English



### INFORMED CONSENT LETTER – ENGLISH

Dear Participant

#### CONSENT LETTER FOR INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE RESEARCH PROJECT

I am a PhD student at the University of Pretoria in the Department of Educational Psychology. As part of my degree, I am conducting research titled "Voicing the Lived Experiences of Young Men Incarcerated for Raping Elderly Women".

You are cordially invited to participate in this research project. The aim of this study is to illuminate the lived experiences of young isiZulu speaking Black South African men from KwaZulu-Natal who are incarcerated for raping elderly women. It is an attempt to understand the world as experienced by the young perpetrators through their lifeworld stories. This includes exploring and understanding the situations they face and how they make sense of their personal and social world.

I hereby wish to obtain your consent to conduct an interview with you. The interview is expected to take approximately 45 to 60 minutes. I will arrange a time that is convenient for you. Please note that your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you are not be forced to participate. You are free to withdraw from participating at any point should you not be comfortable to proceed. There will be no negative consequences should you wish to withdraw your participation.

It is hoped that working with you in this research will enable me to come up with strategies that will assist institutions that work with children in planning prevention activities and early interventions aimed at minimising the occurrence of rape of elderly women in our communities. Furthermore, a clearer understanding of young male sexual offenders who target elderly women is required so that the psychosocial intervention programmes adopted by psychologists (and others) can be effective when working with this group of offenders.

The information obtained during this interview will be recorded on audio-tape and transcribed. All identifying information will be removed from the transcriptions. A false name (Pseudonym) will be used instead of your real name, and the names of the people you mention in the interview will also not be revealed. The name of the Correctional Centre where you are incarcerated in KwaZulu-Natal will also not be mentioned in the research report.



Your name will not appear in the research report or any publication that may arise from this study. Therefore your anonymity is guaranteed.

The information provided during the interview will not be utilised to incriminate the participant in any way. The interview information will not be handed over to the South African Criminal Justice System (Department of Correctional Services, the South African Police Services etc.) under any circumstances. Participants will, therefore, be granted complete confidentiality and anonymity. The transcribed interview and the audio clips will be kept in a safe place within the Department of Educational Psychology at the University of Pretoria as per research requirements.

I understand that you may talk about some painful events that happened in your life and that this may cause discomfort. If there are any questions you would rather not answer or that you do not feel comfortable answering, please say so and we will move on to the next question or stop the interview, whichever you prefer. Should you feel that you need counselling as a result of your participation in this study, a system of referral to psychologists, has been set up.

There will be no financial compensation for participation in the study. The research will be conducted in isiZulu. In the event of any concerns which arise around the interview or further questions, you may contact the Researcher or the Supervisor of this project.

Should you wish to participate in this study, please complete the attached consent form. Please note that you are not obliged to reveal your name. If you choose not to, kindly use a pseudonym.

Thank you for your consideration of this request.

Sincerely

**Ms Zamangwane Khanyile**  
Researcher, PhD Student  
Student Number: 19344652  
Department of Educational Psychology  
Faculty of Education  
University of Pretoria  
Private Bag X20 Hatfield 0028  
South Africa  
Tel +27 (0)33 260 6062  
Email: [Khanyilez@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:Khanyilez@ukzn.ac.za)

**Professor Ruth Mampane**  
PhD Supervisor  
Head of Department  
Department of Educational Psychology  
Faculty of Education  
University of Pretoria  
Private Bag X20 Hatfield 0028  
South Africa  
Tel +27 (0)12 420 2339  
Email: [ruth.mampane@up.ac.za](mailto:ruth.mampane@up.ac.za)

## CONSENT

I ..... (your name/pseudonym), hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project titled "Voicing the Lived Experiences of Young Men Incarcerated for Raping Elderly Women".

- I understand the purpose and procedures of the study and I have been given an opportunity to ask questions about the study, and have had any questions I had answered satisfactorily.
- I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time, without any negative consequences.
- I understand that my participation in this study will be completely confidential. The interviews, the audio recordings and the transcriptions will not be held against me in any way.
- I understand that my identity will at all times remain anonymous. None of the findings will ever be linked to myself, my family, my victim or the Correctional Centre where I am serving my sentence.
- I understand that I can only participate in this study if my case has been finalised and if I am not appealing my sentence.

I consent to participate in the research project

- |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Yes                      | No                       |

I consent to the audio recording of my interview

- |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Yes                      | No                       |

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Researcher

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

## Appendix C: Informed Consent in isiZulu



### INFORMED CONSENT LETTER – isiZULU

Mnumzane ohloniphekile

#### INCWADI EYISICELO KOVUMAYO UKUZIBANDAKANYA OCWANINGWENI

Ngingumfundi owenza iziqu ze PhD eNyuvesi yase Pretoria, engosini ye-Psychology kwezemfundo. Njengengxenywe yeziqo zami. Ngenza ucwaningo esihlokwini "Ukucacisa koboshiwe, eboshelwe ukudlwengula abesifazane asebekhulile (izalukazi)"

Uyamenywa ukuba ubambe iqhaza kulolu cwaningo. Injongo yalolu cwaningo ngokuthola isithombe esicacile kumuntu wesilisa, onguMzulu wakwaZulu-Natal oboshiwe eboshelwe ukudlwengula owesifazane osekhulile. Lokhu kungumzamo wokuthola noma ukuveza imizwa nemicabango yabasebasha, abake badlwengula abesifazane asebekhulile. Lokhu kubandakanya nokuzama ukuthola nokuqonda okwenzeka emicabangweni yabo ngalesi senzo.

Bengicela ukuba unginike imvume yokuba sibambisane kulolu cwaningo. Inkulumbo-ngxoxo yethu izothatha okungenani imizuzu engu 45 kuya kwi hora eligcwele. Ngizozama ukuhlela isikhathi esizovumelana nesimo sakho. Nakhu okubalulekile, ukuba yingxenywe yalolu cwaningo, uzokwenza ngoba uthanda wena (awuphoqiwe). Unelungelo lokungazibandakanyi nalolu cwaningo futhi ungahoxa phakathi nendawo uma uzizwa ukhathala. Ukuyukuba nankinga kuwe ukuhoxa kwakho.

Nginethemba lokuthi ngokusebenzisana nawe kulolu cwaningo ngiyokwazi ukuvela nezindlela ezingasiza izikhungo ezisebenza nezingane, ekuzilulekeni maqondana nokugwema nokunciphisa ukunokubeza ngokocansi emiphakathini yethu. Nakho nje ukuthola umqondosimo wabantu abenza lolu hlobo lwecala, okungukudlwengula abesifazane asebekhulile. Ngaleyo ndlela, kuyozuza abasezikhungweni zokuhlumelelisa izimilo nalabo abayizazi ngokuziphatha kwabantu ukuthi bakwazi ukwenza izinhlelo zokungenelela ezizosebenza ngendlela efanele kubantu ababoshelwe ukwenza lolu hlobo lwecala.

Ulwazi oluyotholakala kulolu cwaningo luyiqoshwa ngesiqoPhamazwi bese kushicilelwa ngokubhala. Ukuveza igama lakho noma ukunikeza isithombe esingenza kuvele ukuthi ngubani obekhuluma, kuyosuswa. Kuyosetshenziswa igama okungelona elakho.

Namagama abantu wena oyowasho ngeke adalulwe, nesikhungo wena ogcinwe kuso ngeke sivezwe. Igama lakho angeke livele embikweni walolu phenyo. Siyaqinisekisa ukuthi igama lakho liyohlale livikelekile.

Ulwazi olutholakale ngokwenza lolu cwaningo ngeke lusetshenziswe ukulandela loyo okhulumile. Ulwazi alusoze futhi lwanikezelwa uMnyango wezokuhlumelelisa izimilo noma owezoBulungiswa kanye namaPhoyisa. Ozibandakanya nalolu cwaningo uzovikelwa ngokwemigomo yobumfihlo. Umbhalo wokuqoshiwe noma okuqoshiwe kuyogcinwa kuphela yiNyuvesi yase Pitoli, engosini yezeMfundo, njengomsebenzi wocwaningo.

Ngiyaqonda ukuthi kungenzeka ukuthi ukhulume ngezinto ezibuhlungu ezake zakwehlela empilweni nokuthi lokukungenza uzizwa ungasakhululekile emoyeni. Uma kungenzeka ukuthi kube nemibuzo ongefisa ukuthi ungayiphenduli uma ibuzwa, ngiyacela ukuthi usho ukuze sidlulele kumbuzo olandelayo noma siyeke singabe sisaqhubeka nenkulumo-ngxoxo. Lokhu kuyoba kuwena. Uma kungenzeka ukuthi uzithole usuhlukumezekile ngenxa yokuzibandakanya nalolu cwaningo, ungasizwa ngokudluliselwa kochwepheshe bezokusebenza ngeNgqondo eMnyangweni wokuhlumelisa kwezimilo.

Akukho nokhelo ezotholwa ngabazibandakanya nalolu cwaningo. Lolu cwaningo luyokwenziwa ngolimi lwesiZulu. Uma kukhona okukukhathazayo noma ngakuqondi ngalolu cwaningo, ungasixhumani noMchwani noma uMphathi walolu cwaningo.

Uma uthanda ukuzibandakanya nalolu cwaningo, ungasicwalisa ephepheni elihambisana nale ncazelo. Khumbula, awuphoqiwe ukusebenzisa igama lakho langempela. Ungasebenzisa elokuziqambela.

Ngiyabonga kakhulu ngokuzinika isikhathi sokucubungula lesi sicelo.

Ozithobayo

**Zamangwane Khanyile**  
Umcwaningi, Umfundi owenza iPhD  
Student Number: 19344652  
Department of Educational Psychology  
Faculty of Education  
University of Pretoria  
Private Bag X20 Hatfield 0028  
South Africa  
Tel +27 (0)33 260 6062  
Email: [Khanyilez@gmail.com](mailto:Khanyilez@gmail.com)

**USolwazi Ruth Mampane**  
UMphathi wocwaningo  
Head of Department  
Department of Educational psychology  
Faculty of Education  
University of Pretoria  
Private Bag X20 Hatfield 0028  
South Africa  
Tel +27 (0)12 420 2339  
Email: [ruth.mampane@up.ac.za](mailto:ruth.mampane@up.ac.za)

## IMVUME

Mina.....ngiyaqinisekisa ukuthi ngiyayiqonda imininingwane eshicilelwe kule ncwadi kanye nengqikithi yalolu cwaningo esihlokweni "Ukucacisa koboshiwe, eboshelwe ukudlwengula abesifazane asebekhulile (izalukazi)".

- Ngiyayiqonda inhloso nemigomo yalolu cwaningo futhi nginikeziwe ithuba lokubuza imibuzo ngalolu cwaningo futhi yonke imibuzo ebenginayo iphendulekile ngendlela engigculisile.
- Ngiyaqonda ukuthi ukuzibandakanya nalolu cwaningo, ngikwenza ngokuzithandela futhi ngingalushiya nanoma yingasiphi isikhathi uma ngifuna ngaphandle kwemiphumela engemihle.
- Ngiyaqonda ukuthi ukuzibandakanya nalolucwaningo kuyoba yimfihlo. Inkulumo-ngxoxo, okuqoshiwe ngesiqoPhamazwi, imibhalo yokuqoshiwe ayikuba nokungibophezela nangayiphi indlela.
- Ngiyaqonda ukuthi imininingwane emayelana name ngqo iyohlala iyimfihlo ngaso sonke isikhathi. Ayikho imiphumela yalolucwaningo eyoke ibandakanye mina, umndeni wami, izisuli noma uMnyango wezokuhlumelelisa izimilo lapho ngidonsa khona isigwebo sami.
- Ngiyaqonda ukuthi ngingazibandakanya nalolucwaningo kuphela uma icala lami selithethiwe ngagwetshwa futhi uma ngiingasidlulisile isigwebo sami ukuthi siyobuyekezwa.

Ngiyavuma ukuzibandakanya nalolucwaningo



**Ngiyavuma**

**Angivumi**

Ngiyavuma ukuthi singasetshenziswa isiqophamazwi kule nkulumo-ngxoxo.



**Ngiyavuma**

**Angivumi**

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Isignesha yo Mhlanganyeli**

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Usuku**

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Isignesha yo Mcwaningi**

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Usuku**

## Appendix D: Demographics in English

### DEMOGRAPHICS

Interview No. \_\_\_\_\_

Name / Pseudonym: \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Birth (DD/MM/YYYY): \_\_\_\_\_ Age: \_\_\_\_\_

**Ethnicity:**

Black       White       Indian       Coloured       Other

**Are you a South African Citizen?**

Yes       No      If not, Specify: \_\_\_\_\_

**Area of Birth:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Marital Status:**

Married       Single       Widower       Divorced/ separated

**Children:**

Yes       No      Number and Genders: \_\_\_\_\_

**Parents:**

Alive       Deceased      if Deceased, Year of Passing: \_\_\_\_\_

**Primary caregiver until the age of 18:**

Parents       Grand Parents       Other Relatives       Other

Specify: \_\_\_\_\_

**Highest Education:**

None       Primary       Secondary       Tertiary

Specify \_\_\_\_\_

**Employment History:**

Never been employed       Had part-time jobs       Had full-time jobs

Specify \_\_\_\_\_

**History of alcohol use**

Yes       No      If yes, Specify: \_\_\_\_\_

**History of drug use**

Yes       No      If yes, Specify: \_\_\_\_\_

**Reason for incarceration**

**Rape of:**

a child       a young girl       a middle-aged woman       an elderly woman

**Duration of the sentence**

1-10 years       10-20years       20 years and above       Life

## Appendix E: Demographics in isiZulu

### IMINININGWANE YOMUNTU

Inamba yenkulumongxoxo: \_\_\_\_\_

Igama / Pseudonym: \_\_\_\_\_

Usuku lokuzalwa (Usuku/Inyanga/Unyaka): \_\_\_\_\_ Iminyaka: \_\_\_\_\_

**Ubuhlanga:**

Umuntu onsundu  Omhlophe  OwaseNdiya  Owebala  Owolunye uhlanga

Cacisa: \_\_\_\_\_

**Kungabe uyisakhamuzi sase Ningizimu Afrika?**

Yebo  Qha Uma uthe **Qha**, cacisa: \_\_\_\_\_

**Indawo owazalelwa kuyo:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Isimo somshado:**

Ushadile  Awukaze ushade  Umfelwa  uhlukanisile/ nihlala ngokwehlukana

**Izingane:**

Yebo  Qha Inani lezingane nobulili: \_\_\_\_\_

**Abazali:**

Basaphila  Sebashona Uma sebashona, unyaka abashona ngawo: \_\_\_\_\_

**Umnakekeli wakho uze ube no 18:**

Abazali  Ugogo nomkhulu  Izihlobo  Abanye

Cacisa: \_\_\_\_\_

**Izinga lemfundo:**

Angikaze ngiye esikoleni  Amabanga aphantsi  Amabanga aphezulu  Imfundo ephakeme

Cacisa: \_\_\_\_\_

**Umlando wakho wokusebenza:**

Angikaze ngisebenze  Ngangibamba amatoho  Ngangiqashwe ngokugcwele

Cacisa: \_\_\_\_\_

**Umlando ngokusebenzisa uphuzo oludakayo**

Yebo  Qha Uma uthe **Yebo**, Cacisa: \_\_\_\_\_

**Umlando wokusebenzisa izidakamizwa**

Yebo  Cha Uma uthe **Yebo**, Cacisa: \_\_\_\_\_

**Isizathu ogwetshelwe sona**

**Ukudlwengula:**

ingane  owesifazane osemusha  owesifazine oseqinile  owesifazane esekhulile

**Ubude besigwebo**

1-10 weminyaka  10-20 weminyaka  20 weminyaka kuya phezulu  Udilikajele

## Appendix F: Interview Schedule in English

### INTERVIEW GUIDE

#### 1. PERSONAL:

Tell me about yourself ((age, where you grew up etc.) your family, your life and especially how you ended up at the Correctional Centre?

- Did you get into a lot of trouble when you were growing up? Explain.

#### 2. ENVIRONMENT

##### Home:

- How would you describe your home life from childhood until you went to prison? (explore drug and alcohol use, violence, sexual abuse etc.)
- Who were your care-givers?
- How would you describe your relationship with them?
- Would you describe your parents/caregivers as supportive or unsupportive of you? (emotionally, physically, financially, educationally, spiritually) and if so, why?

##### School

- What was your experience of the school environment?
- Would you describe your school environment as supportive or unsupportive? (academically, physically-bullying, emotionally)
- What grade did you complete?
- (If he did not go finish Matric) Why did you stop going to school?
- Did you get into trouble with teachers or peers? Explain.

##### Neighbourhood:

- How would you describe your neighbourhood? (drug and alcohol use, gangsterism, community support e.g. during loss etc.). Did you feel safe? Why/ why not
- How was your relationship with your neighbours (adults) and your peers?

##### Work environment:

###### Employment History

- Have you ever worked and where did you work?
- Describe what you did in your job.
- How did you feel about that job (salary, hours, treatment by the colleagues and employer)
- Why did you leave your job? (if they changed jobs)

If you have never worked, how did you make money or how did you survive?

#### 3. RELATIONSHIPS

How would you describe your relationship with:

- Family (Mother, father, siblings and extended family-aunts, uncles, grandfather, grandmother and in-laws)
- Intimate relationships (girlfriend –current and ex-girlfriends)
- Friends and peers



- Women (teachers, neighbours, classmates, schoolmates)
- Work (employer and colleagues)
- Church/Sport/other

#### 4. SEXUALITY

- When did you become aware of the idea of sex? (watching pornography/cybersex sexual abuse). What was your first sexual experience (explore consent, age, violence etc.)
- When and how did the sexual offending behaviour of elderly women start?
- What motivated you to choose an elderly woman?
- How did you choose your victim?
- How did you feel before, during and after the sexual assault?

#### 5. SIGNIFICANT EVENTS

- Are there any significant events in your life that could have led you to act in this way? (Trauma- death, poverty, health issues, anger, stigma, shame, failure, violence, sexual abuse, rejection etc.)

#### 6. DRUG AND ALCOHOL USE

- Have you ever taken drugs and alcohol?
- Do you think/feel that drugs and alcohol use contribute to sexual offence? Why?
- Were you under the influence when you committed the crime? Explore further

#### 7. REFLECTION ON THE SEXUAL OFFENCE

Now that you have an opportunity to reflect on the crime that you committed,

- What is your understanding of what made you to act in this way? (drug and alcohol use, anger, sexual gratification etc.)
- (If a weapon was used during the sexual assault), why do you think the weapon was used.
- (If it happened that, the incident ended with the death of the victim), what factors do you think contributed to the death of the victim?
- Would you have raped any other woman? In other words does the age of the woman matter to you?
- If the opportunity presented itself, would you do it again? Why or why not?

#### 8. CONCLUSION

- Can you think of any assistance, that had you received, might have saved you from going in this direction?
- Is there anything that could have been different that might have led you in a different direction?
- Is there anything else that you want to tell me?
- Is there anything that you want to ask?

THANK YOU

## Appendix G: Interview Schedule in isiZulu

### UHLELO/UHLA LWEMIBUZO YENKULUMO-NGXOXO ESAKUHLELEKA

#### 1. OKUQONDENE NAWE NGQO

Ngicela ungitshele ngawe (ubudala bakho, ukuthi wazalelwa kuphi njll.), umndeni wakho impilo yakho ikakhulukazi ukuthi yini eyaholela ekuthini ugcine usungene kuMnyango wezokuHlumelelisa izimilo ?

- Wawujwayele yini ukungena ezinkingeni ngenkathi usakhula? Chaza

#### 2. ISIMO SENHLALO

##### Ikhaya:

- Ungayichaza kanjani impilo yakho yasekhaya kusukela ebunganeni kuze kufike lapho uboshwa khona (buza ngokusetshenziswa kwezidakamizwa notshwala, isihluku, ukunukubezwa ngokocansi njll.).
- Wawunakekelwa wobani ngenkathi ukhula?
- Babunjani ubudlelwane bakho nabo?
- Ngokwakho, abazali/abanakekeli bakho babekweseka yini? (ngokomzwelo, ngokomzimba, ngokwezimali, ngokwefundo, ngokomoya) uma kunjalo kungani usho kunjalo?

##### Isikole:

- Yayinjani impilo esikoleni?
- Impilo yasesikoleni ungayichaza ngokuthi yayinokunakekela noma yayingenakho ukunakekela (ngokwefundo, ngokomzimba-ukuhlukumeza ngokomzimba, nangakozwelo)
- Waphothula liphi ibanga esikoleni?
- (Uma kuwukuthi akaqedanga uMatikuletshe) Wasiyekelani isikole?
- Wake waba senkingeni nothisha noma abanye abafundi? Chaza
- Ungachaza ngokuthi impilo yesonto yayisekela noma yayingasekeli? Chaza.

##### Umphakathi:

- Ungawuchaza kanjani umpakathi wangakini? (buza ngokusetshenziswa kwezidakamizwa notshwala, amaqembu emigulukudu, ukunakekelana komphakathi isibonelo uma nishonelwe njll.). Wawuzizwa uphephile? Kungani usho kunjalo?
- Babunjani ubudlelwane bakho nomphakathi - abantu abadala nontanga bakho?

##### Emsebenzini:

- Wake wasebenza yini? Wawusebenza kuphi?
- Wawusebenza msebenzi muni?
- Wawuzizwa kanjani ngaloyomsebenzi (iholo, isikhathi sokusebenza, impatho – yozakweni no mqashi wakho)?

Uma ungakaze usebenze wawuyithola kanjani imali noma, wawuphila kanjani?

### 3. UBUDLELWANE:

Ungabuchaza kanjani ubudlelwane bakho:

- Nomndeni wakho (umama wakho ubaba wakho, izingane zakweni, nozalo lonke – oanti, omalume, obaba abancane nabadala, omama abancane nabadala, omkhulu, ogogo nabasekhweni lakho)?
- Nalabo owake wathandana nabonosathandana nabo (izintombi, umakoti, umawengane)
- Nabangani nontanga bakho.
- Nabesifazane (othisha, omakhelwane, nenanifunda nabo).
- Nalabo owawusebenza nabo (abaqashi nalabo enaniqashwe nabo.
- Abasesontweni / nenaninabo kwezemidlalo.

### 4. OKUPHATHELENE NOBULILI

- Waqala nini ukwazi futhi kanjani ukwazi ngocansi (ukubuka isithombe zocansi /ucansi lwezinkundla zokuxhumana, ukuhlukunyezwa ngokocansi). Waqala kanjani ukwenza ucansi (kwakungesivumelwano noma cha, wawuneminyaka emingaki, wahlukunyezwa njll.)?
- Waqala nini futhi kanjani lento yokuhlukumeza ngokocansi abesifazane asebekhulile ngokocansi?
- Yini eyakwenza ukuthi ukhetha owesifazane osekhulile?
- Wamketha kanjani lona wesifazane owamhlukumeza?
- Wawuzizwa kanjani ngaphambi kwaloku kuhlukumeza, ngesikhathi uhlukumeza, nangemuva kwalokho kuhlukumeza?

### 5. IZIGAMEKO EZIBALULEKILE

- Kungabe zikhona yini izigameko ezibalulekile empilweni yakho okungenzeka ukuthi kube yizona ezazingaholela ekuthini wenze izinto ngendlela owazenza ngayo? (Ukuhlukumezeka-ukushonelwa, inhlupheko, isimo sakho sempilo, intukuthelo, ukucwaseka, ukuthukuthela, ukwehluleka, ukuhlukunyezwa ngokocansi, ukubandlululeka noma ukwaliwa njll.).

### 6. UKUSEBENZISA IZIDAKAMIZWA

- Wake wazisebenzisa izidakamizwa noma wake wabuphuza utshwala?
- Uma ucabanga/ubona ukusetshenziswa kwezidakamizwa notshwala kungaba kunomthelela yini ekuhlukumezeni ngokocansi? Ngobani?
- Kungabe wawuphuzile noma wawuthathe izidakamizwa yini ngenkathi wenza lelicala? Buzisisa ngalokhu.

### 7. UKUZINDLA NGOKUHLUKUMEZA NGOKOCANSI

Njengoba usuthole ithuba lokuthi uke ubheke emuva ucabangisise ngecala owalenza,

- Ngesingawe, kungaba yini eyaholela ukuthini wenze lokhu owakwenza? (ukusebenzisa izidakamizwa noma utshwala, intukuthelo, ukufuna ukuzanelisa ngokocansi njll.).

- (Uma ngabe kwasetshenziwa isikhali ngesikhathi kuhlukunyezwa ngokocansi), kwenzeka kanjani ukuthi kuze kusebenziseke isikhali?
- (Uma kuwukukuthi lesi sigameko sagcina ngokuthi kushone loyo owayehlukunyezwa) Uma ucabanga kwaba yini imbangele yokuthi kugcine eseshonile owayeyisisulu saloludlame?
- Wawungahlukumeza ngokocansi noma yimuphi omunye umuntu wesifazane? Ngamanye amazwi, uma ukhetha abantu ozobahlukumeza ingabe kubalulekile yini ukuthi bangakanani ngokweminyaka?
- Uma kungavela elinye ithuba lokwenza loku, ungaphinda ukwenze yini? Ngobani?

#### 8. ISIPHETHO

- Uma ucabanga, lukhona yini usizo okwakungenzeka ukuthi uma wawulitholile, mhlawumbe wawungeke wenze izinto ngendlela owazenza ngayo?
- Kukhona yini okuhlukile okwakungenza ukuthi wenze izinto ngendlela ehlukile?
- Ingabe kukhona okunye ofisa ukungitshela kona?
- Ingabe kukhona ofisa ukukubuza?

NGIYABONGA

## Appendix H : Detailed Sample Description

Participant	Current Age	Ethnicity	Marital Status	Children	Primary caregiver until the age of 18	Siblings	Highest Education	Employment History	History of alcohol use	History of drug use	Age when committed offence	Age of victims	Duration of the sentence
1	27	Zulu	Single	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Son</li> <li>• Daughter</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mother until age 6 years old</li> <li>• Father from age 7 years old</li> <li>• Stepmother until age 12 years old</li> <li>• Moved in with friends and their families when his father died</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Older half-sister</li> <li>• Three paternal stepsisters</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Grade 6</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Car guard while at school</li> <li>• Armed robber since 16</li> </ul>	Never	Cocaine	21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 68</li> </ul>	Life Sentence
2	27	Zulu	Single	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Five</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Parents (married)</li> <li>• Polygamous family</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Younger brother</li> <li>• Multiple half-siblings</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Grade 7</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Farmworker (Driver)</li> </ul>	Never	Never	23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 84</li> <li>• 63</li> </ul>	Two Life Sentences
3	24	Zulu	Single	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• None</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Maternal grandparents</li> <li>• Grandfather died when he was 12 years old</li> <li>• Grandmother died when he was 14 years old</li> <li>• Lived alone after the death of grandmother</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Only child</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Grade 8</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Casual labourer pushing trolleys at supermarkets</li> </ul>	Casualty to reduce stress	Never	19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 62</li> </ul>	Life Sentence
4	28	Zulu	Married	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Daughter</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mother died when he was 4 years old</li> <li>• Father in JHB.</li> <li>• At age 12 years old ran away from father's family to live with mother's family but went back because of severe ill-treatment and poverty</li> <li>• Polygamous family</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Only child</li> <li>• Half-sisters</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Grade 12</li> <li>• Sound Engineering Diploma</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Radio DJ at a local radio station</li> </ul>	Never	Never	22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 65</li> <li>• 72</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Life</li> <li>• 35 years</li> </ul>
5	29	Zulu	Single	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• None</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mother.</li> <li>• Lost father at age 10 years old</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Two sisters and three brothers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Grade 4</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Informal labourer - construction and odd jobs</li> </ul>	Never	Never	18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 84</li> </ul>	Two Life Sentences (rape and murder)

6	28	Zulu	Single	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• One son</li> <li>• Two daughters</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lost Father at age 6 years old and Mother at age 8 years old</li> <li>• Maternal grandmother took care of him, died when he was 11 years old</li> <li>• Then lived with cousins in a child-headed household</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Only child</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Grade 11</li> <li>• Failed Matric</li> <li>• FET N6 Electrician</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• CVD electrician, permanent employment</li> </ul>	Addicted to alcohol	Never	26	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 78</li> </ul>	Life Sentence
7	26	Zulu	Single	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• None</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Both parents.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sister 10 years younger</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Grade 9</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Full time Prophet/spiritual healer</li> </ul>	Drank only traditional home-made Zulu beer	Never	24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 68</li> </ul>	Life Sentence
8	26	Zulu	Single	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Daughter</li> <li>• Son</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Parents married</li> <li>• Mother died when he was 8 years old and father died when he was 10 years old</li> <li>• He then lived with his father's eldest brother</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Two sisters who live with mom's family.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Grade 11</li> <li>• Failed Grade 12</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Never worked</li> </ul>	Started drinking alcohol at the age of 15 years old	Never	20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 62</li> </ul>	Life Sentence
9	30	Father Mozambiquan Mother Zulu	Married	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• One</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Parents divorced when he was 4 years old</li> <li>• Mother until 6 years old</li> <li>• Maternal grandmother until 9 years old</li> <li>• Then uncles and their wives</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Only Child</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Grade 7</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Farm labourer</li> </ul>	Never	Never	26	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 63</li> <li>• 67</li> <li>• 62</li> </ul>	Three life sentences
10	29	Zulu	Single	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• None</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Raised by both parents until 3 years old</li> <li>• Parents got divorced, father got custody and moved in with his girlfriend's family. At age 6 years old, father died</li> <li>• Then raised by the father's girlfriend/fiancée and her family</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Only Child</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Grade 10</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Minibus taxi conductor by day</li> <li>• Hijacked cars at night</li> </ul>	Casual Drinker	Never	24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 71</li> </ul>	Life Sentence

## Appendix I: COVID-19 Safety and Hygiene



### COVID-19: SAFETY AND HYGIENE PROCEDURES THAT WILL BE FOLLOWED DURING DATA COLLECTION PROCESS

To adhere to and maintain COVID-19 safety procedures, the researcher will:

1. Test for Covid-19 and submit the certificate to the Correctional Services official before commencing with the data collection process
2. Adhere to the mandatory screening (temperature and symptom screening) protocol at the Correctional Service centre
3. Wear a three-layer cloth mask that covers mouth, nose, and chin, without leaving gaps on the sides.
4. Use an alcohol based (60-70% alcohol) waterless hand sanitiser on hands before entering the interview room. Repeat the procedure after the consultation for data collection purposes when leaving the room.
5. Wear a face shield and gloves as extra precautionary measures.
6. Ensure that spacing between the researcher and the participant is between 1.5 to 2 metres to reduce the potential exposure to the virus to prevent the spread of the Covid-9 virus.
7. Ensure that all potential participant have been duly screened for Covid-19 according to Correctional Services screening protocol.
8. Remind participants to follow good respiratory hygiene and do so herself. This means covering the mouth and nose with a bent elbow when coughing or sneezing.
9. Stay home and self-isolate and test for Covid-19 when experiencing even minor symptoms of the virus such as cough, headache and mild fever. Should the test results indicate that she is positive for the virus, she will quarantine and re-test before resuming any further data collection.
10. Keep a register of all participants and prison personnel with whom the researcher will be interacting, for contact tracing.

Sincerely

Ms. Zamangwane Khanyile  
Researcher, PhD Student  
Student Number: 19344652  
Department of Educational Psychology  
Faculty of Education  
University of Pretoria  
Private Bag X20 Hatfield 0028  
South Africa  
Tel +27 (0)33 260 6062  
Email: [Khanyilez@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:Khanyilez@ukzn.ac.za)

Professor Ruth Mampane  
PhD Supervisor  
Head of Department  
Department of Educational Psychology  
Faculty of Education  
University of Pretoria  
Private Bag X20 Hatfield 0028  
South Africa  
Tel +27 (0)12 420 2339  
Email: [ruth.mampane@up.ac.za](mailto:ruth.mampane@up.ac.za)