

**PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS INVOLVED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SERIAL
RAPISTS IN SOUTH AFRICA: A MIXED-METHODS STUDY**

by

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Dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

PSYCHOLOGY

in the

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

School of Social Sciences

at the

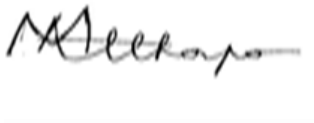
UNIVERSITY OF LIMPOPO

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2024

DECLARATION

I, Mothapo Mapula Tryphosa, declare that **PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS INVOLVED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SERIAL RAPISTS IN SOUTH AFRICA: A MIXED-METHODS STUDY** is my own work and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references and that this work has not been submitted before for any other degree at any other institution.



08 February 2024

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MOTHAPO MAPULA TRYPHOSA

Date

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to myself Mothapo Mapula Tryphosa. Dear MT, you are more than enough. The magnitude of what is ahead is greater than that which is anticipated. Always remember, you are braver than you believe, stronger than you seem, smarter than you think, and loved more than you know.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to the following individuals, without whose help this study would have not been possible:

- Firstly, I want to thank the Lord Almighty for giving me the strength, the wisdom, knowledge and opportunity to further my studies.
- My supervisor, Prof Makgahlela for showing such a keen interest in the study and for helping me conceptualize it. Also not forgetting his tireless guidance and assistance.
- Prof Jaco Barkhuizen, my mentor, for his tireless guidance, assistance and sparking my interest of psycho-criminology.
- Ms L.M. Mamabolo, Ms N.S Dikgale, Ms M.D. Chephe, Mr Dumisani Nzimande, Ms Hes Enslin, Ms Baloyi, and all the members of the Department of Correctional Services who made the processes of collecting data at their premises easy and enjoyable.
- My parents, Dr Sentshuhlang Mothapo and Mrs Kobela Mothapo, for their continuous love and support throughout the hardships, and their financial assistance until I completed this study.
- My siblings, Mpho, Mathaba and Lesiba, thank you so much for having been my source of strength and sounding board for my academic ideas.
- Mamaribe P.W, for the love, care, and continuous encouragement.
- Most importantly, the two participants for openly sharing their lived experiences with me. Without them, this study would not have been possible.
- Lastly, I wish to thank everyone who has directly or indirectly contributed towards the completion of my study.

ABSTRACT

The serial rape phenomenon has recently gained publicity in South Africa while receiving little academic or scientific attention. Scanty empirical research on serial rape is mostly on the criminological factors, with little attention being paid to the psychological factors. The present study sought to examine the psychological factors involved in the development of serial rapists, including the motivations underlying serial rape behaviour. A mixed-methods research approach, with one part being a systematic review and the other being a case study design, was used in this study. For the review study, only four studies met the inclusion criteria and proceeded to the data-matrix analytical stage. For the qualitative aspect, two male participants who were convicted of serial rape were purposefully sampled and participated in semi-structured in-depth interviews. The theoretical propositions case study analytical method was used to derive meaning from the two case studies. Object relations theory was the theoretical framework of choice.

Findings from both studies found a high prevalence of early childhood traumatic experiences in cases of serial rapists. Traumas suffered varied from multiple experiences of psychological, physical, and sexual forms of abuse. Similarly, parental neglect, abandonment, and rejection including punitive parenting were frequently reported. In both studies, the results revealed that serial rapists had a long history of mental health problems. Also, the results exposed that the psychological drive or motive behind serial rape behaviour is related to early childhood traumas that were experienced by the perpetrators. It is therefore conclusive that early attachment disruptions due to complex traumas suffered by some rapists could help explain their serial rape behaviour. Effectively, the present study suggests a need for a multi-pronged strategy guided by idiographic, intra-psychic-oriented thinking when dealing with cases of serial rapists. Rehabilitation programs targeting only serial rapists' behavioural problems may not necessarily yield sustainable results. It is therefore recommended that correctional centers integrate tailor-made intrapsychic-oriented therapies within existing rehabilitation programs. The present study proposes a serial rapists' developmental model that can help in the conception and management of serial rapists.

Keywords: serial rapists, serial rape behaviour, childhood trauma, attachment theory, object relations theory, personality disorders

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CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND AND MOTIVATION

1.1 Introduction

Serial rape is defined as a sequence of two or more rapes (Kocsis, 2007). Kocsis further explains that with the phenomenon of serial rape there's a "cooling-off period" which takes place between the occurrences of the rapes. Acts of rape may vary but refer to any undesirable touching or sexual behaviour against another person's will through violence, force, threat of injury, being placed under duress, or where the victim is unable to stop or deny the rapist due to the effects of drugs or alcohol (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2011). It has been advanced that serial rapists habitually seek control of or power over their victims or targets (Horning, et al., 2015).

Sarkar (2013) submits that extensive research over the past three decades suggests that perpetrators of sexual violence and offenders, particularly serial rape offenders, have several underlying mental health problems. Among others is an earlier study by Hazelwood and Warren (1990) which reports that out of 170 rapists, 34% of the sample exhibited some type of sexual dysfunction or disorder. Higgs (2012) has also noted that serial rapists display traits of antisocial behaviour partly due to an unpleasant upbringing, which is having been abused and neglected in their childhood. Unfortunately, much of the research on rapists and mental health problems is limited, outdated, and comes from Europe and America (Sarkar & Dutt, 2006).

Woodhams and Labuschagne (2012), who are experts on serial rape behaviour in South Africa, claim that the country alarmingly has the highest number of rape cases worldwide. In 2020/21, 46 214 offensive assaults and rapes were reported to the South African Police Service (SAPS). In their extensive work on serial rapists in the country, Woodhams and Labuschagne (2012) have reported that the existing information on serial rapists has tended to focus mostly on their demographic characteristics and the nature of their sexual offence behaviour. However, unlike in Europe and America, little is known regarding South African rapists' early life experiences and motivations. In fact, the prevailing literature appears to focus on the criminological rather than the psychological aspects of serial rapists. Woodhams and Labuschagne (2012) are correct to suggest that there is a lack of meaningful research on serial rape in South Africa, and in particular, research on their underlying mental health issues and social

circumstances. In South Africa existing research on this phenomenon (e.g., Del Fabro, 2006; De Wet, 2004; & De Wet, 2013), predominately leans towards exposing characteristics such as age and ethnicity of serial rapists, their victims, crime scene behaviour, duration of series and socio-demographic characteristics. It is crucial to understand the causes of serial rape behaviour, including the state of mental health of rapists, which has continued to receive little scientific attention (De Wet, 2013).

To help expand this area of research, the present study examines the psychodynamic factors involved in serial rape behaviour, including exposing rapists' early childhood experiences. A mixed method approach is utilised with one part being a systematic review and the other adopting a qualitative case study design. This research has adopted the QUAN – qual research method, with the quantitative aspect being the core component and the qualitative being the supplementary component. The core and supplemental components were conducted sequentially. The researcher chose the QUAN-qual method as it offers the deductive theory driven approach. The object relations theory coined by Melanie Klein was selected with the aim to answer the research question: What are the situations or circumstances that could have led or pushed individuals into becoming serial rapists?

Amos (2013) highlights that there is a difference between parenting and raising a child. A parent is a person who has a child and willingly assumes the responsibility of having a child, while raising a child requires consistent, active and tireless effort and engagement. Baumrind (1978) has long argued that the way parents choose to raise their children and the type of relationship they have with their children contribute to the formation of their personalities and behaviour. The most critical ages at which parenting has the greatest influence are from infancy to 5 years, mainly because children's brain development is quickest during that period (Sharma & Cockerill, 2014). Cusick and Georgieff (2016) suggested that the first 1000 days of an individual are the most critical days for the brain develop well. It is also noted that bonding and attachment formation takes place during the years from infancy to age 2. They further explained that the bonding relationship between caregiver and newborn is critical to the infant's development. Parenting experiences shape children's character, their emotional regulation, and their emerging sense of self (Solish & Perry, 2008).

Human development is dependent on healthy early relationships and experiences with primary caregivers, which also means that there may be critical periods when failure to experience a care-providing relationship can have long-term consequences and, among others, could give birth to sexual offenders. Support comes from Melanie Klein (1946). This pioneer of the theoretical framework that has guided this study, has long argued that childhood experiences of abuse, poverty, neglect, unwarranted punishment, and family struggles could result in physical and mental health problems later in life.

1.2 Research Problem

Criminals with a particular type of profile or personality are likely to commit crimes such as serial murder and rape (Edelstein, 2020). Sakar (2013) has long explained that serial rapists have several underlying mental health problems which may be seen as motivational factors for their offences. Ceylan et al. (2019) and Sutton (2022) go on to explain that mental health problems such as conduct disorder, antisocial disorder and alcohol problems may predispose people to criminal behaviour. Although many serial rapes are committed in South Africa, the country has lagged behind in its research on this phenomenon, including how to combat or manage it (De Wet, 2013). This makes it difficult to plan appropriate preventative and intervention programs for this undesirable and traumatic behaviour, which on its own has been linked to some of the victims' or women's complex mental health problems (Carey et al., 2018).

Ghanotakis et al. (2007) note that it is difficult to prevent or deter rape in the country as little scientific knowledge on the phenomenon is available. The researchers further note that insufficient attention has been paid to the serial rape phenomenon, which is surprising, considering the high prevalence of recorded cases in the county. According to James et al. (2019), most research done on serial rape is more criminological, therefore they do not have the knowledge nor skills required to conduct psychological research on the phenomenon. Hesselink and Booyens (2014) argue that contributory factors or conducive conditions to the development of serial rapists are social and environmental influences, toxic personal and familial backgrounds, inner unconscious motives, certain triggers, high-risk situations, asocial or antisocial personality traits, and psychological factors of the behaviour.

Unfortunately, in South Africa, for the past 5 years, rape incidences have been on the rise, that is, since 2018 reported statistics have increased from 40,035 to 46 214 in 2021. Woodhams and Labuschagne (2012) have painted the same picture. In spite of the rape phenomenon becoming an epidemic in the country, very little scientific knowledge of serial rape and serial rapists exists in South Africa. Unfortunately, without knowledge of how to prevent the development of serial rapists, the number of incidences will keep on increasing in the country while impacting on the victims' wellbeing. The impact will also be on the country's state of safety and security, and its socioeconomic development.

The purpose of this study is therefore to contribute to the knowledge about serial rapists by exploring their early developmental experiences, their inner motivations, and to offer suggestions on the development of preventative and interventional programmes for serial rapists.

1.3 Study purpose

1.3.1 Aim

The study examined psychodynamic factors that contribute to serial rape behaviour.

1.3.2 Objectives

Two study objectives were advanced and are as follows:

- To establish serial rapists' early attachment experiences and internalisations such as introjections and identifications with women
- To highlight the psychological motives/drives underlying serial rape behaviour.

1.4 Definition of Key Study Concepts

In the following section, key concepts relevant to the study are defined, to provide the operational definitions of specific concepts and thereby facilitate a better understanding among researchers as to how the concepts are used within the specific study.

1.4.1 Rape

Rape is a type of sexual assault usually involving sexual intercourse or other forms of sexual penetration carried out against a person's will or without that person's consent.

The act might be carried out by physical force, coercion, abuse of authority, or using a person who is incapable of giving valid consent, such as one who is unconscious, incapacitated, has an intellectual disability or is below the legal age of consent. The term “rape” is sometimes used interchangeably with the term sexual assault (Pettrak & Hedge, 2003).

The revised definition of rape as stated in the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act, No. 32 of 2007 (The Act), accounts for any penetration by any organ, object or parts of an animal into the genitals, anus or mouth of another person as rape, irrespective of the gender of the victim or perpetrator. The penetration occurs without the voluntary consent given by the victim.

1.4.2 Serial rape and rapist

A serial rapist is operationally defined in this study as someone who has raped on two or more occasions, over separate incidences (Hall, 2018). According to Turvey (1997; 2003), a serial rapist can be defined as a person who has raped two or more victims on different occasions. The adjustment of the number of rapes to two or more is an attempt to be more proactive in the investigation of the rape series.

According to G.N. Labuschagne (personal communication, 12 March, 2005) in De Wet (2005), a serial rapist can be defined as someone who rapes two or more victims in different incidents over a period of time; the victims are typically strangers. Hazelwood and Warren (2001) list several criteria that constitute an individual being characterised as a serial rapist. According to them, a serial rapist is someone who has raped at least 10 times. This is of significance because it illustrates the rapist’s continuing success at evading law enforcement. However, the Hazelwood and Warren (2001) definition is impractical from a research and investigative point of view.

1.4.3 Personality

The American Psychological Association (2000) cited in Khatibi and Khormaei (2016) defines personality as referring to individual differences in characteristic patterns of thinking, feeling and behaving. Personality research is centred on two primary areas, attempting to obtain an understanding of individual adjustments, particularly personality traits such as a welcoming nature or irritability, whereas Holzman (2020) describes personality as a distinctive way of thinking, feeling, and behaving. Personality encompasses a person's moods, attitudes, and ideas, and is most evident

in interaction with others. It contains both innate and learned behavioural qualities that distinguish one person from another and may be observed in people's relationships with the environment and with the social group.

1.4.4 Antisocial Behaviour

Antisocial behaviour refers to actions that violate social norms in ways that reflect a disregard for others or that reflect the violation of others' rights (Edens et al., 2015).

1.4.5 Paraphilia

According to the DSM-5 (2013), the term paraphilia is defined as “any intense and persistent sexual interest other than sexual interest in genital stimulation or preparatory fondling with phenotypically normal, physiologically mature, consenting human partners”. Paraphilia, however, might not necessarily classify as “intense and persistent”, but rather preferential sexual interests or sexual interests that are greater than non-paraphilic sexual interests.

1.4.6 Attachment

Benoit (2004) explains that attachment is one specific and circumscribed aspect of the relationship between a child and its caregiver who is responsible for and involved in making the child safe, secure and protected. It is a relationship between an infant and its caregiver that is the foundation of further healthy development (Flaherty & Sadler, 2011)

1.5 Significance of the Study

The study seeks to give insights into early childhood experiences of serial rapists in the country including their criminological and personality profiles using a mixed-methods study design. The study findings will be useful to the academic community and relevant parties such as the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) and society in understanding the life-course of serial rapists which could become important in the prevention, management, and the development of context-specific and targeted interventions. Furthermore, it will also provide insight into the views about alternative factors (which may be psychological factors) that may lead to rape. Ultimately, the study will be beneficial in adding to the already existing literature on serial rape profiles.

1.6 Organisation of the study

Table 1: The five chapters of the study

Chapter	Description
1	Background and Motivation: Chapter One comprises the problem statement of the study, research aim and objectives, a brief list of literature referred to in the study, the rationale of the study and the definition of key concepts used in the study.
2	Theoretical Framework: Chapter Two encompasses the theory that is used to guide the study.
3	Literature Review: Chapter Three includes the literature review which deliberates on themes that are relevant to the objectives of the study. These are discussed within the context of the research topic.
4	Research Methodology: Chapter Four incorporates the methodology used in the study. This includes the study's research design, data collection, sampling and data analysis.
5	Quantitative Results: Chapter Five entails a data matrix and analysis of the review study.
6	Qualitative Results Part A: Chapter Six deals with the interpretation and analysis of the first case study
7	Qualitative Results Part B: Chapter Seven deals with the interpretation and analysis of the second case study
8	Discussion, Implications and Conclusion: Chapter Eight includes the findings and conclusions drawn from the study's objectives. The study's limitations and recommendations are included in this chapter.

1.7 Summary

In summary, serial rapists have the potential to harm a significant number of victims; yet relatively little research has been conducted on these individuals and their crimes and very few studies have investigated the nature of serial rape in South Africa. This is noteworthy, as the lack of research is prevalent despite the SAPS statistics indicating that in South Africa there could be quite a number of serial rapists operating at any one time (Jewkes et al., 2006). It is reasonable to expect that there are differences between the characteristics of a South African sample and those reported in existing studies of serial sex offenders in other countries, because of situational influences (in their broader sense). Such differences could have a serious impact on the effectiveness of some forensic psychological practices, because of causing variation in relative distinctiveness.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The present study adopts the object relations theory described by Melanie Klein as its theoretical framework. The guiding framework has been pivotal to study problematisation, methodological design, data analysis and interpretation. This chapter attempts to explore the philosophical underpinnings and pertinent concepts developed by Klein with reference to serial rapists' psychic motivation, character formation, antisocial behaviour and early childhood experiences. The most crucial elements of Klein's theory that apply to the current study are the nature of internalised experiences, whether positive or negative, and how those experiences later, consciously or unconsciously, influence serial rape behaviour, including the perpetrators' poor relationships with women.

2.1 Historical basis and criticism of object relations

Object relations theory is a branch of psychoanalytic theory that originated in the early 20th century. It is based on the idea that our relationships with others, particularly our early relationships with caregivers, shape internal representations of one's sense of self and others, which in turn influence our behaviour and interactions with others throughout life (Holmes, 2015). Early theorists of object relations include Melanie Klein, who developed the theory of the "internal object", and Donald Winnicott, who emphasised the importance of the "transitional object" in early development. Klein believes that infants internalise their experiences with their caregivers as objects, which can be either good or bad. These internalised objects then influence the way the individuals relate to others later in life (Kernberg, 2005).

Object relations theory developed from the work of Sigmund Freud, whose contribution to psychoanalysis has been to "disturb the world's sleep" (Freud, 1989). His hypothesis, which is based mostly on medical reasoning, highlights the role of innate desires and previous trauma as the 'cause' of psychic suffering or symptoms. Freud developed 'psychical analysis' as a technique for addressing previous trauma and 'curing' symptoms. Theorists who followed Freud and refined his ideas, including Bain (2010) and Melanie Klein, among others, began to drift away from Freud's "pleasure-seeking ego" towards an "object-seeking ego".

Gomez (2017) explains that in the 1950s and 60s, a group of British psychoanalysts known as the "independent group" expanded on Klein's ideas and developed the concept of the "object relationship," which refers to the way an individual relates to a specific person or object. This group included theorists such as Ronald Fairbairn, Harry Guntrip, and D.W. Winnicott. Fairbairn has emphasised the importance of the early mother-child relationship and the child's need for a "good enough" mother who can provide the child with a sense of safety and security. Guntrip has emphasised the impact of childhood trauma on object relations, and Winnicott has focused on the importance of play and creativity in the development of the self (Gomez, 2017).

Johnson (1991) notes that recent theorists, such as Otto Kernberg and Heinz Kohut, have expanded on the object relations theory and applied it to the treatment of personality disorders. Kernberg has developed the concept of "object constancy", which refers to the ability to maintain a stable internal representation of others, and Kohut has developed the concept of the "self-object", which refers to the way in which individuals use other people to support and validate their sense of self.

Melanie Klein's Object Relations Theory has been both influential and controversial in the field of psychoanalysis. While her work has made significant contributions to our understanding of the human mind and relationships, it has also faced criticism on various fronts. Here are some of the key criticisms of Klein's Object Relations Theory:

Lack of Empirical Support: Shahar (2021) stated that one major criticism of Klein's theory is the limited empirical support for her ideas. Much of her work is based on clinical observations and interpretations, which can be challenging to empirically validate. Critics argue that her concepts lack the empirical rigor seen in more contemporary psychoanalytic theories (Shahar, 2021). This is a common weakness associated with the psychoanalytic tradition historically thus not only Klein's tradition has been questioned.

Overemphasis on Early Childhood: Klein's theory places heavy emphasis on the influence of early childhood experiences on later development. Some critics argue that her focus on infantile states and the pre-oedipal period may overlook the importance of later experiences and adult development (Dugmore, 2013).

Complexity and Opacity: Harris (2014) suggested that Klein's theory is known for its complexity and opacity, which can make it difficult to understand and apply. Critics

argue that the intricate and abstract nature of her concepts can limit the accessibility and utility of her theory. The current study also observes this difficulty in ease of comprehension of the concepts.

Lack of a Comprehensive Developmental Model: Critics contend that Klein's theory lacks a comprehensive developmental model that can account for the entire lifespan. Her focus on infancy and early childhood makes it challenging to explain adult personality development adequately (Shahar, 2021).

Controversial Concepts: Dugmore (2013) noted that some of Klein's concepts, such as the death instinct and the paranoid-schizoid position, have been met with scepticism and debate within the psychoanalytic community. These ideas have faced criticism for their ambiguity and lack of empirical support.

Oedipal Complex: Klein's theory differs from Sigmund Freud's ideas regarding the Oedipal complex, which some critics argued that it is a more well-established and tested concept in psychoanalysis. Klein's reinterpretation of the Oedipus complex is a point of contention among psychoanalysts (Harris, 2014).

Misinterpretation of Child Behaviour: Shahar (2021) explained that critics argue that Klein's theory sometimes attributes excessive meaning to children's behaviour and fantasies, potentially pathologizing normal childhood experiences.

Ethical Concerns: Dugmore (2013) explained that Klein's use of child psychoanalysis has raised ethical concerns. Some critics argue that the intense focus on the inner world of children may not always be in their best interests and could lead to undue stress and pressure on young patients.

It's important to note that Melanie Klein's Object Relations Theory also has as many critics as supporters and has made important contributions to the psychodynamic tradition. While her ideas have faced criticism, they have also inspired further research and discussion in the psychoanalytic community.

2.2 Psychic life of an infant

In both the traditional psychoanalysis and object relations, early interactions between an infant and its environment are critical to later psychic wellbeing. Whereas Freud (1989) emphasises the significance of the first four to six years of life, Klein (1952) regards the first four to six months as crucial in the life of the developing child. This

implies that infants do not begin life with a clean slate; instead, they have an inherited predisposition to calm the anxiety that arises from the struggle between the forces/power of the life versus death instincts (Klein, 1952). The existence of phylogenetic endowment, a theory that Freud also accepts, is crucial for the infant's innate ability to act or react (Mahler, 1971). By phylogenetic endowment, Klein means the inherited experiences that lie beyond an individual's personal experiences. Feist and Feist (2010) explain this as the unconscious inherited images that have been passed down through repeated experiences, which go hand in hand with the unconscious fantasies as they are deemed primal. They can influence one another, and both are innate. Unconscious phantasy will be deliberated in the following subsection.

2.2.1 Unconscious Phantasy

Abram (2021) explained that the difference between Freud's "fantasy" and Klein's "phantasy" lies in their focus and the level of consciousness. Freud's fantasy pertains to more conscious and desire-based mental constructs, while Klein's phantasy is rooted in the unconscious and related to early emotional experiences. These differences reflect the distinctive psychoanalytic theories and perspectives of these two prominent figures in the field of psychology (Abram 2021). Klein (1945) makes the fundamental assumption that a baby has an active *unconscious* phantasy life from the moment of birth. Phantasy becomes a primary structure or content from which all mental life is organised and channelled by the infantile ego. In essence, it becomes one of the earliest systems of moulding the psyche of the developing infant. These fantasies are not to be confused with the *conscious fantasies* of older children and adults; rather, they are psychic representations of unconscious id instincts. Klein does not imply that new-borns can express their thoughts in words when she describes the dynamic phantasy life of infants in her writing. She means merely that they have unconscious images of good and bad, such as the idea that a full stomach is good and an empty one is bad (Klein, 1945). Therefore, according to Klein, infants who fall asleep while sucking on their fingers are fantasising about having their mother's good breast inside of them (Klein, 1961).

Klein (1952) explains that similarly, hungry new-borns who cry and kick their legs are thinking about kicking or destroying the bad breast. Sullivan's concept of a good mother and a bad mother is similar to this idea of a good breast and a bad one (Bowlby, 2013). Unconscious fantasies related to the 'bad breast' continue to have an impact on the psychic life of the new-born as they grow older, but newer ones also appear. Later or adult unconscious fantasies are influenced by both inherited predispositions such as mental illnesses or aggressive behaviour and early-life experiences such as abuse, neglect and traumatic events (Klein, 1952). This simply implies that an adult's unconscious fantasies can be influenced either negatively or positively by the early life experiences or mental illnesses of individuals. These unconscious fantasies could contribute to the formation of offending behaviour (serial rape), as a consequence of repressed hostile feelings and memories when the offenders project the repressed hostility in a manner that is less threatening to themselves.

Of these fantasies, one of them involves the Oedipus complex, of the child's wish to destroy one parent and sexually possess the other. Singer (2014) argue that because these fantasies are unconscious, they are frequently inconsistent. For example, a young boy may imagine himself beating his mother and also having children with her. Such fantasies stem partially from the boy's experiences with his mother and partially from universal predispositions to eliminate the bad breast and assimilate the good one (Singer, 2014). In short, unconscious fantasies are understood to be "ingested" parts of the world, or "ingested" aspects of the mother as either good objects or bad objects, that are repeatedly taken in by the psyche through exchanges with the actual mother and absorbed into the baby's growing identity. The next subsection will give a detailed explanation of what objects are, according to Klein.

2.2.2 Objects

Scharff (2014) notes that Klein (1954) explains that in object relations theory, objects often refer to a person, part of a person such as a mother's breast and/or things that symbolise a person or the mother's breast. For example, a person can be symbolised by their physical features such as their body structure, where they live and how they dress which may be seen as external objects that can be internalised. Klein (1946; 1986) identifies that there are internal objects and external objects that both influence an individual's personality and also stresses the importance of object constancy.

2.2.2.1 Internal and external objects

"Internal objects" refer to mental or emotional pictures or representations of an external object that has been integrated or taken into the self (Klein, 1954; Kernberg, 2005). While Holmes (2015) defines an external object as an actual person or thing that someone invests in with emotional energy, the internal object's personality is influenced by parts of the self that have been projected onto it. Through repeated cycles of projection and introjection, a complex interplay between the world of internalised objects, figures, the real world and in the mind, this cycle continues throughout life (Klein, 1946). The most significant inner objects come from the parents, especially the mother or mother figure and the breast or breast equivalent (Segal, 2018).

Holmes (2015) highlights that when these objects are accepted into the self, they are said to be felt concretely by the new-born as physically present within the body, producing either pleasure (a good internal part-object breast) or pain (bad internal part-object breast). The child determines the motivation of these objects on the basis of both the infant's actual perception of the external object and the desires and emotions that the infant has projected onto the external objects. The motivation of an unkind desire to inflict pain on the bad object/mother and a kind desire to provide pleasure to the good object/mother is also motivated by the treatment of and experiences with these objects (Klein, 1958).

According to Klein (1958), internal objects are thought to be related to one another within the self. They may be absorbed into and associated with the self, but they may also be regarded as being inside the self but feeling distinct from it. For Ogden (1983), Kleinian theory holds that the internal object's condition is of utmost significance to a person's growth and mental well-being. He continues by saying that the ego's ability to fit together and incorporate experience depends on the introduction of and identification with a stable good object (Ogden, 1983). Internal objects that are damaged or dead create a great deal of anxiety, yield aggressive behaviour, and can cause personality disintegration (antisocial behaviour) which may result in unwanted violent behaviour, while objects thought to be in good condition encourage confidence and well-being (Spillius, Milton, Garvey, Couve & Steiner, 2011).

Internal objects, according to Izard (2009), can exist on multiple levels. They can be conscious or unconscious, primitive or advanced. Infantile internal objects are first perceived physically and mentally and represent a primitive level of the adult psyche. They contribute to emotional strength and influence later perceptions, feelings, and thoughts. Internal things can be portrayed to oneself through fantasies, dreams, and language. Internal objects are conceptually confusing since they are discussed from both phenomenological and metapsychological viewpoints. According to metapsychology, the initial internal objects might influence the ego's construction and serve as the foundation for the superego. They are partially inspired by the life and death instincts. According to phenomenology, they contain fantasy, but phantasy with actual consequences (Spillius et al., 2011). Klein (1958) suggests that good, internalised objects form the bases for the development of object constancy which is the next subtopic.

2.2.2.2 Object constancy

According to Ainsworth et al. (2015), in object relations theory, object constancy refers to an infant's capacity to maintain an attachment that is largely unaffected by feelings of gratification or frustration. Klein (1958) clarifies that it is the ability to retain a bond with another person even if their actions are upsetting and disappointing. This cognitive skill starts developing between ages 2 and 3 years and progresses with age and is influenced by various factors (Fraiberg, 1969). Fraiberg (1969) stipulates that object constancy varies from child to child as its development is influenced or promoted by internalised good objects, such as pleasant experiences and good inherited predispositions. Sherwood (1989) clarifies that an infant becomes attached to the mother herself rather than to her tension-reducing treatment; she then exists continuously for the infant and not only during instances of need satisfaction. This understanding by an infant of a specific libidinal object indicates that he or she no longer finds people to be two-part (good or bad) but as being whole (Sherwood, 1989).

In essence, people who lack object constancy may suffer tremendous anxiety in all forms of relationships, not just romantic or familial ones, and may live in continuous fear of abandonment (Sekowski & Prigerson, 2022). According to Turvey (1997; 2003) some serial rapists may report being anxious in romantic relationships or avoiding being in one as they fear that their partners will leave them, so they rape repeatedly

to deal with their fears and getting sexual pleasure they could be getting if they were in a relationship. When people believe they can rely on the consistency of a relationship, they are more likely to enjoy it and be able to form other relationships. If one is able to create object constancy or build trust with one's parents as a child or during childhood, one's relationships in adulthood are likely to be perceived as trustworthy and will also flourish (Fraiberg, 1969). Kernberg (2005) highlights that if children are unable to trust their parents for their love and acceptance of them as children, they may have difficulty trusting others and opening to them as adults. This could result in adults that are fearful of abandonment, feel guilt about their relationship status, are jealous of other people, or feel embarrassed of themselves (Goldstein, 2010).

Kernberg (2005) states that object constancy helps children deal with separation from their caregivers, whereas object constancy allows adults to have healthy conflicts with loved ones while remaining connected to them. Individuals with developed object constancy realise that distance does not imply abandonment and that they do not need to feel supported by seeing or being touched by their objects (Summers, 2014). People who have not successfully developed a sense of object constancy are more likely to experience separation anxiety and fear of abandonment. According to Goldstein (2010), individuals with object constancy impairment find it difficult to develop stable mental images of their loved ones. They develop a negative perception of the people they care about when they are no longer in their presence, and a fear of abandonment may be triggered by the distance, which can result in avoidance or anger in their relationships. While Goldstein (2010) suggests that people with underdeveloped object constancy may not be able to fully understand that someone can have both good and bad aspects that make them whole, which could lead towards unreliable and unstable relationships.

Sherwood (1989) stipulates that with a lack of object constancy, one may find it difficult to retain positive feelings about someone once they make mistakes or have disagreements within the relationships, be it personal or professional. With regard to serial rapists, if something they don't like or are unhappy with has been done to them or if they notice a flaw that triggers them, the implicated individual becomes or is seen to become all bad, and they resort to devaluing them and looking for an outlet for their

anger, which may often involve inflicting pain and shaming them, in this case raping them.

Schiff (2022) has also noted “that people with a poor sense of object constancy, cannot see the person who has wronged them as someone that they love and someone who has angered them at the same time”. While the roots of a lack of object constancy lie in childhood, Fraiberg (1969) explains that it is often due to guardians’ poor parenting styles or early traumatic experiences. If a child was raised in a negative environment with emotionally invalidating or neglectful parents, they don’t receive good instruction on human behaviour and managing the expectations of loved ones (Fraiberg, 1969). Children who have been exposed to trauma at a very early age may consequently struggle with feelings of low self-esteem, insufficiency, and defencelessness. Bougard and Hesselink (2019) add that low esteem and trauma cause the child to detach psychologically as they do not have or have not yet developed coping skills to deal or cope with trauma, pain and adverse feelings. With regard to serial rapists, Healey et al. (2016) suggest that from their traumatic experiences such as exposure to sexual behaviour, they develop sexually violent fantasies that evolve around domination and humiliation. Klein (1952) sums it up by saying that infants organise their experiences into positions or ways of dealing with both internal and external objects.

2.3 Positions

Klein (1952) perceives children to be continually engaged in a fundamental battle between the life instinct and the death instinct, that is, between good and evil, love and hatred, creativity and destruction. Infants naturally favour rewarding sensations over frustrating ones as the ego advances toward integration and away from disintegration. Infants organise their experiences into attitudes, or methods of coping with both internal and exterior objects, in order to deal with this contrast between pleasant and terrible sensations (Summers, 2014). Klein adopts the word "position" rather than "stage of development" to emphasise that positions change; they alternate back and forth; they are not periods of time or phases of development through which a person passes. Klein describes development as proceeding through two major positions: the paranoid-schizoid position and the depressive position (Klein, 1987).

2.3.1 Paranoid-schizoid position

During the first several months of life, a newborn is exposed to both the good and the bad breast (Klein, 1946). The infant's sensitive ego is threatened by these alternating sensations of satisfaction and frustration. The newborn wishes to exert authority over the breast by safeguarding it and destroying it simultaneously (Holmes, 2015). At the same time, the infant's intrinsic destructive drives induce fantasies of biting, tearing, or annihilating the breast. To accept both of these sentiments for the same object at the same time, the ego separates itself, maintaining elements of its life instincts (loving and nurturing) and death instincts (aggression and destructive impulses) while redirecting parts of both instincts onto the breast (Klein, 1946). She recognises more deep-seated aggressive and destructive impulses than the anger and rage associated with frustration reactions that occur later in development (Klein, 1946).

According to Spillius et al. (2011), the child fears the persecutory breast rather than its own death instinct. The newborn, on the other hand, has a relationship with the ideal breast, which brings love, comfort, and fulfilment. The newborn wishes to maintain the ideal breast within itself as a defense against persecutors. To control the good breast and fight off its persecutors, the infant adopts what Klein called the paranoid-schizoid position, a way of organizing experiences that includes paranoid feelings of being persecuted as well as a division of internal and external objects into good and bad (Spillius et al., 2011).

Klein (1946) demonstrates that if the process of splitting does not take place, the ego will not be able to integrate itself positively regarding the object. As a result of the ego's lack of integration, destructive impulses will take dominance over love for the object. These harmful impulses tend to occur with excessively violent impulses, which enhance greed, and are also observed in criminals such as serial rapists and other serial offenders (Holmes, 2015).

According to Klein (1946), infants develop the paranoid-schizoid position during the first 3 or 4 months of life. During this time, the ego's experience of the outside world is subjective and fictitious rather than objective and real. Thus, the persecutory feelings are considered to be paranoid; that is, they are not based on any real or immediate danger from the outside world (Spillius et al., 2011). The infant must maintain the distinction between the good and bad breasts in order to avoid dominating the good

breast and losing it as a secure zone. In the schizoid world of a young child, anger and destructive feelings are directed toward the bad breast, while feelings of love and comfort are linked with the good breast. In adulthood, rage and destructive feelings are directed towards introjected bad objects and are then projected onto the object in order to protect themselves from perceived harm, that is also noted as one of the defence mechanisms (see 2.3.2) serial rapists use to cope (Spillius et al., 2011).

Klein's theory shows the relevance of normal splitting (Segal, 1957). Normal splitting helps to arrange chaotic experiences and offers primitive ego structuring in healthy development, and it is at this time that the alternation between persecutory and idealised states is noticed. This gives time for the ego to grow, which in turn allows for more integration and tolerance of uncertainty. When an abnormal splitting takes place, the primitive ego that is structured in unhealthy environments such as abuse and neglect, inhibits the growth of the ego and it becomes unintegrated and causes severe disturbances. This splitting is called fragmentation, where the self or the object is split into many smaller pieces.

The depressive position is gradually attained when the splits decrease to normal splitting. Klein (1957) explains that clinical states of extreme pathology are noted when splitting as a defence fails and the entire personality is overwhelmed with primal anxiety which may later yield an individual who can't deal with uncertainty and frustration. These states are marked by intense anxiety and confusion and could be the foundation for offending behaviour (Klein, 1957).

2.3.2 Depressive position

Klein (1960) explains that at the beginning of the 5th or 6th month, an infant begins to view external objects as a whole person that has or poses both good and bad qualities. At that point, the baby develops a more realistic image of the mother and recognises her as an autonomous being capable of both good and negative behaviour. Furthermore, the ego is maturing to the point where it can bear some of its own negative emotions rather than projecting them externally (Segal, 2018).

Klein (1935) discusses the essential mourning that must occur during the attainment of the depressive position, and how this is related to separation or differentiation. She further explains that it is the process of shifting one's experience of the object with regard to self, from 'I am the object' to 'I have the object' to 'I cannot control the object'.

Steiner (1990) emphasises that this awareness is felt as a loss and that a period of mourning is required. When the loss of the object is denied in the early phases of mourning, a sort of projective identification takes place whereby the individual strives to own the object by identifying with it (Klein, 1952).

Although the object is now viewed as separate, there are still attempts to completely own it. Yet, during the mourning process, the individual must confront his or her inability to control the object or what happens to it. Van der Put, et al. (2020) explains that when control of the lost object does not take place, it leads to the development of the “need for power and dominance” trait in an individual and they also note it to be a drive or motivation for serial and sadistic rapists.

According to Klein (1935), if the depressive position is not yet attained, and the individual is unable to tolerate both negative and positive feelings toward an object, then the internal balance of forces will be disrupted, and an overall internal numbing results in a depressed mood. Maciel and Basto-Pereira (2019) explain that the individual will later develop into an adult with poor adaptive emotional regulation skills.

As stated above, Klein (1946) describes the paranoid schizoid position as a time when the immature ego is threatened by primitive anxieties, which leads to the use of the more primitive defences such as splitting, projective identification and idealisation, which will be deliberated in the next section. In paranoid schizoid position the ego splits into two, one containing aspects of the self-considered good, the other aspects of the self-considered bad and these two parts are kept as far from each other as possible. While in the depressive position, the ego matures to realise that the self can be whole with both good and bad aspects. Therefore, the move from the paranoid-schizoid to the depressive position is associated with an increasing integration of the self and object relations and the achievement of the depressive position is linked to a greater wholeness of the self (Segal, 2018).

2.4 Psychic defence mechanism

Klein (1946; 1975) proposes that infants use many mental defence mechanisms as early as infancy to safeguard their ego from the anxiety caused by their own damaging fantasies. These severe destructive sensations stem from oral sadistic fears about the breast, both the feared, destructive breast and the pleasant, helping breast. Infants

employ a variety of psychic defence mechanisms to manage their concerns, including introjections, projection, splitting, and protective identification.

2.4.1 Introjection

Klein (1960) meant that infants fantasise, or take into their bodies, the perceptions and experiences they have had with the external object, which was originally the mother's breast. Introjected objects are children's fantasies, not realistic representations of real objects. Children, for example, will imagine that their mother is always present; they believe that their mother is always inside their body (Kernberg, 2005). Although the real mother is not always present, infants embrace her in fantasy, making her a constant internal object.

Infants fantasise by absorbing into their bodies the impressions they have gained and experiences they have undergone with an external object, initially the mother's breast whether good or bad (Klein, 1946; 1975). Introjection also occurs when a person internalises the ideas from other people or experiences with other people. Serial rapists might have introjected their early childhood experiences of abuse, neglect and rejection from their environment and internalised them into their way of thinking which they later project onto their victims. Maciel and Basto-Pereira (2020) have articulated that most serial rapist have reported that they themselves were victims of child sexual abuse which becomes their introjected experience thus later projected to their victims as an outlet.

2.4.2 Projection

Kernberg (2005) states that infants utilise projection to get rid of bad objects just as they use introjection to take in both good and bad objects. People might believe that their own subjective ideas are true through projection. Projection is the idea that one's own emotions and impulses exist in another person rather than within one's own body. Infants alleviate the overwhelming worry of being destroyed by harmful internal energies by projecting uncontrollable destructive impulses onto exterior objects. Projection is a form of defence in which unwanted feelings are displaced onto another person, where they then appear as a threat from the external world. A common form of projection occurs when an individual, threatened by his or her own angry feelings accuses the next person of hiding hostile thoughts (Dombeck & Wells-Moran, 2006).

Serial rapists use this mechanism when they blame their victims and claim that they are the cause of the rape, as they were provoked by them.

Roberts (2016) notes that holding victims responsible for their misfortune is partially a way to avoid having to admit that something unthinkable could have been done by the offender, even if the victims did everything right. He further explains that offenders blame victims so that they can continue to feel safe and good about themselves, and it helps the perpetrator feel as if bad things will never happen to them or be done by them. Labuschagne (2020) exemplifies that how projection works through the case of the Muldersdrift serial rapist, that is, when he claimed that his rape victims owed him for 'his' sexual services and that the rape was consensual.

2.4.3 Splitting

Feldman (2014) explains that the term "splitting" refers to a psychological defence mechanism that involves a person's tendency to perceive people, situations, or even themselves as either entirely good or entirely bad, with little or no ambivalence in between. It is considered a primitive defence mechanism that helps individuals cope with internal conflicts, anxiety, and emotional distress.

Infants can only handle the positive and negative elements of themselves and other things by separating them, as well as keeping conflicting impulses apart. As a result, new-borns form an image of both the "good me" and the "bad me," allowing them to deal with both pleasure and harmful urges towards other objects. According to Feldman (2014), if the separation is not excessive and inflexible, it can be a good and useful process not just for newborn infants but also for adults.

The mechanism allows people to notice both positive and negative aspects of themselves, to assess their own behaviour as excellent or poor, and to distinguish between likable and unlikable persons. Klein (1946) observes that excessive and inflexible splitting can lead to pathological repression, and she also highlights that if children's egos are too unyielding to be divided into 'good me' and 'bad me', they would be unable to introject negative events into the good ego. When children are unable to recognise their own terrible behaviour, they must deal with harmful and frightening urges in the only manner they know how: by repressing them.

Repression consequently becomes a defence mechanism where unwanted and provoking mental processes such as morally wrong feelings and painful memories are

unconsciously pushed away and are prevented from entering the conscious awareness (Boag, 2012). Rico (2019) explains that this implies that the person completely forgets the act and the circumstances surrounding it. Serial rapists who have been victims of sexual abuse and have no memory of the abuse may be using repression as a mechanism to help them cope with the unwanted feelings that come with the memory. This is not a very successful defence in the long term, since it involves forcing disturbing wishes, ideas or memories into the unconscious, where, although hidden, they will create anxiety. For example, a child who suffered parental abuse early in life, may later have no memory of the events, but have trouble forming trusting or loving relationships (Berlin & Montgomery, 2017).

Rico (2019) further explains that repression can also be experienced in a different form, for example, when a person tends to “spank” others when greeting them (the repressed idea of violence toward the other person). It can also be suggested that serial rapist who does not have memories of being sexually assaulted or abused is acting out (raping) their repressed traumatic memories. Berlin and Montgomery (2017) state that this defence mechanism can be helpful for individuals in the short term, because it protects the person from the intense negative emotions associated with their childhood memories. However, these memories do not disappear; they manifest through a symptom, or series of symptoms, and might continue to influence the individual’s behaviour, and this is known as pathological repression (Berlin & Montgomery, 2017).

2.4.4 Projective Identification

Projective identification is a mental defensive technique in which children separate undesired portions of themselves, project them onto another object, and then introject them into themselves in a modified or distorted form (Kernberg, 2005). Infants feel they have become like the thing by absorbing it back into themselves, that is, they identify with it, for example: Infants usually put some of their destructive impulses onto the lousy, frustrated breast. Following that, individuals identify with the breast by introjecting it, a technique that allows them to achieve control over the feared and lovely breast (Kernberg, 2005).

Adult interpersonal relationships are heavily influenced by projective identification. In contrast to simple projection, which might exist entirely in fantasy, projective

identification exists solely in the sense of genuine interpersonal connections (Spillius et al., 2011). For example, individuals that grew up experiencing physical abuse from their mothers may introject the 'abuser woman' and later project it onto their victims by also physically abusing them and becoming an abuser too. Then they blame their introjected experiences for their actions. This is usually noted in serial rapists that explain that they raped their victims because they "hate women and want to punish them", as they view women to be abusers while they themselves have also become what they perceive their victims to be.

2.5 Internalisation

Internalisation is a term used by object relations theorists to describe how a person takes in (introjects) components of the external framework. The ego, superego, and Oedipus complex are three essential internalisations in Kleinian theory (Spillius et al., 2011).

2.5.1 Ego

Klein (1954) feels that the ego, or one's sense of self, matures far sooner than Freud assumes. Although Freud proposes that the ego exists from birth, he does not attach complex psychic activities to it until the third or fourth year. According to Freud, the id dominates the young child. Klein (1952), on the other hand, mainly ignores the id in favour of focusing on the ego's early ability to recognise both destructive and loving forces and control them through splitting, projection, and introjection.

Klein (1952) believes that although the ego is mostly unorganised at birth, it is nevertheless strong enough to feel anxiety, to use defence mechanisms, and to form early object relations in both phantasy and reality. The ego begins to develop during the child's first feeding experience, when the healthy breast feeds the infant not just with milk but also with love and security (Spillius et al., 2011). But the infant also experiences the terrible breast, one that is absent or does not provide milk, love, or security. It can also be said that infants get to experience their parents as being both good, loving and nurturing or being as bad and abusive (Kernberg, 2005). The newborn introjects both the good and bad breasts, and these images serve as a focus point for further ego development. The ego evaluates all events, even those unrelated to feeding, in terms of how they relate to the good and bad breast (Holmes, 2015).

Winnicott (1953) gives the example that when the ego experiences the good breast, it expects similar good experiences with other objects, such as its own fingers, a pacifier, or the father. Thus, the infant's first object relation (the breast) becomes the model not only for the ego's future development but for the individual's later interpersonal relations. In simple terms, people who experienced their mothers as abusive and rejecting are likely to expect all women or individuals in general to be abusive and rejecting. However, Spillius et al. (2011) contend that before a united ego can arise, it must first split. Klein assumes that children innately strive for integration while also being compelled to face competing forces of life and death, as reflected in their experience with the good and bad breast. To avoid disintegration, the newly formed ego must be divided into two parts: the good self and the bad self.

When young children receive milk and love, they experience the good self; when they do not receive milk and love, they experience the bad self. This dual perception of the self enables people to manage both the positive and negative elements of external objects. Infants' perceptions grow more realistic as they age; they no longer view the world in terms of separate things, and their egos become more integrated. This section is intertwined with the Paranoid schizoid section (see 2.3.1) where it explains that when the splitting of the ego does not take place, the bad aspects of the external objects become dominant. These bad aspects include aggressive and destructive impulses that introject into the self and are later projected outward.

2.5.2 Superego

Klein's (1952) conception of the superego differs from Freud's in at least three significant ways. First, it appears considerably earlier in life; second, it is not a result of the Oedipus complex; and third, it is far harsher and crueller. Klein has discovered these distinctions by means of her research of young infants, which Freud neglected. Freud defines the superego as having two subsystems: an ego-ideal that causes emotions of inadequacy and a conscience that causes feelings of guilt. He also states that those with underdeveloped superegos lack conscience and do not experience guilt.

Klein (1952) concurs that the more mature the superego becomes, the more it will in turn produce feelings of inferiority and guilt, but her analysis of young children leads her to believe that the early superego does not produce guilt, but fear. To Klein, young

children fear being overwhelmed, cut up, and torn into pieces; fears that are greatly out of proportion to any realistic dangers. And children's superegos are so drastically removed from any actual threats by their parents because of the infants' own destructive instincts, which are experienced as anxiety (Segal, 2018).

Boag (2012) explains that the child's ego mobilises libido (the life instinct) against the death instinct to control this sense of anxiety. However, because the life and death drives are inextricably linked, the ego is driven to protect itself against its own acts. This early ego defence provides the groundwork for the formation of the superego, the extreme aggression of which is a reaction to the ego's aggressive self-defence against its own destructive traits. According to Klein (1960), this harsh, cruel superego is responsible for many antisocial and criminal traits in adulthood. Barkhuizen (2004) proposes that serial rapists have undeveloped superegos, which can be caused by rejection and abuse experienced in their early childhood, which may lead to the disruption in the formation of the superego.

Reddish (2018) notes that one of the results of underdeveloped superego is lack of conscience, and its consequences include difficulties with impulse control, poor judgment, unethical behaviour, and a lack of empathy or remorse for harmful actions. Vaknin (2013) clarifies that when the superego is excessively harsh, critical, or punitive, it can create a negative internal dialogue that constantly criticises and belittles the individual's sense of self. This can result in feelings of inadequacy, low self-esteem, and self-doubt, which are characteristic of an ego-inferiority complex. The individual may internalise the negative messages from the superego and believe that they are inherently flawed, unworthy, or unlovable (Vaknin, 2013).

Klein (1960) describes the superego of a 5-year-old child in the same way that Freud does. By the fifth or sixth year, the superego causes little anxiety but a lot of guilt. It has gradually lost most of its severity while evolving into a realistic conscience. Greenberg and Greenberg (1991) note that Klein rejects Freud's notion that the superego is a result of the Oedipus complex. Instead, she insists that it develops alongside the Oedipus complex and then manifests as realistic guilt once the Oedipus complex has been resolved.

2.5.3 Oedipus complex

For Klein (1952), the oedipal development begins at an earlier age than that proposed by Freud, around the age of two or three. She believes that even infants possess unconscious fantasies and feelings related to the Oedipus complex. Klein emphasises the significance of the child's relationship with both parents, particularly the mother, in shaping their psychological development (Klein, 1945).

In traditional Freudian (1963) theory, the Oedipus complex refers to the psychosexual conflict experienced by a child between the ages of three and six. During this stage, the child develops unconscious sexual desires for the parent of the opposite sex and harbours feelings of rivalry and hostility towards the parent of the same sex. Freud believes that boys experience the complex differently from girls, which he refers to as the Electra complex for females. Klein (1945) introduces her own perspective, focusing on early childhood experiences and the role of the mother-infant relationship in shaping the child's internal world. According to Klein (1952), the oedipal conflict begins much earlier in life and involves a series of stages that continue throughout childhood.

In Klein's model, the pre-Oedipal period starts from birth and extends into the first few years of life. She believes that infants, both boys and girls, develop primitive fantasies and anxieties related to their mother's breast, which symbolises nourishment and love. Klein (1945) refers to this stage as the "paranoid-schizoid position". During this phase, infants experience both loving and hostile feelings towards their mother. They may fantasise about possessing the breast and fear losing it or being attacked by it. In the subsequent stage, known as the "depressive position", which typically emerges around the age of six months, children begin to develop a more integrated and realistic understanding of their mother and other significant figures. They recognise that their mother is a separate individual with her own desires and needs (Greenberg & Greenberg, 1991).

According to Greenberg and Greenberg (1991), in this stage, both boys and girls may experience a sense of loss and guilt for their earlier aggressive fantasies towards their mother. They believe that unresolved Oedipal conflicts can lead to ongoing psychological issues and have an impact on an individual's later relationships and behaviour. She emphasizes the role of the infant's relationship with the mother, particularly the breast, as a primary source of nourishment and gratification. Klein

suggests that the infant's experiences and fantasies during this period shape their subsequent psychological development. If a child's experiences during the Oedipal phase are positive, they may develop a healthy resolution of the Oedipal complex. This involves accepting the limitations and reality of their relationship with their parents, developing a strong sense of self, and forming healthy relationships with others. However, if a child's experiences are negative or their conflicts remain unresolved, Klein proposes that it could lead to ongoing psychological issues. These unresolved conflicts may manifest in various ways, such as difficulties with intimacy, trust, and aggression. Klein believes that these unresolved conflicts could contribute to the development of pathological behaviour later in life (Greenberg & Greenberg, 1991).

Male Oedipal development

Klein (1945)'s theory suggests that during the male oedipal phase, a boy experiences intense feelings of love and hate towards both parents. The child desires a close, exclusive relationship with the mother while harbouring aggressive and jealous feelings towards the father, perceiving him as a rival for the mother's attention and affection. In Klein's view, these intense emotions and conflicts arise from the child's internal world and are influenced by their primitive defence mechanisms. She emphasises the importance of the child's unconscious fantasies, which involve themes of destruction, loss, and reparation. These fantasies involve fantasies of harming or destroying the father, fearing retaliation, and subsequently seeking reparation and reconciliation (Klein, 1945).

Greenberg and Greenberg (1991) hypothesise that as the young man matures, he develops oral-sadistic urges for his father, wanting to bite off his penis and murder him. Castration anxiety and the dread that his father may retaliate against him by cutting off his penis, result from these sentiments. This dread convinces the young boy that having sexual relations with his mother would be exceedingly harmful for him. Castration anxiety only partially resolves the boy's Oedipus problem. More importantly, he must be able to create positive ties with both parents simultaneously. At that time, the youngster perceives his parents as full things, which allows him to move over his depression (Klein, 1945).

Female oedipal development

Klein (1945)'s theory suggests that the female oedipal conflict involves a unique constellation of dynamics. She believes that girls experience envy and rivalry with their mother due to their shared biological sex and the perception that the mother possesses something they lack, specifically, a penis. This penis envy leads to feelings of resentment and competition with the mother, as well as a desire to possess the father. Klein (1945) argues that girls also experience a deeper identification with their mother because they share the same sex. This identification becomes a source of conflict, as girls simultaneously desire to separate from the mother and maintain a connection with her. Girls may fear losing their mother's love and attention, especially in relation to the birth of siblings or the mother's potential rejection. This fear can intensify feelings of guilt and anxiety.

Klein (2018) states that in contrast to the young male, a young girl first perceives her mother's breast as both nice and harmful. Around 6 months, she starts to see the breast as more positive than bad. Later, she perceives her entire mother as full of nice things, which prompts her to wonder how infants are created. She imagines that her father's penis provides her mother with wealth, including children. Because the small girl perceives her father's penis as a source of offspring, she develops a favourable bond with it and fantasises that her father will fill her body with children. If the female Oedipal stage goes well, the young girl takes on a "feminine" role and has a pleasant relationship with both.

However, under less ideal circumstances, the little girl will see her mother as a rival and will fantasise about robbing her mother of her father's penis and stealing her mother's babies (Segal, 2018). He further compares boys and girls by believing that just as the boy's hostility towards his father leads to fear of retaliation, the little girl's wish to rob her mother produces a paranoid fear that her mother will retaliate against her by injuring her or taking away her babies. The little girl's principal anxiety comes from a fear that the inside of her body has been injured by her mother, an anxiety that can only be alleviated when she later gives birth to a healthy baby (Segal, 2018).

In summary, Melanie Klein (1945)'s understanding of female oedipal development emphasises early experiences, the mother-infant relationship, and the complex interplay of envy, rivalry, and identification. Her theories diverge from Freud's classical

oedipal theory and highlight the significance of early childhood. Klein's approach to male Oedipal development highlights the role of unconscious fantasies, early emotional experiences, and the interplay between love and hate in shaping a child's psychological development. Her theories have had a significant impact on the field of psychoanalysis, particularly in the area of object relations theory, which focuses on how individuals form and maintain relationships based on internalised images of others.

2.5.4 Kleinian View of Criminality

Criminality or antisocial conduct is frequently viewed in object relations as an expression of unresolved psychological conflicts, particularly related to early childhood unpleasant experiences (Klein, 1921–1945). Klein proposes that in early childhood, individuals develop internal objects, which are representations of important people in their lives, and these internal objects can be either good or bad. Internal objects are part of the individual's internal world and influence their thoughts, feelings, and behaviour.

Kleinian theory suggests that criminal behaviour may arise from unresolved conflicts with internal objects, particularly those that are experienced as bad or persecutory. For example, individuals who have experienced trauma or neglect in early childhood may develop internal objects that are experienced as hostile or persecutory, leading to feelings of anger, aggression, and a need for revenge. These internal objects may then drive the individual towards criminal behaviour to enact their unconscious fantasies or as a defence against their anxieties (Klein, 1921–1945).

Furthermore, Kleinian theory emphasises the importance of an individual's relationship with their internal objects, particularly the quality of their internalised relationships with significant others. If an individual has experienced early relational traumas or has not developed healthy internalised relationships, this can lead to difficulties in regulating emotions, developing empathy, and managing impulses, which may contribute to criminal behaviour (Barkhuizen, 2004).

Jefferson (2002) notes that the Kleinian psychoanalysis also highlights the role of unconscious phantasy and symbolic representation in criminality. Criminal acts may be seen as a symbolic enactment of unconscious fantasies, such as the desire for

power, control, or revenge, which is driven by the individual's internal world and unconscious conflicts.

The Kleinian view of criminality suggests that criminal behaviour may arise from unresolved psychological conflicts related to early experiences, particularly with internal objects that are experienced as bad or persecutory. It emphasises the importance of the individual's internal world, including their unconscious fantasies and anxieties, as well as their relationship with internal objects in understanding the underlying psychological dynamics of criminal behaviour (Jefferson, 2002).

2.6 Chapter summary

The study utilised the object relations theory and it is based on the theories and concepts developed by the psychoanalyst, Melanie Klein. Kleinian psychoanalysis focuses on the internal world of the individual, particularly their unconscious fantasies and anxieties, and how these shape their behaviour, including criminal behaviour. Klein (1923) writes that object relations theory traces character formation to early child-parent relational experiences, traumatic encounters, and many other early-life experiences. To understand human thought, attitudes, and behaviour (e.g. serial rape behaviour), an analysis of the interplay between the unconscious forces, i.e. innate drives and past repressed conflicts, is necessary (Del Fabbro, 2006).

To make sense of serial rapists' early relational experiences which could account for their antisocial behaviour, Melanie Klein's (1945) object relations theory in particular, has been applied. Melanie Klein argues that early relational experiences with primary caregivers or objects of one's awareness become internalised (Klein, 1945). The nature of internalised experiences, either positive or negative, go on to unconsciously influence one's psychic functioning, including future relationships. Accordingly, children not only internalise the object itself, but also the entire relationship which includes representations of themselves, the objects, and emotions linked to the experiences (Etherington, 2020).

Although Klein (1946) emphasises that formation of the mind occurs during the first few years of life, internalisation of relational patterns continues past adulthood. The theory therefore looks at the quality of human relationships as key to the formation of human personalities and their adaptation to the environment. In support of Klein, Parker (2008) and Rudnytsky (2013) explain that childhood experiences of abuse,

poverty, neglect, unwarranted punishment and family struggles correlate with physical and mental health problems later in life. It is in line with this thinking that maladjusted personalities, such as is the case with serial rapists, could be thought of as expressive of past traumas or unpleasant relations with a significant object of relations, in this case, women.

Perhaps the act of raping women is an unconscious mechanism suggesting identification with the aggressor or displaced punishment towards women, who are mentally represented/introjected as punitive or hostile towards a boy child. Klein has defined introjection as psychologically taking on the characteristics of another person. For example, a child who is fearful of an aggressive parent, goes on to take on the characteristics of aggression. In contrast, identification is a process of carrying introjected images of others psychologically.

It is gathered from this theory that attachment difficulties during the first few years of life impact negatively on mental development and can continue to do so throughout life (Hong & Park, 2012). In other words, satisfactory human development is dependent on healthy early relationships and experiences, which also means that there may be critical periods when failure to experience a care-providing relationship can have long-term consequences and among others, could give birth to sexual offenders.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

This section will present existing literature on serial rapists. In particular, the literature from different parts of the world will be reviewed. The literature will be presented starting with empirical studies and supposed inner drives accountable for the development of serial rapists. The second part will deal with unpleasant early childhood experiences including underlying mental health problems that have been offered previously as potential explanations for serial-rape behaviour.

3.1 Preview of Studies on Serial Sex Offenders

Studies on serial sex offenders have been conducted in Canada, Finland, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. All these studies (Beech et al., 2005; Martin, Taft, & Resnick, 2007; Ward & Beech, 2006; Woodhams et al., 2008) focus on male sexual offenders, where most of them raped or had female victims. In these studies, the age (with average age of 29 to 31 years) of the offenders ranged from teenagers to adults, except in the Woodhams et al. (2008) study in which the offenders comprised entirely of juveniles. In all studies, the majority of victims were strangers to the offenders. The length or extent of the rape series for most offenders was two offences; however, some offenders had lengthy rape series (Woodhams et al., 2008).

Simon (2000) examined the history of serial rape offenders, child molesters, and violent offenders, and found that rapists and violent offenders had similar criminal records as they were identified as having offences other than serial rape. Smallbone, et al. (2003) note that in the past, serial rapists were noted and recorded as being serial rapists but were recorded as having committed other types of offences, for example, violent, property, drug, or traffic offences. Seventy-nine percent of rapists in Smallbone et al. s' (2003) study had been convicted of non-sexual violent offences, 38% of extra-familial and 8% of interfamilial child molesters. The above statements highlight that most serial rape cases that took place in the past were incorrectly recorded.

Petherick (2012) proposes that criminal profiling is an effort to add the element of personality and behavioural pointers or characteristics about offenders, based on the evidence they left behind and their behaviour. This can also be seen as a logical method that includes the offenders analysing their interaction with the victim and the crime scene, their choice of weapon, and their use of language, among other factors.

This approach is also known as either offender profiling, psychological profiling, offender analysis, behavioural profiling, or just profiling (Petherick, 2012). Similarly, there are a number of definitions of what actually adds up to create an offender's profile. For instance, Kocsis (2007) proposes that it is a "polished effort" to provide the investigating agencies with specific information as to the type of person who would commit a certain crime, the preferred location and their modus operandi.

The common aim of offender profiling is to provide the police with several characteristics and demographic "sketches" of the likely offender(s). This usually includes common demographics such as age, ethnicity and marital status, and more specifically, considerations of past criminal history, possible motivation, and likely area of residence (Ault & Reese, 1980). Prior to 1994, the SAPS did not officially make use of profilers. In February 1994, Micki Pistorius was appointed by the Behavioural Sciences Unit of the SAPS to oversee a project on profiling. She was the first person to conduct academic research on serial killers (Pistorius, 2005).

De Wet (2009) confirms that understanding the motivation behind the serial rapist's actions has until recently been a subject that has received little scientific attention (Hazelwood & Burgess, 1987; 2016). In the South African context, there has been very limited research on the occurrence of serial rape. Some of the already existing research is a study by De Wet (2009), in which he explores the behavioural profiling perspective. Woodhams and Labuschagne (2012) focus on the nature of the sexual offence the offenders committed, the characteristics of the offender and the types of victims they targeted. The present research adds to these efforts but mainly seeks to examine psychodynamic factors that contribute to serial rape behaviour.

3.2 The development of a serial rapist and inner drives

According to Roostin (2018), development is the period of growth and change human beings go through between birth and maturity. Development includes physical, psychological, and spiritual features. Psychological development has to do with the growth of a person's cognitive, emotional, intellectual, and social faculties over their lifespan (Cherry, 2018). Development can be facilitated or inhibited by many factors.

External factors such as parental rejection, neglect or abuse often contribute negatively to the psychological development of a person, i.e., it could result in

pathological traits and functioning, which are often the case with serial rapists (Beres, 2020). Although Beres's study notes these factors, the study does not explore how each unpleasant early childhood trauma contributes towards serial rape behaviour. Her research was focused on rape prevention rather than inner psychic motivations. Further empirical support comes from Borgeson and Kuehnle (2010) who have surmised that psychological factors that contribute to the development of serial rape behaviour, including unpleasant childhood experiences such as parental abuse or rejection, which could result in feelings of hostility towards women (Borgeson & Kuehnle, 2010). Some scholars have offered explanations such as the need to control and dominate women and mental illnesses such as sexual dysfunction (paraphilia) and antisocial personality disorder as some of the motivational factors or inner mental drives that account for serial rape behaviour (Edens, et al., (2015); Stevens, (2000)). The above-mentioned contributory factors will be addressed in the following section.

3.2.1 Childhood traumas and parental abuse or rejection

Naz and Kausar (2014) define childhood trauma as child abuse that occurs during the childhood period and covers many dimensions, for example, physical abuse, emotional abuse, sexual abuse, and neglect. The authors go on to explain that the aforementioned could contribute towards the development of a serial rapists. Gannon et al. (2008) report that childhood histories of offenders convicted of sex crimes are characterised by high rates of physical abuse, sexual abuse, and/or dysfunctional families. More specifically, it has long been reported that childhood histories of sexually violent offenders are characterised by neglect, violence, and disruption within the home (Bard et al. 1987; Craissati et al., 2002).

Adverse childhood experiences are associated with differential sexual offending behaviours (Simons et al., 2002). For example, sexual abuse during childhood is related to severe sexual aggression, whereas physical abuse and neglect are associated with severe nonsexual aggression (Knight & Prentky, 1990). Sexual abuse alone does not cause violent sexual behaviour, but a pattern of experiences consisting of physical abuse and emotional rejection alongside of sexual abuse and other psychological factors may increase the risk that male victims of sexual abuse become abusers themselves (Whitten et al., 2019).

Simons et al. (2008) explain that men who sexually offend often report a childhood history of physical abuse, suggesting that victims of physical abuse may learn to behave violently in their home environment thereby translating that violence into their interpersonal relationships as children and later as adults. Developing a predisposition for violence is a potential consequence of having been a victim of physical abuse (Liu et al., 2013). Researchers have found that physically abused boys are more likely to be charged with sexual offences during adolescence and arrested for violent sex crimes, such as rape, serial rape or serial killing later in life than boys who have not been physically abused (Kobayashi et al. 1995; Widom & Ames, 1994).

Compared to men who sexually offend and nonsexual offenders, serial rapists report more frequent experiences of physical and emotional abuse, and paternal violence (Connolly & Woollons, 2008; Smallbone & Dadds, 2000). To support the above statement, Findings from a meta-analysis conducted by Jespersen et al. (2009) show that a history of sexual victimisation is significantly more prevalent among serial rapists than in men that generally sexually offend. Widom et al. (2006) argue that child abuse and neglect are associated with higher levels of violent arrests which entail that child abuse and neglect are significantly predictive of future violent acts through early aggression. In the overall model, child abuse, both physical and sexual, and neglect are both directly and indirectly predictive of sexually violent crimes, in this case serial rape.

Emotional abuse and psychological maltreatment have also been suggested as possible developmental precursors for sexual violence (Simons et al. 2008). The negative effects of a child's perception development when experiencing maltreatment is dependent upon the degree of perceived damage that the child experiences (Simons et al., 2008).

Children who have frequently experienced emotional abuse exhibit higher rates of physical aggression and interpersonal problems later in life (Teicher, et al., 2006). Children who are victims of one form of abuse are more likely to experience other forms of abuse (Edwards, et al., 2003; Mullen, et al., 1996). Specifically, it appears that the greater the number of forms of abuse experienced, the more severe the subsequent pathology (Dube et al., 2001; Edwards et al., 2003). This then increases the propensity to experience and act upon feelings of anger. Adverse outcomes

escalate when a child has frequently experienced numerous forms of child maltreatment; nevertheless, even short-term trauma appears to have a long-term influence on undesirable behaviour later in life which Bartol and Bartol, (2014) have noted may result in an anger-retaliatory rapist.

Serial rapists are angry at the world and often, at women in general or a particular woman. An action by a woman that might be perceived as wrong by the rapist or an act that evokes unwanted memories or unpleasant feelings could lead to an attack, which is usually within the 24 hours following such perception. Rapists act on impulse, often using weakening and unbearable force (Bartol & Bartol, 2014). Anger rapists want to degrade and humiliate their victims, and they do so by displacing their anger. Their assaults tend to be spontaneous or impulsive rather than premeditated. The experience is one of conscious rage, whereby the offender uses the act as an outlet by expressing fury both verbally and physically; basically, the act of rape becomes their weapon (Turvey, 2012).

Anger retaliatory assault, also known as revenge, is a category where hostility is expressed towards women (Groth, et al., 1977). Often, the assault occurs because the offender has had an argument with a female in his life and the rape is seen as a punishing act, leaving the offender to feel as though his cause has been justified. According to Turvey (2012), the offender is acting based on cumulative real or imagined wrongs from those who are in the offender's world.

The victim of the attack might be one of these people: a relative, a girlfriend, or a co-worker, or someone who might symbolise that person to the offender in the way they dress, their occupation, or physical characteristics. The main goal of this offender's behaviour is to service the offender's cumulative aggression. The offender is retaliating against his victims because of wrongs or perceived wrongs, and his aggression can manifest itself in ways spanning a wide range, from verbally abusive labels to hyper-aggressive homicide with multiple victims (Turvey & Freeman, 2011). No single factor can account for the development of violent sexual behaviour (English et al. 2002; Liu et al. 2013; Maxfield & Widom, 1996; Smith & Thornberry 1995; Zingraff et al. 1993). However, victims of early childhood abuse appear to be at risk of deleterious physical and psychological consequences increasing their chances of committing crime and violence later in life.

3.2.2 Mental health issues and cognitive distortions

Personality defects, minimising and rationalising their behaviour, rage issues, psychotic episodes, and psychiatric treatment are all common mental health issues among serial sex offenders” (Van der Put, et al., 2020). Offenders who have experienced unresolved childhood emotional trauma, abuse, irregular and harsh punishment and treatment, frequently experience post-traumatic stress, which impairs their cognitive functioning and rationalisation of their crimes (Maciel & Basto-Pereira, 2020). Poor cognitive performance, according to Whitten et al. (2019:154), is associated with neuropsychological deficiencies, psychopathic tendencies, and major mental health concerns.

Paraphilia as a Factor: According to Lackamp et al. (2016), paraphilia is a condition in which a person's sexual arousal and gratification depend on fantasising about and engaging in sexual behaviour that is extreme and abnormal. Paraphilia can be about a particular person or object (children, animals, underwear) or around a particular act (inflicting pain, exposing oneself). The focus of paraphilia is usually very specific and fixed. Paraphilia includes sexual behaviour that society might view as being unpleasant, abnormal or unusual. The types of paraphilia that are relevant to this study are sexual masochism (being humiliated or forced to suffer) and sexual sadism (inflicting humiliation or suffering).

Money (1990) explains that paraphilia, which is defined as an atypical sexual interest or behaviour, can be a motivating factor for some individuals who commit serial rape. However, it is important to note that the vast majority of individuals with paraphilia do not engage in criminal behaviour. Money further proposes that in some cases, individuals with paraphilia may become fixated on a particular type of non-consensual sexual activity, such as rape or sexual assault.

Zinik and Padilla (2016) explain that this fixation may lead them to seek out opportunities to engage in these behaviours, which can escalate into a pattern of serial rape. They also note that certain paraphilias, such as sexual sadism and sexual masochism, involve the infliction or receipt of physical or psychological pain or humiliation, and may be associated with sexual violence. Purcell and Arrigo (2006) note that other paraphilias, such as voyeurism and exhibitionism, involve non-consensual sexual acts that may also be related to sexual offending behaviour. There

is some evidence to suggest a link between certain types of paraphilia and sexual offending. However, it is important to note that having a paraphilia does not necessarily mean that an individual will commit sexual offences. Most people with paraphilia do not engage in criminal behaviour, and most individuals who commit sexual offences do not have a diagnosable paraphilia (Purcell & Arrigo, 2006).

Simons' (2015) research has found that individuals with certain types of paraphilia may be more likely to engage in sexually aggressive behaviour. For example, individuals with sexual sadism, which involves the infliction of pain or humiliation on others for sexual gratification, have been found to be at increased risk of committing sexual offences, particularly those involving violence or aggression. Similarly, individuals with paedophilia, which involves a sexual attraction to young children, have been found to be at increased risk of committing child sexual abuse. However, it is important to note that not all individuals with paedophilia act on their attraction, and many seek treatment to manage their sexual interests and prevent harm to children (Simons, 2015). Smallbone and Wortley (2004) note that other types of paraphilia that have been associated with sexual offending include exhibitionism, voyeurism, and fetishism. However, it is important to approach these findings with caution, as the relationship between paraphilia and sexual offending is complex and not fully understood.

Cusator (2010) proposes the *Integrated Model of Paraphilia Development*, which includes sexual sadism, biastophilia (sexual arousal from raping an unwilling person), and erotophonophilia (lust murder). Purcell's model is a combination of the *FBI Sexual Homicide Motivational Model* and *Hickey's Trauma Control Model*. This model explains that there are experiences in early childhood, and biological factors that affect psychological adjustment throughout life, and when these are combined with traumatic events such as physical or emotional abuse, they might result in paraphilia (Arrigo & Purcell, 2001).

Sexual masochism disorder is a condition that refers to recurrent, intense, sexually arousing fantasies, urges, or behaviours that are distressing or disabling, and have the potential to cause harm to oneself or others. Sexual sadism refers to purposefully causing pain, humiliation, fear, or some other form of physical or mental harm to another person to achieve personal sexual gratification. Sadistic acts include restraints (such as with ropes, chains, or handcuffs), imprisonment, biting, spanking, whipping, or beating (DSM 5, 2013).

The following diagnostic criteria aids researchers with identifying traits of paraphilia that might be the cause of the offender committing the offence.

Table 2

Sexual Masochism and Sexual Sadistic Disorder Diagnostic Criteria

Sexual Masochism Diagnostic Criteria	Sexual Sadistic Dysfunction Diagnostic Criteria
<p>A. Over a period of at least 6 months, recurrent and intense sexual arousal from the act of being humiliated, beaten, bound, or otherwise made to suffer, as manifested by fantasies, urges, or behaviours.</p> <p>B. The fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviours cause clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning.</p> <p><i>Specify if: With Asphyxiophilia:</i> If the individual engages in the practice of achieving sexual arousal related to restriction of breathing.</p> <p><i>Specify if: In a controlled environment:</i> This specifier is primarily applicable to individuals living in institutional or other settings, where opportunities to engage in masochistic sexual behaviours are restricted.</p> <p>In full remission: There has been no distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other areas of functioning for at least 5 years while in an uncontrolled environment.</p>	<p>A. Over a period of at least 6 months, recurrent and intense sexual arousal from the physical or psychological suffering of another person, as manifested by fantasies, urges, or behaviours.</p> <p>B. The individual has acted on these sexual urges with a non-consenting person, or the sexual urges or fantasies cause clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning.</p> <p><i>Specify if:</i></p> <p>In a controlled environment: This specifier is primarily applicable to individuals living in institutional or other settings, where opportunities to engage in sadistic sexual behaviours are restricted.</p> <p>In full remission: The individual has not acted on the urges with a non-consenting person, and there has been no distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other areas of functioning for at least 5 years while in an uncontrolled environment (DSM, 2013).</p>

Adopted from Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders. (DSM 5, 2013: 694-695)

As discussed above, paraphilia includes sexual behaviour that society might view as being unpleasant, abnormal or unusual. Thibaut, Bradford, Briken, De La Barra, Habler, Cosyns, and WFSBP Task Force on Sexual Disorders. (2016) suggest that many factors can contribute to an individual's decision to commit serial rape, and not all individuals with paraphilia will engage in this behaviour. Some of these factors may include past trauma, mental illness, substance abuse, and social and cultural influences. De Wet (2004) acknowledges that control and dominance come through as the major motivational drive in some cases of serial rape. Most rapists rape to assert their masculinity and demonstrate that they have power over women.

3.2.3 Need for control and dominance

Motivation and behaviour are the results of multiple factors which are dynamic and multidimensional. Like any motivation, sexual offending can have both intrinsic and extrinsic motivations. Intrinsic motivation is unique to an individual and includes elements like a sense of achievement, satisfaction, or intrigue (Collins & Nee, 2010). An example of intrinsic motivation for a rapist is the feeling of power and control over another human being.

However, Simons (2015) suggests that for some individuals, a desire for dominance and power may be a motivating factor in committing acts of sexual violence, including rape. These individuals may seek to exert control and power over their victims through acts of sexual violence, which may provide them with a sense of superiority and control. Ryan (2004) explains that for some serial rapists, the act of rape itself may be a means to establish dominance and power, and the victim's suffering and vulnerability may be seen to fulfil this need. These individuals may feel a sense of inadequacy or inferiority in other areas of their lives and seek to assert control and dominance over their victims through sexual violence (Ryan, 2004).

However, not all serial rapists are motivated by a need for dominance and power. Motivations for rape can vary widely, and may include issues related to mental health, personality disorders, past trauma, cultural factors, and other complex factors. Vee (2018) states that some serial rapists may be motivated by a desire for sexual gratification or arousal, while others may commit sexual violence as a means of expressing anger, frustration, or other negative emotions.

Childhood experiences comprise all sorts of abuse including psychological, physical and emotional abuse which may have a negative impact on the personality development of an individual. The next section presents a detailed discussion of how developmental distortions and antisocial personality disorder can be contributing factors to an individual becoming a serial rapist.

3.2.4 The formation of antisocial traits as a motivational factor

Antisocial behaviour is defined as actions that violate social norms in ways that reflect a disregard for others or that reflect the violation of others' rights (Edens et al., 2015). Certain factors seem to increase the risk of developing antisocial personality disorder, such as being subjected to abuse or neglect and unstable, violent or chaotic family life during childhood (James, et al., 2018). These unpleasant experiences do not only contribute to the formation of antisocial personality traits but could also serve as drives or motivations behind sexually coercive behaviour (James, et al., 2018).

Card and Little (2006) report that there is a strong correlation between childhood violence and later externalising behaviour as well as ongoing psychosocial adjustment problems. The researchers emphasise that an actual or perceived threat or provocation such as childhood experiences or violence may be a trigger for reactive aggressiveness, which is a trait of antisocial behaviour or may be a contributing factor to an individual's becoming a violent adult (Dodge & Coie, 1987). In essence, a person's childhood experiences may cause distortions in the formation of an individual's character, which may also lead them to being deviant or becoming an offender (White et al., 2013).

Edens et al. (2015) note that people with Antisocial Personality Disorder (APD), represent total disregard or, disrespect or violation of the rights of others, without showing any remorse. Lykken (2013) argues that people with APD might be habitual criminals or people who engage in criminal behaviour that could lead to arrest and prosecution. People with APD might also adopt behaviour that is against the law, or manipulate and hurt others in non-criminal ways, which are widely regarded as being wrong, corrupt, negligent, or that violate social norms and expectations. Individuals with APD often have a weakened moral conscience and make decisions that are driven purely by their own desires, without considering the needs of others, or the

negative effects their actions might have on others. Individuals with APD are also viewed as being impulsive, and criminal behaviour is common among them.

According to the DSM 5 (2013), there are criteria (see table 2 below) to be met to diagnose an individual as having an antisocial personality disorder. The following diagnostic criteria aid researchers to identify traits of APD that might be the cause of offences.

Table 3

Antisocial Personality Disorder Diagnostic Criteria

A. A pervasive pattern of disregard for and violation of the rights of others, occurring since the age of 15 years, as indicated by three (or more) of the following:

1. Failure to conform to social norms with respect to lawful behaviour, as indicated by repeatedly performing acts that are grounds for arrest.
2. Deceitfulness, as indicated by repeated lying, use of aliases, or conning others for personal profit or pleasure.
3. Impulsivity or failure to plan ahead.
4. Irritability and aggressiveness, as indicated by repeated physical fights or assaults.
5. Reckless disregard for the safety of self or others.
6. Consistent irresponsibility, as indicated by repeated failure to sustain consistent work behaviour or honour financial obligations.
7. Lack of remorse, as indicated by being indifferent to or justifying/rationalising the act of having hurt or mistreated or stolen from others.

B. The individual is at least 18 years of age.

C. There is evidence of conduct disorder with onset before the age of 15 years.

D. The occurrence of antisocial behaviour is not restricted to occur exclusively during the course of schizophrenia or bipolar disorder.

Adopted from Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders. (DSM 5, 2013: 659)

3.2.5 Early attachment experiences associated with sexual coercion behaviour

Clinical observations and empirical research offer evidence that disruptive or dysfunctional family experiences seem to be prevalent in the formative years of sexual offenders. Earlier studies by Marshall (2010) observe that sexual offenders typically fail to achieve secure childhood bonds. De wet (2004) has also noted that there are

significant relationships and interactions, which could influence an individual's behaviour and personality either positively or negatively. These relationships include maternal and paternal relationships. Smallbone and Dadds (2000) suggest that maternal anxious attachment is associated with antisociality which can also be noted in serial rapists, and that paternal avoidant attachment is associated with both antisociality and coercive sexual behaviour.

Smallbone and Dadds (2000) explain that there is evidence to suggest that early attachment experiences can be associated with sexual coercive behaviour in adulthood. Bowlby (1977)'s Attachment theory suggests that early experiences with caregivers shape an individual's expectations and beliefs about relationships, which can influence their later relationship experiences and behaviours. Lisak (2011) has found that individuals who report insecure attachment styles, such as anxious or avoidant attachment, are more likely to engage in sexually coercive behaviour. For example, individuals with an anxious attachment style may have a heightened fear of rejection and abandonment, which may lead them to use coercion to maintain a relationship or sexual encounter. Similarly, individuals with an avoidant attachment style may struggle with intimacy and closeness and may use coercion as a way to maintain emotional distance (Lisak, 2011).

Walsh, Fortier, and DiLillo (2010), in their review study, added that experiences of childhood sexual abuse or other forms of trauma can also be associated with sexually coercive behaviour in adulthood. Individuals who have experienced trauma may have difficulty with boundaries and may struggle to understand and respect the boundaries of others. They also argue that not all individuals who experience insecure attachment or trauma engage in sexually coercive behaviour, and that there are many factors that can contribute to such behaviour. However, understanding the potential role of early attachment experiences in shaping later sexual behaviour can be helpful in developing effective prevention and intervention strategies for sexual coercion (Walsh, Fortier, & DiLillo, 2010).

Smallbone and Dadds (2000) in their quantitative study, state that attachment theory proposes that our early experiences with caregivers shape our attachment style and our ability to form healthy relationships later in life. This may be because these individuals have difficulty forming healthy relationships and may rely on coercive or

manipulative tactics to control their partners. Additionally, Raine, Khouja, Scott, Wright, and Sowden (2020)'s systematic review has suggested that individuals who have experienced early exposure to pornography may also be more likely to engage in sexually coercive behaviour. Exposure to pornography may distort an individual's understanding of healthy sexual relationships and contribute to the development of problematic sexual attitudes and behaviour (Raine et al., 2020).

It's important to note that these factors are not determinative and do not necessarily lead to sexually coercive behaviour. Many individuals who experienced insecure attachment or early exposure to pornography do not engage in sexually coercive behaviour. However, understanding these risk factors can help inform prevention and intervention efforts to address sexually coercive behaviour and promote healthy relationships.

3.2.6 Socioeconomic and political risk factors that may result in offending behaviour.

According to Taylor and colleagues (2000) According to Smith, the existence of specific socioeconomic conditions undermines the key components of positive parenting. Specifically, low income, unemployment, and a lack of social support are linked to more aggressive parenting techniques, more rejecting, less affectionate behaviours, and more punitive and coercive discipline. These factors ultimately have an impact on children's social, behavioural, and educational development (Taylor et al., 2000). The researchers contend that these factors are mediated by parental psychological wellbeing, as well as the distress and conflict between them that may ensue. The discussion on socioeconomic risk factors is expanded herebelow.

Poverty and Economic Stress: According to Sano and colleagues (2021) families living in poverty or experiencing financial instability often face greater stress and challenges in providing for their children. Economic hardship can result with parents leaving their children with other caregivers to go find job opportunities in order to be able to provide for their families. In some instances these caregivers are neglectful or abusive, all of which can impact a child's well-being and development. Economic stress can also strain parent-child relationships. Consequently, the experience of neglect, abuse and strained parent-child relationship secondary to economic hardships serve as intertwined contributory factors towards the development of a serial

rapist (Sano, Mammen, & Houghten, 2021). What is exposed herein is that some parents may have not intentionally neglected their parenting duties but systemic factors beyond their control could have played a role thus predisposing their children to suffering psychic traumas leading to their becoming serial rapists later in life.

Parental Mental Health Problems: Rodriguez-JenKins and Marcenko (2014) argue that socioeconomic factors can contribute to increased stress and mental health challenges among parents. Mental health issues can affect a parent's ability to provide stable and nurturing care to their children. This, in turn, can have long-term consequences on child development and behaviour. It was also noted that parental stress may lead to the maltreatment (neglect and abuse) of children by the parents which causes a disruption in the children's behaviour. The disruption in the behaviour of the children can result in adults with antisocial personality disorder which is also noted in serial rapists (Rodriguez-JenKins & Marcenko, 2014).

Community Violence and Safety: Living in areas with high crime rates and violence can expose children to traumatic experiences and negatively affect their development (Fox et al., 2015). Parents in such communities may struggle to provide a safe and stable environment for their children. Bandura (2008) explained that individuals learn through observing the behaviour of another individual and imitating it. This theory suggests that children who are exposed to violence and abuse may become abusers as well, and children who are exposed to crime may become criminals.

Substance Abuse and Addiction: Hyde and colleagues (2020) state that substance abuse issues can be both a cause and a consequence of poor parenting. Parents struggling with addiction may neglect their children's needs, leading to neglect and abuse, and substance abuse can also lead to the children committing criminal activities (Hyde et al., 2020).

Cultural norms, values, discrimination, and bias: Bonnie et al. (2015) noted that the identified factors can affect parenting practices and children's development. Minority populations in particular may face additional challenges related to systemic discrimination, which can influence parenting quality and increase the likelihood of criminal behaviour in their children.

It is important to note that the discussed factors often interact and reinforce each other, creating a cycle that can be difficult to break. Furthermore, not all individuals from

disadvantaged backgrounds become offenders, and many overcome these challenges to become successful parents. Effective social policies, interventions, and community support can play a crucial role in mitigating the influence of these risk factors and helping parents provide a nurturing and safe environment for their children, reducing the risk of criminal behaviour.

3.3 Existing challenges and weaknesses surrounding serial rape studies

Serial rape is a relatively understudied phenomenon, and in South Africa its only recently that it has started receiving research attention. Existing research has not focused on the offenders' psychological development and motivation. Instead, available knowledge on serial rape focuses on the characteristics of the perpetrators, their age, the length of the series, and their sexual offending behaviour (Woodhams and Labuschagne (2012)). It has also been noted that some of the reasons for the limited research are that in the past, law enforcement agencies have not consistently recorded or reported serial rape cases correctly, but they have been recorded as other crimes. Similarly, most serial rapists are also serial killers and most researchers have opted to focus more on the serial killing aspect than on rape. Lastly, researchers may face challenges in recruiting participants for serial rape studies due to the sensitive nature of the topic and as a means for offenders to avoid re-traumatisation during the research process.

3.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter has discussed the different views on the motivations of rape and the development of a serial rapist, the offenders' behavioural traits and also how attachment and intimacy problems can contribute to rape. This chapter has also explained how paraphilia can be identified as a contributing factor to serial rape. In the next chapter, the methodology of the study will be addressed.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research methodology refers to the procedures or strategies used to identify, select, process, and analyse information about a topic of interest (Harding, 2018). The methodology part of a research paper allows the reader to critically examine the overall validity and reliability or quality of the study. Two major questions have been addressed in this methodology section: 'How was data gathered or generated to answer to the research objectives?' and 'What methods were used to examine the data?' Answers to these questions are offered in this chapter.

4.1 The pragmatic research paradigm and mixed-methods design

The present study is informed by the pragmatic paradigm and has helped the researcher address the 'what' and 'how' of the research problem (Creswell, 2003). The pragmatic paradigm opens the possibility for "multiple methods, different worldviews, and different assumptions, as well as different forms of data collection and analysis" (Creswell, 2003). Pragmatic research designs aim to generate knowledge that is useful and applicable to real-world situations (Kelly & Cordeiro, 2020). They emphasise practicality, effectiveness, and relevance in addressing research questions and problems. Pragmatic research often combines qualitative and quantitative methods to gather a comprehensive understanding of a phenomenon. This approach allows researchers to capture both subjective experiences and objective measurements, providing a more holistic perspective (Kelly & Cordeiro, 2020). In this study, the *QUAN-qual* research design was adopted. Kaushik and Walsh (2019) suggest that pragmatic research may employ various research designs, such as case studies, surveys, experiments, observational studies, or systematic reviews, depending on the research question and context. This flexibility enables researchers to choose the most appropriate design to generate actionable knowledge. Pragmatic research designs frequently involve action research, which focuses on identifying and implementing practical solutions to real-world problems. It emphasises enabling the integration of theoretical knowledge with practical insights (Kaushik & Walsh, 2019).

Mixed methods designs: QUAN-qual research design

Considering the study aim, a mixed-methods design has been adopted; with the one part being a systematic review study and the other being qualitative in nature. The

review study provides the scope of the existing problem by reviewing all existing psychological studies on the phenomenon of investigation within the South African context. In contrast, the qualitative case study component complements the reviewed literature through qualitative inputs from convicted serial rapists.

Cresswell (2012) suggests that mixed-methods studies can be a good approach to fully explore some complex phenomena with a view to offering ways to better understand the problem in different contexts. A review study was conducted first, and its results guided the selection of cases for in-depth interviews. As a result, the study follows a sequential mixed-methods design, namely, the QUAN-qual design. According to Morse (2016), the QUAN-qual is a mixed-research method with the quantitative aspect being the core component and the qualitative being the supplementary component of the study.

The core and supplemental components of the study have been conducted sequentially, which means that the quantitative study was conducted first and the qualitative study was done to supplement the findings of the quantitative. Morse and Niehaus (2016) explain that the distinction between QUAL → quan, QUAN → qual, QUAL + quan, and QUAN + qual is how they are done. They describe QUAL → quan as an inductive-sequential design in which the core component is qualitative and the supplemental component is quantitative and vice versa, whereas QUAN + qual is a deductive-simultaneous design in which the core component is quantitative, and the supplemental component is qualitative and vice versa (Morse & Niehaus, 2016).

The researcher chose the QUAN-qual method as it offers the deductive theory-driven approach. Elragal and Klischewski (2017) explain that this means that the study is driven or guided by a theory. The object-relations theory coined by Melanie Klein was selected with the aim to answer the research question noted in chapter 1.

4.1.1 Study one: Systematic review study design

Systematic review is defined as a review of the evidence on a clearly formulated question that uses systematic and explicit methods to identify, select, and critically appraise relevant primary research, and to extract and analyse data from the studies that are included in the review (Sutton, et al., 2019). Gopalakrishnan and Ganeshkumar (2013) write that while literature reviews require only one database or

source, systematic reviews (SR) require more comprehensive efforts to locate evidence; they aim to identify, evaluate, and summarise the findings of all relevant individual studies that address the research question.

Screening and selection of relevant studies (Eligibility criteria): Eligibility criteria are designed to aid the researcher with the inclusion and exclusion process of final studies for review (Benn, et al., 2012). The researcher identified the following inclusion and exclusion criteria.

Inclusion criteria:

1. Studies or cases that were directly relevant to serial rape, including those that involve multiple sexual assaults committed by the same perpetrator, are typically included.
2. Studies conducted only in South Africa were included.
3. Studies that provide sufficient data and information about the serial rape cases, including offender characteristics, modus operandi, and other relevant details, were included.
4. Empirical studies, including academic articles that provided a systematic and documented analysis of serial rape cases were included.
5. The study only included articles written in English.

Exclusion criteria:

1. Studies that do not pertain to serial rape or are unrelated to the research question were excluded.
2. Studies that focus on single, isolated rape incidents or cases with no evidence of a serial pattern were excluded.
3. Research published in languages other than English will be excluded.
4. Studies or cases that lack detailed information, including offender profiles, specific incident details, or modus operandi, will be excluded due to a lack of data for analysis.
5. Studies that lack sufficient evidence were excluded to maintain the credibility of the research.

Washington, et al. (2016) explain that when conducting a systematic review, after the search is complete and all duplicates and excluded studies have been thrown out, the researcher reviews the abstracts of the remaining articles to ensure that they address the research question and meet the eligibility criteria for inclusion (Washington, et al., 2016).

Data collection: The systematic search strategy involves running four sets of searches on different databases such as Sabinet, JSTOR, Heinonline, Sage, Taylor & Francis, Springer, Ebscohost, Elsevier Science Direct, PubMed, and Google Scholar. A preliminary search was conducted on each database using a range of Boolean operatives (Bates, et al., 2017). This ensured that the literature yielded is of the greatest relevance to the research question and that the same set of criteria can be applied uniformly across the databases (Cooper, et al., 2018). The following steps explain the process of how the researcher conducted the search:

Search strategy

Step 1: Identify reliable search engines

The researcher identified the following search engines to conduct and find applicable data: Sabinet, JSTOR, Heinonline, Sage, Taylor & francis, Springer, Ebscohost, Elsevier Science Direct, PubMed, and Google Scholar.

Step 2: Formulate the Boolean

Key words such as serial rape, childhood abuse, neglect, antisocial problems and childhood trauma were identified to make the search produce relevant results. The following Boolean Operative (BOP) where formulated:

- A. Childhood abuse OR neglect OR violence AND serial rape OR serial rapist OR antisocial behaviour OR antisocial personality disorder in South Africa
- B. Early childhood trauma OR abuse AND serial rape OR serial rapist OR antisocial behaviour OR antisocial personality disorder in South Africa
- C. Attachment disorders OR styles OR problems AND serial rape OR serial rapist OR antisocial behaviour OR antisocial personality disorder in South Africa
- D. Maternal deprivation OR paternal deprivation AND serial rape OR serial rapist OR antisocial behaviour OR antisocial personality disorder in South Africa

E. Family violence AND serial rape OR serial rapist OR antisocial behaviour OR antisocial personality disorder in South Africa

Step 3: Download relevant articles

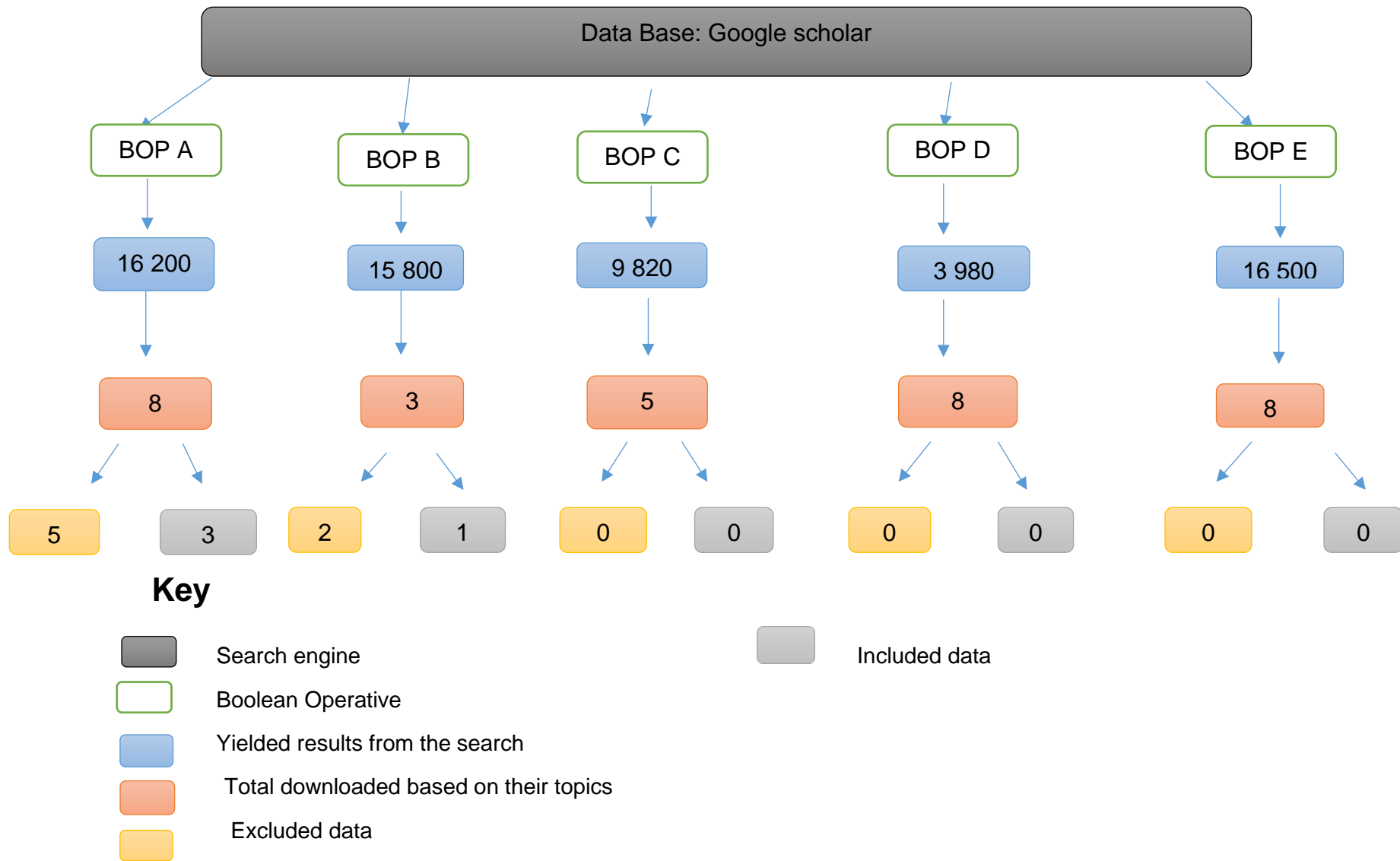
The researcher went through the list of results yielded by the search and downloaded the articles based on their relevance to the study topic.

Step 4: Screen the articles for inclusion and exclusion

The abstract of all the downloaded articles were read by the researcher in order to identify the articles to be included in or to be excluded from the study. The researcher also used a PRISMA flow diagram to document the search strategy (see Appendix H). The following diagram demonstrates the data collection process followed while searching the Google Scholar Database. This process was repeated on each search engine, and it should be noted that the illustration shows only one search engine as other search engines yielded data that was either already included from the Google scholar results or were not relevant to the study.

Figure 1

Diagram illustrating the search strategy



Data Analysis: Thorpe and Holt (2008) express the belief that data matrices are a way of displaying quantitative data in a format in which it is readily accessible for the process of analysis and interpretation. In addition, they explain that although the main purpose of matrices is to be a way of illustrating various types of data, they can also be used as part of the quantitative data analysis process. Therefore, this research utilised a data-coding matrix to analyse the reviews. As noted, a data-coding matrix is a way of summarising and analysing quantitative data in a table of rows and columns. It allows for both cross-case and sorting data by theme. Individual studies were sorted by row, while themes to which the data have been coded, occupy the columns of the matrix. In each intersecting cell, the source information that relates to the intersecting study and theme was summarised.

Validity and Reliability

Risk of bias assessment: Whiting, et al. (2016) declare that bias occurs if systematic flaws or limitations in the design, conduct or analysis of a review distort the results. Therefore, a tool should be used to avoid bias. The research utilised the ROBIS tool to assess both the risk of bias in a review and the relevance of a review to the research question at hand. The tool is completed in 3 phases: (1) assess relevance, (2) identify concerns with the review process and (3) judge risk of bias in the review. Two reviewers have independently appraised the study quality and risk of bias using the three phases that have been adapted from the risk of bias tool (Whiting, et al., 2016).

Following the final selection of eligible research papers, the reviewers assessed the risk of bias using the ROBIS instrument, which using the three-phase questionnaire concentrating on several aspects of systematic review conduct. According to Whiting (2016) the first phase evaluates the relevance of the research question; the second phase identifies issues with the review process and is divided into four domains: study eligibility criteria, study identification and selection, data collection and study appraisal, and synthesis and findings; and the third phase represents the overall risk of bias in the review. Signalling questions in phases 2 and 3 assisted in identifying particular concerns about potential bias in the evaluation (Refer to Appendix I table 3).

Whiting (2016) explained that the assessment of the research question's relevance (phase 1) is optional and was not undertaken in this study. Reviewers answered the

signalling questions from phase 2 with "yes," "probably yes," "probably no," "no," and "no information." Then, each domain of phase 2 was assessed as "high," "low," or "unclear" regarding the amount of worry about bias. Finally, in step 3, the reviewers rated the review's overall risk of bias as "high," "low," or "unclear" refer to Appendix I, table 4. Any disputes between the reviewers were resolved through conversation to establish a consensus. It can also be concluded that the overall risk bias of the reviews is low as three studies presented low risk of bias, one was assessed as unclear risk of bias, and no study received a score of high risk of bias according to the assessment with the ROBIS tool.

Data synthesis: A narrative description was conducted for studies with a low or moderate risk of bias. Heterogeneity was investigated by looking at the characteristics of participants, research methods in the study, population, and demographics of the participants (McKenzie, et al., 2019).

Ethics and dissemination: The systematic review does not require ethical clearance since published studies with non-identifiable data were used. Findings from the review were disseminated in academic reports according to the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) guidelines (Suri, 2020).

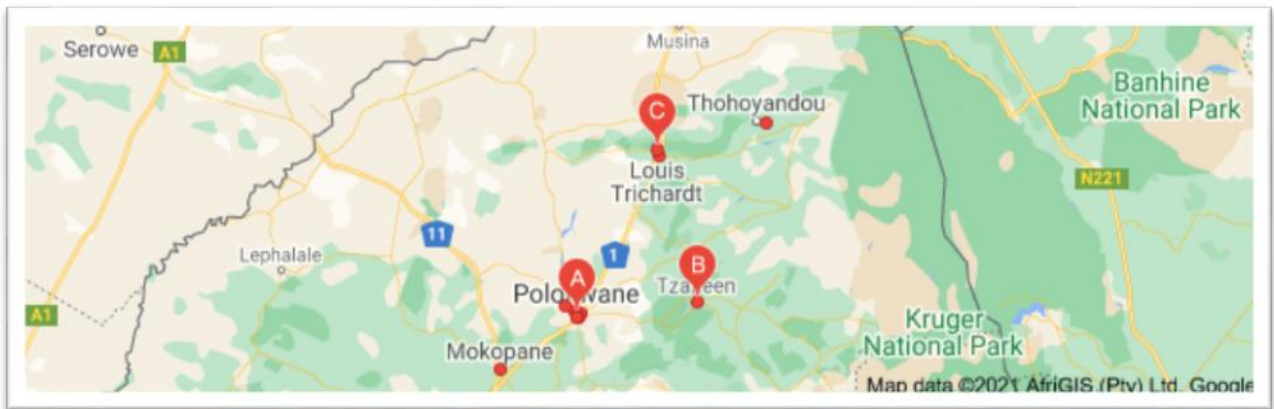
4.1.2 Study two: Qualitative case study design

Case-study design is a research approach that is used to generate an in-depth, multi-faceted understanding of a complex issue in its real-life setting. The design is useful to employ when there is a need to obtain an in-depth appreciation of an issue, event or phenomenon of interest, in its natural context (Yin, 2014).

Study location: The qualitative aspect of the study was conducted at various correctional centres in the Limpopo Province, namely Polokwane Correctional centre (A), Tzaneen Correctional Centre (B) and Kutama Sinthumule Correctional Centre (C).

Figure 2

A Map of where all the three correctional centres are located



Adopted from: [Map data ©2021 AfriGIS \(Pty\) Ltd Google](#)

Sampling selection: The population of the study consisted of offenders who have been convicted of serial rape and are consequently confined in the Limpopo Correctional Centres. The researcher aimed to have a sample size ranging from two to three participants for the case-study data collection, which also depended on the availability of participants and their willingness to participate. Therefore, the study consisted of a sample size of two (2) participants, which was dependent on the availability of participants and their willingness to participate. The study used a non-probability purposive sampling strategy. The strategy relied on the judgement of the researcher when it came to selecting the units (e.g., people, cases/organisations, events, pieces of data) for analysis (Shah, et al., 2020). The main goal of purposive sampling is to focus on the particular characteristics of a population that are of interest, and which enables the researcher to answer the research questions.

Data collection: The primary method of data collection was one-on-one semi-structured interviews (see attached in Appendix C) with the responses of the participants recorded with an audio device. The interviews were used to obtain the participants' behavioural traits or profiles that suggest the development and the motivation of serial rape, and also to identify attachment problems. The interviews were made up of semi-structured questions to which others were added, based on the literature review and theory. Audio recordings were transcribed into manuscripts. The researcher established a good rapport with the participants before conducting the interviews.

Data analysis: Data analysis comprises analysing, sorting, classifying or combining the gathered proof or data to address the underlying suggestions or objectives of the study. In this study, the case-study analysis method was employed. In case study analysis, there are two general strategies that can be adopted (Yin, 2014), that is the theoretical propositions strategy which suggests that the data collected is analysed using suggestions of the theory and the other strategy is noted as the descriptive-dialogic strategy which states that this method embodies the general principles already articulated in the literature and simultaneously gives a description of the phenomenon. For this study, the theoretical propositions analysis was employed.

Theoretical Propositions Analytical Stance: Yin (2014) highlights that the original objective of the case study research design is shaped by the theoretical suggestions, which also help with the formulation of the research questions. The theoretical framework also shapes the data-collection plan and therefore priority was given to the relevant analysis method. As a result, the theoretical suggestions were used to guide the study and also gave direction to the case-study analysis. In this research, Klein's object relations theoretical stance was adopted. The framework's basic propositions guided the formulation of study objectives, data-collection process, and analysis of the two cases. The stance was adopted to help determine whether the analysed cases' psychodynamics, in part, support the study objectives while on the other hand could support or reject Kleinian theory. This is in relation to the development or making of a serial rapist. The researcher used pattern matching wherein she identified patterns from the data collected while matching the data to the theoretical constructs or propositions. This procedure "always involves an attempt to link two patterns where one is a theoretical pattern and the other an observed or operational one" (Trochim, 2000). The researcher then noted both the theoretical concepts and the responses of the participants next to each other to yield the highest correlation while validating the theoretical expectations.

Generalisation of the answer: Yin (2014) states that one of the major points of criticism against the case-study method is that the findings cannot be generalised. He also points out that researchers often fall into the trap of trying to find a representative case study to overcome this weakness. Yet, no two case studies are alike, no matter how great the similarity between them. He believes that to overcome this limitation the researcher should generalise the findings to theory in the same way that scientists

generalise from experimental results (Yin, 2014). This strategy was also employed in this study, that is, pattern matching was in view of support or rejection of the theory as opposed to attempt to generalise. In this research Klein's object relations theory was applied to the case studies to determine whether it could explain the personality development of serial rapists. The perspective helped to successfully "map-out" the early childhood experiences and personality dynamics of the two cases analysed.

Quality criteria: Lincoln and Guba (1985) have developed criteria to ensure reliability and validity in qualitative studies. The present study therefore adopted their criteria which are as follows:

Credibility: The researcher ensured credibility through various conducts outlined by Shenton (2004). Firstly, the methods used to collect and analyse data for the study were adopted from approaches "that have been successfully utilised in previous comparable projects" (Shenton, 2004, p. 64). Secondly, site triangulation was applied for the case studies. It was applied through creating a sample of participants from different demographics such as age, ethnicity, and marital status, and the more specific considerations of past experiences and possible motivations. While in the review stage, the researcher employed theoretical triangulation which involves multiple theoretical perspectives to analyse the data. Thirdly, the nature of the study and the implications of their participation was thoroughly explained to participants.

Participants were made aware that they have the option to refuse to participate at any point without being required to provide an explanation. Fourthly, probing was used not only to acquire more clarity from participants but also to identify discrepancies in participants' responses.

Transferability: Transferability can only be attained when a study is immersed in existing literature that contains similar characteristics as the study (Shenton, 2004). The researcher indicated the applicability of the study in multiple environments by means of a thorough literature review.

Dependability: Dependability is produced by a study that can be repeated in the same setting with the same procedure and produce similar if not identical findings (Shenton, 2004). The researcher discussed the methods used to attain the results of the study descriptively. Furthermore, the methods were repeatedly evaluated for errors to allow rectification.

Confirmability: Confirmability was attained through the researcher's ensuring that her own perception of the phenomenon under study does not influence the study (Shenton, 2004). The researcher provided full disclosure in the final report, revealing all decisions taken in the study and reasons behind the decisions from the study's conception to its completion, and this ensured confirmability.

Self-reflexivity: This process is defined as a process whereby we as researchers "critically interrogate ourselves and one another regarding the ways in which research efforts are shaped and staged around the binaries, contradictions, and paradoxes that form our own lives" (Lincoln & Guba, 2003). Therefore, it is an important process for all researchers, although it is more often explicitly explored by people with personal experience of the subject matter. I was the primary investigator in this study, conducted as part of my masters research in understanding the psychological factors that have contributed to the development of serial rape behaviour. To get data that will answer the research questions I had to ask and find out about experiences that took place in their childhoods that may have contributed. Listening to the participants narrate their unpleasant upbringing have evoked some feelings of empathy and sensitivity, which I have acknowledged that it could impact the outcome of the research when interpreting the participants' views. However, the heightened sense of empathy and sensitivity helped me understand the emotional and psychological aspects of the participants, potentially leading to deeper insights.

From getting the deeper insight I wanted to understand the interplay of how the upbringing was then projected in how they committed their crimes, victim choices and motivations behind the deed. Further probing meant them narrating how they executed their multiple rape occurrences. The participants' insensitivity towards women or their victims induced feelings of anger and disappointment as I am also a female and it also led to me having assumptions that being female could easily make me a victim. My past experiences of conducting research and knowledge of research ethics helped me deal with my assumptions and it enabled me to recognise gender-related patterns and biases within the data when analysing. I was also worried about my safety when conducting research in prisons which may have affected my being comfortable and maintaining or establishing rapport with the participants. The precautionary measures of arranging a guard and guide eased up my fears and minimised the effects it may have on the study.

Replication logic: The replication logic implies that if one has access to only three rare cases, the research design should predict the same results for each case. The same logic underlies the use of multiple case studies in that each case must be carefully selected so that it either predicts a similar result or produces a contrary result but for predictable reasons (Yin, 2014).

Yin (2014) stresses that the most important step in the replication process is the development of a rich theoretical framework. The framework is important because it states the conditions under which the phenomenon is most likely to be found. The framework later becomes the design which examines the phenomenon that is being studied, and also to interpret and examine other similar cases.

Plagiarism: The researcher has followed existing ethical practices with regard to data collection. Acknowledgment of works of different writers used in any part of the paper has been recorded with the use of the APA referencing framework as per the Dissertation Handbook and the researcher has also maintained the greatest amount of fairness in the examination of the literature throughout the study (Jaya Prasad, 2013).

4.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study will give insight into both the personality and behavioural profiles of serial rapists at the correctional centres around Limpopo. Hence, the academic community and relevant parties such as the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) and society could benefit from using the knowledge to investigate future cases. Furthermore, it will provide insight into the views about alternative factors (perhaps psychological) that may lead to rape. Ultimately, the study will be beneficial in adding to the already existing literature on serial rape profiles.

4.3 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

4.3.1 Permission to conduct the study

The researcher sought approval from the University of Limpopo Research Ethics Committee. Then, permission to interview the participants was sought from the Department of Correctional Services (*see Appendix B: Permission Letter to the Department of Correctional Services*).

4.3.2 Informed consent

The researcher explained the aim, objectives and all the information about the study to the participants before participation. The researcher also explained the participants' role in the study. The researcher made the participants aware of their right to withdraw from participating in the study at any point, and that they would not face any consequences because of their participation. In general, the participants were made aware of the nature of the study and were also given the chance to ask questions and be clarified where they needed to be clarified. This also enabled the participants to give informed consent before participating in the study. Informed consent was given through participants' signing the informed consent form (Terre Blanche, et al., 2009).

4.3.3 Avoidance of deception

In this study no form of deception was used by the researcher. The researcher made sure that all the information that was communicated to participants about the study was true and not deceptive in any manner (Terre Blanche, et al., 2009).

4.3.4 Voluntary participation

Participation in this study was completely voluntary. Participants were not forced into participating either by means of psychological manipulation or physical force (Terre Blanche, et al., 2009).

4.3.5 Confidentiality and Anonymity

The participants were guaranteed confidentiality, meaning that it would not be possible to trace the information they provided for the study back to them. The researcher also explained the limitation that comes with the kind of confidentiality the participants are allowed to have. If the information is requested by law, for example, the researcher might have to give up the participants' right to confidentiality and the participants will be made aware of the process. The researcher used coding by replacing the participants' names with numbers ("Participant 1", "Participant 2"). The researcher also explained the process of coding to the participants so that they were aware of the extent to which confidentiality would be maintained. For example, the responses of the participants would be quoted in the study and the participants were made aware of that fact (Terre Blanche, et al., 2009).

4.3.6 Support of research participants

Dickson-Swift, et al. (2008) state that it is the responsibility of the researcher to ensure that the participants are not negatively affected socially, physically or emotionally when participating in the study. De Vos, et al. (2011) further explain that qualitative research in most cases may result in or cause emotional distress in the participants as they may have to relive the event, but physical reaction cannot be ruled out. To avoid emotional harm during the interviews, the researcher ensured that the questions asked were asked sensitively, were supportive and were also not judgemental (WHO, 2003). The researcher further arranged for an independent psychologist to offer counselling should the participants show any signs or symptoms of distress.

4.3.7 Safety and support of the researcher

According to Mathews (2009), when interviews are conducted in correctional centres the researcher is exposed to potential physical and emotional risk. For safety purposes the researcher arranged to conduct the interviews within the parameters of the internal Guide as stated in the Correctional Services Act (Act No. 111 of 1998). To cope with any secondary trauma that may result from the traumatic narratives of the participants, the researcher arranged for debriefing sessions with a psychologist (Cowburn, 2005).

4.4 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, the pragmatist philosophy which undergirds the study methodology, i.e., the Quan-qual research design, was elaborated upon. Consequently, the study's screening and sampling strategies (inclusion and exclusion and purposive), data collection tools (face-to-face interviews and systematic search) and data analysis (data matrix and case-study analysis) were explained. Ethical considerations of the study were also discussed. The next chapter will focus on the presentation of the quantitative findings of the study.

CHAPTER FIVE: QUANTITATIVE STUDY RESULTS

The present chapter presents findings of the review study. All studies except one adopted the case-study qualitative design (see Table 1). The one study that used a larger sample size ($n = 230$) used a retrospective archival research design.

Table 3: Data Matrix

THEMATIC PRESENTATION OF KEY FINDINGS						
Article #	Study Characteristics	Unpleasant Early Childhood Experiences or Traumas	Early Childhood Attachment Disruptions	Emotional and Behavioural Problems	Psychodynamics of Power, Dominance, and Control	Research and Clinical Implications offered
1	<p>Topic: Child Sexual Abuse (CSA) in South Africa: A Criminological Case Study Analysis Exploring a Life-Course - Persistent Pathway for Serial Rape and Murder</p> <p>Authors: Nigel Bradely Bougard and Anni Hesselink (2022)</p> <p>Aim: The aim of the study was to explore the life-course-persistent</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The perpetrator suffered physical abuse at home. • Was exposed to domestic violence. • Suffered from neglect from early childhood. • Abandoned when 5 years of age. • Forced exposure to sexual acts from 5 years of age. • He was raped at age 8 & continued to be forced 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor parent-child relationship and poor parental monitoring and supervision played a role in the respondents' traumatic exposure and experiences. • Suffered childhood abuse and abandonment by his mother. • The offender never knew his father thus his father was absent during his upbringing. • He suffered despise from his teachers in a similar 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Displayed aggressive and violent behaviour such as bullying others from an early age. • Increased hostility towards others with age. • Constant need for sexual gratification that he linked to feelings of revenge. • Lack of remorse and being defensive about his violent/criminal behaviour. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preoccupation with being in a world in which he is ultimately in control. Therefore, driven by a need to be dominant and all-powerful – <i>creating the need for dominance and control.</i> • The offender gradually adopted a notion that he should execute violent acts against others. • Increased desire to humiliate and control women. For instance, he would ejaculate at the sight of his victims' fear; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is imperative to identify the prevalence of CSA among males and its connection with long-term mental health outcomes. • It is thus recommended that all psychosocial assessments and mental health screening tools comprise precise and detailed questions pertaining to past and latest traumatic incidences and experiences. • Early intervention and active service responses are crucial in enabling healing and recovery and to prevent the undesirable and destructive long-term

	<p>pathway of an adult serial rapist and murder(er), and the connection to his CSA.</p> <p>Design: Phenomenological case study was adopted</p> <p>Sampling & Size: one male was sampled.</p> <p>Data-analysis: Thematic analysis</p>	<p>into sexual acts thereafter.</p>	<p>way to that from his 'mother'.</p>		<p>and also when tearing the clothes of his victims before raping them.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Driven by feelings of entitlement and hostility towards women. 	<p>emotional and behavioural outcomes linked with violence, and the exposure of sexual acts on the child.</p>
<p>2.</p>	<p>Topic: The male victim of child rape: An exploratory needs, risks, and intervention analysis for serial rape</p> <p>Authors: Nigel Bradely Bougard and Anni Hesselink (2019)</p> <p>Aim: The aims of the study were, (a) relate to the criminological</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participant suffered or was a victim of rape inflicted by an older, close family friend. • Sexual offending of the participant emerged after a sequela of traumatic experiences during his childhood. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The offender had a negative relationship with both his parents. He was neglected by his parents when growing up and was a loner with a lack of supervision. He lost both parents to death when he was young though he did not mention the date. • He was then raised by his eldest brother who took over the caring and 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He experienced feelings of revenge, enthused by unresolved anger. • Struggled with intense feelings of hate and disgust towards his victims. • He demonstrated a lack of empathy towards his victims. • He would use a weapon such as a knife and forced verbal threat to restrain his victims to achieve his 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The participant raped to obtain power or to express his suppressed anger. • Participant was preoccupied with violent fantasies that evolved around domination and humiliation of his victims. • To exemplify this unconscious dynamic, given the nature and extent of his crimes, the offender lacked the ability to make sense of the ordeal he had 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The study recommended a pre-emptive approach to the issue of Child-rape or sexual trauma/social issues to decrease the likelihood of childhood victims becoming adults who repeat similar traumatic experiences that they themselves were victims of. • The study proposed intervention strategies that are developmentally sensitive, individually inclined, all-inclusive, and based on strengths which will focus on

	<p>and victimological analysis of the life journey of a sex offender, (b) identify the needs and risks of an offender to serve as rehabilitation initiatives, and (c) recommend effective intervention strategies to avert further abuse.</p> <p>Design: Phenomenological Case study was adopted</p> <p>Sampling & Size: one male was sampled.</p> <p>Data-analysis: Case study analysis</p>		<p>parenting role of the offender.</p>	<p>instrumental goal, which was to penetrate (rape) the victims – <i>that is, both girls and women.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He would employ aggression and physical force to achieve his instrumental purpose of raping even children. 	<p>suffered, which in turn became a motivating factor for him to rape even other younger boys as a mode to regain power and control while seeking for revenge.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experiences pertaining to child neglect may have created negative schemas about the victim’s sense of self and may have initiated a low sense of self-worth for the <i>victim-perpetrator.</i> 	<p>both the risks and needs of a sex offender.</p>
<p>3.</p>	<p>Topic: The effect of child abuse on adult perpetrators of sex offences: A developmental perspective</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Majority (58.7%) of the perpetrators had been exposed to domestic violence and the abuse of alcohol in their families while growing up. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 57% had a long-term separation from parents. • 58.3% had a negative relationship with the mother. • 91% had been raised by a single parent. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emotional loneliness was reported and subsequently gave rise to aggression and a self-serving lifestyle. • Offenders did not have compassion for their victims 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The offenders had emphasis on power and control over their victims. • The offenders objectified people/victims and perceived them as instruments of sexual pleasure. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evaluations of sex offender treatment in South Africa should be conducted and reported and, the results will enhance the programmes implemented in rehabilitation centres for the offenders.

	<p>Authors: Marcel Londt and Nicolette V Roman (2014)</p> <p>Aim: The purpose of the current study was to possibly develop prevalent characteristics which could be used for future preventative, investigative and curative efforts.</p> <p>Design: A Quantitative study with a retrospective archival research design was adopted.</p> <p>Sampling & Size: 230 males were sampled.</p> <p>Data-analysis: Descriptive statistics analytical strategy was used.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There was a high (69 %) prevalence of a history of sexual abuse suffered by study participants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A history of poor-quality attachment relationships between the parent and the child was reported. • Reported that the offending youth did not have good relationships with their parents and were harshly disciplined. 			
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<p>4.</p>	<p>Topic: Coping with victimisation through crime: An explorative view of youth sex offenders</p> <p>Authors: Anni Hesselink and Jacques Jordaan (2018)</p> <p>Aim: The aim of the research was to answer how childhood victimisation contributed to the participants' involvement in crime, and to ascertain how the youth sex offenders coped with their victimisation.</p> <p>Design: A Case study design was adopted</p> <p>Sampling & Size: 11 males were sampled.</p> <p>Data analysis: Content analysis was applied.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nine (81.8%) of the eleven participants experienced physical abuse while growing up. • Seven (63.6%) youth sex offenders emphasised that they suffered forms of psychological/ emotional abuse as children. • Three (27.3%) of the respondents reported childhood sexual abuse. • Two of the respondents mentioned that extended family members (uncles) abused them, while the other youth sex offender indicated that his older brother sexually abused him over a period. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attachment disruptions had to do with exposure to domestic violence, parental substance abuse, poor parent-child attachments, inadequate parenting styles, negative peer influences and absent or abusive fathers. • Participants had no bonds with their parents, and six of the ten respondents reported that their parents were mostly absent. • Absent and aloof parents plus poor parent-child bonds were reported. • Lacked parental figures due to either one or both of their parents being deceased. • Reported peer rejection as part of their childhood victimisation experiences. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They lacked remorse, morals and values. • Had a variety of antisocial behaviours, including sexual assault and child abuse. • Involvement in rape, substance abuse and bullying behaviour. • Aggressive sexual involvement commencing at around 13 years for four of the participants. • Some of the aggressive and violent acts entailed continually beating, raping, stabbing, or throwing their victims against walls. • Retaliated to being bullied with violent behaviour. • Become desensitised to the feelings and hurt of other persons. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of a sense of entitlement • Four of the offenders indicated that their rape involvement 'made them feel better about themselves' thus a need to assert their sense of power and control over their lives. • One youth sex offender reported that "to rape made me feel powerful and as if I was no longer a loser" – a victim of abuse himself. • One participant conveyed that "<i>I stabbed two girls because they belittled and rejected me just like my parents</i>" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The study recommended further research, which will include larger data sets allowing for more series of rapes to be compared. • Increasing the sample of offenders will allow for a higher degree of accuracy and potential generalisability of the findings to the larger population.
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The number of participants varied per article while two articles were case studies with one participant. The third study had eleven participants and the last study had 230 participants. Key results were tabulated thematically with the first column displaying study characteristics. The second column gives an outline of the participants' unpleasant early childhood experiences or traumas that may have contributed to their serial rape behaviour or personality maladjustment. The third column presents their early childhood attachment disruptions that could also have contributed towards their antisocial or pathological behaviours. The fourth column summarises the emotional and behavioural problems reported in the samples. Lastly, the fifth column focuses on research and clinical implications offered in the studies and suggestions for future research. The findings are presented thematically below.

5.1 Unpleasant Early Childhood Experiences or Traumas

The first case analysed by Bougard and Hasselink (2022) was of a male offender who suffered physical abuse while growing up, was exposed to domestic violence, and abandoned by his mother at the age of 5. The participant was also exposed to sexual acts from the age of 5 years, and he was raped and forced into doing sexual acts at the age of 8 years. These experiences greatly contributed to his offending behaviour as he had repressed hostile feelings and traumatic memories which were later projected onto his victims.

The second case study, also by Bougard and Hasselink (2019), was of an offender who suffered or was a victim of rape inflicted by an older, close family friend (acquaintance). In contrast, most (58.7%) of the perpetrators from the study by Londt and Roman (2014) had been exposed to domestic violence and the abuse of alcohol in their families. The analysis further demonstrated that there was a high prevalence (69%) of a history of sexual abuse suffered by the participants. Hasselink and Jordaan's (2018) case revealed that nine (81.8%) of the eleven participants experienced physical abuse while growing up. It also showed that seven (63.6%) youth sex offenders emphasised that they endured forms of psychological abuse (emotional abuse) as children. The case analysis exposed that three (27.3%) of the respondents reported childhood sexual abuse. Two of the respondents from the case study mentioned that extended family members (uncles) abused them, while the other youth sex offender indicated that his older brother sexually abused him over a period.

A common thread throughout these studies is that the participants all experienced a wide range of repeated childhood traumas at the hands of their parents, close family members and strangers over time. These were some of their submissions quoted from some of the reviewed studies:

*The participants
exclaimed that they were beaten with belts, wire, fists and a whip ("sjambok"). One
participant indicated
that "my parents enjoyed hitting me even when I did nothing wrong."*

5.2 Early Childhood Attachment Disruptions

Bougard and Hesselink's (2022) study has revealed that poor parent-child relationship, poor parental monitoring and supervision played a role in the respondents' traumatic exposure and experiences. The study further highlighted that the participant suffered childhood abuse and abandonment by his mother. The case also noted that the offender never knew his father thus he was absent during his upbringing. In addition, during his schooldays, he was looked down upon by his teachers, and he associated the experience with how he was treated by his mother.

Similarly, the case analysis in Bougard and Hesselink (2019) has shown that the offender had a negative relationship with both his parents. He was neglected by his parents when growing up and was a loner and lacked parental supervision. Consequently, he was exposed to sexual acts early in life including being raped. His situation worsened after he lost both his parents at an early age, with his brother having to assume the role of being his caregiver.

In Londt and Roman's study (2014), it was exposed that 57% had a long-term separation from their biological parents while 58.3% had a negative relationship with their mothers and 91% had been raised by a single parent. The study highlighted a history of poor-quality attachment relationships with mothers characterised by harsh or punitive discipline. Attachment disruptions were associated with exposure to domestic violence, parental substance abuse, poor parent-child attachments, inadequate parenting styles, negative peer influences and absent or abusive fathers (Hesselink & Jordaan, 2018).

Childhood neglect and abandonment were noted to be the internal objects of the participants. From the data provided, it emerges that serial rapists became criminals as they themselves were victims of some of the traumatic experiences they endured during their formative years. Consequently, they appear to have assimilated the destructive traits of their internal objects into the self. The external objects mirrored involved their parents and close family members.

"my father always told me that I am nothing and that I will never make something of my life ... so, I suppose here I am, he was right (sic)."

Another respondent said that *"my stepmother enjoyed swearing at me and she called me a 'tsotsi'"*

5.3 Emotional and Behavioural Problems

In all studies, it became evident that early childhood traumas and attachment disruptions impacted negatively on the participants' quality of mental health. The participants suffered from externalising and internalising mental health problems. For instance, Bougard and Hesselink (2022) report that hostility, aggression, and violent behaviour such as bullying others from an early age were common in their analysed case. Seemingly, the participant noted his constant need for sexual gratification that he linked to feelings of revenge which was his motivation to rape his victims. The participant, like the one in their 2019s study, lacked remorse while being defensive about his violent/criminal behaviour. This point is emphasised in Bougard and Hesselink's (2019) study where it is revealed that the participant had intense feelings of hate and disgust towards his victims and sought revenge, enthused by unresolved anger.

In Londt and Roman's study (2014), the offender suffered from loneliness and subsequently yielded to an aggressive and self-serving lifestyle. To self-serve is to lead an anti-social lifestyle characterised by lack of morals, values, and remorse as was reported by Hesselink and Jordaan (2018). In their study, their case saw nothing wrong with his antisocial behaviour including sexual assault and child abuse.

5.4 Psychodynamics of Power, Dominance, and Control

The study findings display that what is perceived as antisocial behaviour or in this case, serial-rape behaviour, is actually driven by underlying psychic perturbations. In all studies, it was reported that the dominant inner drives or motivations behind serial rape behaviour were suppressed anger and hostility, need for revenge, dominance and control. For instance, the participant in Bougard and Hesselink's (2022) study was driven by the need to be dominant and all-powerful which ultimately led him to repeatedly rape his victims in order to feel heard. These were acts which made him feel good about himself and in control. The aforementioned deeds were also fuelled by an increased desire to humiliate and control women in particular. For instance, in this case, the perpetrator would ejaculate from the sight of the fear of his victims; and when tearing their clothes prior to sexually assaulting them. The results further showed that the offenders objectified their victims and perceived them as instruments of their sexual pleasure (Bougard & Hesselink, 2019). No wonder Londt and Roman (2014) found that these offenders had developed a sense of entitlement, that is, they felt that

their victims owed them. In the main, serial rapists are reported to be driven by a need to take revenge, to be in power and exercise control, due to having suffered early childhood traumas and attachment disruptions. Mentally, it appears that their ego states are wounded, they have a low sense of self-worth, and harbour hatred towards society, especially introjected bad mother figures. Repeated acts of rape can be thought of as some sort of ritualistic behaviour or compulsion, seeking to meet the ego-psychic needs, that is, the need for power, control, humiliation, revenge, redress, and discarding or annihilation of introjected bad-mothers/women/breasts.

5.5 Recommendations offered for future research and interventions

All the studies have suggested the need for further research on the phenomenon of serial rape for extrapolation of findings and generalisability purposes. Bougard and Hesselink's (2022) study proposes that it is imperative to identify the prevalence of CSA among males and its connection with long-term mental health outcomes. It is recommended that all psychosocial assessments and mental-health screening tools comprise precise and detailed questions pertaining to past and latest traumatic incidences and experiences. Bougard and Hesselink's (2019) study recommends a pre-emptive approach to the issue of child rape or sexual trauma/social issues to decrease the likelihood of childhood victims becoming adults who repeat the traumatic experiences they were victims of. The Londt and Roman (2014) study proposes intervention strategies that are developmentally sensitive, individually inclined, all-inclusive, and based on strengths which will focus on both the risks and needs of a sex offender.

CHAPTER 6: QUALITATIVE CASE ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION, PART I

Chapter 6 and 7 present qualitative case study results. Each case study is analysed and presented in a separate chapter for idiographic purposes. In this chapter, the case (case of Sifiso*) is of a male offender convicted of serial rape and currently serving two thousand four hundred and ten years (2410 years) in prison. The analytical report is offered first and subsequently, anchored within the theoretical framework of the study. The same approach will be followed with the second case (case of Thato*) in the next chapter.

6.1 CASE 1: Background Information and First contact with Sifiso*

Sifiso is a black African male in his late adulthood and was interviewed mainly in English mixed with isiZulu and Setswana. Sifiso identified himself as a Zulu-speaking male. During the interview, he appeared neat and well groomed. He was of average height and average build. He greeted the researcher in a warm and welcoming manner although he seemed slightly cautious and suspicious of the researcher during the initial phases of the interview. As the interview unfolded, he became open and relaxed especially after the researcher outlined the intent and significance of the study. Sifiso showed more interest and willingness to participate and stated that he understood the process. He also declared that he did not have any objections and would advise the researcher should he feel uncomfortable or decide not to continue with the interview or answer any of the questions. This was after the researcher explained to him that his participation was voluntary and that he could terminate the interview at any time, should he choose to do so.

Sifiso is from a family of 14, which consisted of his mother, father, six brothers and five sisters, with him being the sixth child. He spoke fondly of his family, but also explained that he was angry with his mother and father because he was still looking for answers as to why his father had abandoned them when he was about 5 or 6 years old. He reiterated that he was still worried to this day that his father had long gone and is nowhere to be found: *"It is like he has disappeared from the face of the earth."* Sifiso is a well-spoken individual, who came across as being intelligent and calculating.

* *An alias name*

He can also be described as a charming man, who repeatedly referred to the researcher as *“my lady”*. Sifiso’s life history, as well as his early life experiences and the modus operandi he used when committing his crimes, will now be addressed.

Early Childhood Life Experiences (Age 3 – 12)

As stated above, Sifiso was the sixth child of an unemployed mother and a working father (work not specified), born in Gauteng Province between 1960 and 1965*. He lived with his siblings and parents during these years and has only one special childhood memory about his father - *“It was when I normally waited for my father by the gate on Fridays to bring some sweets.”* According to him, his mother and father did not get along that well; they fought a lot and so much so that at some point, the children were taken by their parents to go and live with their paternal uncles. *“I know they fought a lot ... with my mother, you know and at times, we had to go to my uncles and stay there ... all those types of things.”* He further explained that his mother was an absent mother, as she used to drink a lot and was always drunk. When he was five or six years old, his father reportedly abandoned the family. *“No! He did not pass away, he walked away from the family.”* Sifiso used to have a good and loving relationship with his father before, up until he disappeared from his life. *“I did not have..... I did not spend much time with him, but the few years that I had with him were good.”*

Once the father abandoned them, his mother continued being neglectful while abusing alcohol. Sifiso and his younger siblings had to be taken care of by their older sister and brother. *“She left everything to my sister and brother to take care of us, that was me and the three younger ones.”*

Adolescence Experiences (Age 13 - 18)

The parental negligence went on until when Sifiso was between 11 and 12 years, when social welfare services decided to intervene and move them to an orphanage; a situation which meant having to move from one orphanage to the next. *“I spent a lot of time with my mother, but because she used to drink ... that was another problem ... and the state decided to remove us from my mother and placed us in a children’s home.”* He also claimed not to remember much about his stay in the many shelters they stayed in (did not specify the number), as these were not pleasant memories. He remembered the mistreatment he endured at the shelters. Sifiso did not have any special or specific memories related to his adolescent years, as he lived in shelters

and did not enjoy his stay, *“I do not remember much about my stay there, but the experience was not nice, as they mistreated us.”*

At the age of 16, Sifiso decided to run away from the orphanage and went to stay with one of his brothers and look for a job in Johannesburg. He found odd jobs* that kept him busy around Gauteng. He also tried to understand why his father had abandoned them by asking his brother and sisters for answers. Unfortunately, he did not get any answers to satisfy his need for the truth. *“I never found the truth till today, I tried to ask my brother and my sisters and so forth, no one was willing to tell me what the cause was.”*

Sifiso then embarked on a journey to find his father on his own, but without success. He then started looking for the paternal uncles that his parents had taken them to when their relationship was full of conflict, but the uncles also did not know where he was, or the reason why he had left the family. *“I tried to find his brothers; they too did not know where he went. It looks like he just walked away and disappeared from the face of the earth. No one knows where he is.”*

His Early Adulthood Experiences (Age 25 - 30)

During his late adolescence to young adulthood Sifiso had multiple unstable relationships with women that never lasted long, as he believed he had a lot of unresolved issues.

“Eish, I would say difficult ... a little bit, you know, I mean you had stuff growing up, and some of the stuff you never settled them, and don’t understand what happened. So, it was difficult, and you have somebody this side that you must pay attention to, so it was complicated and difficult.”

Sifiso also stated that he had wished to settle down, have a wife and children, but he found that this was difficult for him to do, as he was not in the right state emotionally due to his personal issues.

“I would like to say I wished to, but I did not have the time to ... I wished to settle down, but I could not, because I have always had something that kept troubling me. So I just walk away without talking to somebody ... telling me that ... what is troubling me and so on.”

He also mentioned that one of the reasons he could not establish and maintain a relationship was that he did not have a good picture or role model of what a healthy relationship looked like. He reached this conclusion when he was asked if he thought that the reason for not having a serious relationship was because he never had a perfect example of what a good relationship looked like and he answered, *“I think so.”*

Sifiso also mentioned that it was during this phase (stated exact age) of his development when he was falsely accused of raping his girlfriend and was arrested and incarcerated for seven years. It was an arrest which he appraised as wrong and unfair. He was released and he went on a quest to clear his name.

Middle Adulthood Experiences (Age 31 to present)

In his quest to clear his name, he had hoped that the officer who processed his case would help bring him justice, but several efforts to gain the officer’s attention failed. Due to the perception of having been failed, punished, and rejected by the officer, Sifiso started with his rape-rage spree. In his words, he wanted to get the attention of the officer who failed him – *“Remember, my lady, I was angry at the police and wanted to get the attention of the officer who arrested me, this is why my murders started, and next to the police station.”* He began his raping spree when he was 30 years of age and carried on to the age of 31 when he was convicted and confined in a maximum-security prison. He is currently serving his 2410-year long sentence in the prison.

6.2 Sifiso’s Criminal History and his Psychology on the Crimes he Committed.

Sifiso’s first recorded crime was in his teenage years (1980*) when he was falsely accused of rape and imprisoned for seven years. He noted that upon his release in 1987* he went to the officer that oversaw his case to ask that he help him to clear his name as he was falsely accused. Sifiso explained that the officer refused to help him and explained that he was busy. This really angered Sifiso, so much that he decided that he was going to go on a raping and killing spree to keep the officer busy for real.

“So I told him that since he is sending me there and he is too busy to reinvestigate my case, then I will keep him busy, so the rape and murders were a communication with the officer that failed with my case.”

The spree or series lasted for two years (1987-1989). Since then, until 1989* when he was sentenced for life, he had committed multiple crimes ranging from rape, to murder

and robberies. He was convicted of 40 rape cases, 38 female murders, and 6 robberies, which he committed over two years. His trial spanned a period of months* until he was officially handed judgment and imprisonment. He has been sentenced for 50 life sentences for each offence, which is a total of 2410 years of imprisonment.

Sifiso explained that he relied on two primary modus operandi to select or capture his victims. The first approach involved a con story of offering the victims help with finding them job opportunities. His second approach was where he would select victims on the streets, wherever an opportunity presented itself. *“Some of it was a violent situation, where you just grab a person and some, I told them I would help them find a job”*. He also explained that all his victims were strangers to him. Sifiso noted that in all the incidences, the locations where he first approached and took hold of the victims were different from where the actual rape took place. He approached his victim in public spaces such as the railway station, nearby a police station or a public dam. *“Not the same locations, because ... is next, so next to a dam, one to a railway and a police station, no they are not the same.”*

Sifiso used verbal threats as well as excessive force or physical violence to subdue his victims. He further explained that he used his assertiveness (power) to get them to undress themselves, but he went on to clarify that this was not always the case, as he would sometimes do it himself or he would just have sex with them while they were still fully dressed. *“It was not about ... sometimes you ask them to undress, sometimes you just have sex while she is still dressed. You just use your power.”* He added that after he raped his victims, he would murder them and whenever possible, contact the officer who failed to bring him justice to come and collect the bodies. *“On a normal basis, I would call the police to come and collect the bodies. I contacted them telephonically. I would call him and tell him [referring to the police officer who failed him] there is a body at this place. He would go and find it.”*

***Real dates and actual months are omitted to protect the identity of the participants**

His choices of victim varied across the entire rape and murder series. He claimed that there was nothing similar in all his victims. According to him, they all looked, behaved, and dressed differently. *“Nah...they did not ... no, no, no, no, they were not similar, nothing similar at all, some were big, and some were small figure-wise, some were slender.”*

He also explained that he was not sexually attracted to any of his victims but was only doing it to send a message to the police or to communicate. Therefore, his rape criminal behaviour was triggered by his need to take revenge for having been wrongfully arrested and falsely accused of rape earlier in his life.

“Remember, my lady, I was angry ... at the police ... this is why my first murder was next to the police station. So, the rape and murders were a communication with the officer that failed with my case.”

6.3 Theoretical Analysis of Sifiso’s Case Study

Understanding Sifiso from Object relational theoretical stance:

Unconscious Fantasy: Sifiso’s early childhood was reportedly characterised by having been raised in an unstable family environment. He was exposed to parental conflicts, abuse, and violence. He was abandoned and neglected including being housed in shelter homes together with his siblings. He was abandoned by his father at the age of 5 or 6 while being neglected by his mother. From as far back as he could remember his mother was always drunk.

“No! He didn’t pass away, he walked away from the family,

Yes, he left the family”, “It looks like he just walked away and disappeared from the face of the earth. No-one knows where he is.”

Growing up, Sifiso did not have a good relationship with his parents as his mother was neglectful and emotionally unavailable while the father also abandoned them. It is evident that Sifiso’s psychic representation of his mother, father and early childhood experiences are characteristic of the bad-object concept in Kleinian theory. His psyche was evidently overwhelmed by bad-breast experiences. It is then clear that these early traumatic encounters influenced much of his character formation, that is, it appears that he ingested the bad parts or aspects of both his father and mother.

“My mother? I cannot tell you, I had a relationship with her, as I have said she used to drink a lot and was always drunk and all those sorts of things, so normally, there will never be a relationship under those circumstances.”

From the reported neglectful and traumatic upbringing, it is likely that Sifiso’s psychic wounds and malevolent unconscious fantasies were triggered. From the constant fighting and abuse of his mother by his father, Sifiso may have internalised the abusive behaviour towards women which may account for his lack of remorse when he was violating his victims. The internalised behaviours can also be noted as repressed hostile feelings and memories which Sifiso projected onto his victims as a way of releasing his feelings in a manner that was suitable and less threatening to himself. After the abandonment by the father, social welfare took Sifiso and his siblings into shelters where he explained that they were ill-treated and he had no memory of his stay in the various shelters. He perhaps repressed these traumatic memories because bringing them to consciousness threatened his ego and overwhelmed his psyche with emotional pain, particularly anxiety.

It can further be hypothesised that the ill-treatment involved physical and sexual abuse which may have contributed to his unconscious phantasy which he later projected onto his rape and murder victims, whom he had no particular conscious reason to rape. *“Huh you know, I cannot explain that. I ... I do not know what to say, I was just so angry, you do not understand yourself, you just do stuff sometimes.”* Bougard and Hesselink (2019) explain that victims of child sexual abuse (CSA) are most likely to become sexual offenders themselves, which could also be the case with Sifiso.

“I don’t remember much about my stay there, but the experience was not nice, as they mistreated us.”

Internal and external objects: When Sifiso was asked about his earliest memory he noted that *“It was when I normally waited for my father by the gate on Fridays to bring some sweets”*, which was his happiest memory of his childhood (good internal object). He was later abandoned by the father (bad internal object) and he blamed the mother for the father leaving them (external object).

“I know they fought a lot ... with my mother, you know, and at times.”

“I think I was angry ... Yes, I was angry not seeing him ... You develop this bond with your father and suddenly he disappears, and you do not know where he is and where to find him.”

Sifiso was of the perception that his mother was responsible for the father abandoning them, so he ended up developing hatred towards his mother (bad internal object), and perhaps women in general, who symbolically represent the ‘bad mother object’.

It is on this basis perhaps that Sifiso’s girlfriend’s accusation of raping her, reinforced his perception of women as ‘bad objects’, that is, women are punitive, hateful, and treacherous towards a boy child. His raping and murdering sprees can be argued in the context of projective identification with the bad-mother figure/his mother, whom he wanted to destroy, punish, own, control or even gain power over. While the murders and rapes could be thought of as some form of psychic projections or attempts to get rid of the internalised bad mother object, who in part, he sought justice and attention from, yet being resentful, angry, and hateful towards her (and any other figure representing the bad mother figure). In his psyche his mother – and all women – are mentalised as bad objects; no wonder he struggled in intimate relationships with women. He felt that his mother and girlfriend were responsible for the way his life had turned out, which could be the driving force or motivation to inflict pain on his perceived bad objects – his mother, and women in general. Another psychic dynamic worth noting in this case relates to the mentalization of the bad father-object.

Sifiso initially mentalised his father as a good object. However, his sudden disappearance from the surface of the earth meant betrayal, punishment, and rejection by his father – the bad-object internalisation phenomenon. A repetition of this phenomenon was when he was accused of rape by the bad-mother object, his girlfriend, and wrongfully arrested and failed or punished or betrayed by a male police officer, that is, yet another “father figure”. His antisocial criminality could in the main be attributed to this double-jeopardy of having been failed by bad mother figures and bad father figures.

As can be seen from the case, once he came out of prison, he went and looked for a woman, that is, his first rape victim, “... he [the police officer] sent me to do it, I mean he was the one that said go look for the person” and he found “her”,

in other words, he found women and punished them, that is, women, in retribution yet seeking attention from his bad father figure/police officer. He explained that it was revenge for being arrested and serving time for a crime he did not commit. He noted that with subsequent rapes, he murdered them (bad objects) before they reported him, that is, before they punished him again. But interestingly enough, he himself went on to gain his “father’s” attention by reporting the deeds himself, that can be interpreted as a means of gratifying his thirst to get his bad father/police officer’s attention.

“On a normal basis, I would call the police to come and collect, I contacted them telephonically and they knew it was me all the time.”

To reveal the unconscious dynamics in Sifiso’s case, he blamed both the police officer and the girlfriend who sent him to prison for his rapes and murders but was unconscious of how his mentalisation of his bad-mother and bad-father objects could also have been the driving force.

Object constancy: Sifiso arguably lacked object constancy, which can in part help explain his lack of empathy, anger and anxiety problems including his criminality. The lack of object constancy can also be seen expressing itself in his failed multiple intimate relationships, perhaps in part due to his emotional problems and pathological splitting and projective identification with women. Fraiberg (1969) notes that this object constancy develops between the ages of 2 and 5 years, a period during which Sifiso experienced the abandonment of his father and was left with his neglectful and drunkard mother which arguably contributed to the rupture or disturbance in the formation of his object constancy. It can be hypothesised that as an adult, Sifiso’s object constancy has been impaired as he only saw his mother and his victims as being totally bad and not as whole persons who can possess both good and bad qualities. Equally, Sifiso was unable to maintain relationships as he feared abandonment. When asked what his reasons were for failing to maintain relationships, he blamed it on his past experiences, though he longed to be in one:

“I would like to say I wished to, but I did not have time to. I wished to settle down, but I could not, because I have always had something that keeps troubling me, so I just walk away without talking to somebody telling me that what is troubling me and so on.”

Not only did Sifiso experience fear of abandonment, he also experienced the extreme anxiety of not being wanted, including by his community, after his release from prison. These anxieties and insecurities arose from being abandoned by the father and being taken away from his mother to stay in a shelter. All these circumstances left him feeling unwanted and the reason behind all the circumstances was a woman (his mother) which resulted in him being unable to have the view that women can possess both good and bad characteristics. To him they were mentally represented as characteristically *all bad*.

“*One thing they had in common, they were women.*”

Ego Positions and Defence Mechanisms: Here the two Kleinian object relational positions, that is, the *Paranoid-schizoid and Depressive positions* will be illustrated as pertaining to the case. *Paranoid-schizoid position:* Sifiso had idealised his early bad and traumatic experiences which in turn dominated the good experiences and according to Klein (1946), when these bad experiences are idealised, it is due to the fact that the process of splitting did not take place.

Sifiso was unable to maintain the good and bad experiences as separate in order to avoid dominating the good breast (splitting). He viewed his objects as being all bad since his bad experiences with them dominated the good ones. Klein (1946) explains that in the young child's schizoid world, rage and destructive feelings are directed toward the bad breast, while feelings of love and comfort are associated with the good breast. In the adult life the feelings of rage and destructive feelings are directed towards introjected bad objects and are then projected onto the object in order to protect themselves from perceived harm. In the case of Sifiso, his rage and destructive feelings (aggression and motivation to rape) that emanated from his past experiences, were directed towards the introjected bad object (mother/first victim) and were then projected into the perceived bad objects (females or women) in order to protect himself from perceived harm, in this case, being unwanted, neglected and abandoned. Therefore, Sifiso has introjected his bad objects.

Sifiso has introjected the type of relationship his parents had of constantly fighting and it can be concluded that it gave him a distorted picture of what a male-female relationship should be like. The defence mechanism Introjection also occurs when a person

internalises the ideas from other people or experiences with other people. It was also found that he also took in the aggressive behaviour towards women from witnessing the physical abuse of the parents. Other introjections include the “unpleasant” experiences he had at the shelters which he also repressed and his father’s characteristic of abandoning people when he felt the situation was not favourable for him.

In order to deal with the introjected destructive feelings, Sifiso projected them onto his victims. This is evident as instead of believing that he did the unacceptable of his own free will, he blamed the police officer for his deeds, which suggests that he projects his motives onto the police officer. Furthermore, from the repressed memories of his experience at the shelter, the researcher would like to suggest that he may have experienced physical and sexual abuse, the reason being that when asked what his reason for raping his victims was, he answered: *“Huh you know, I cannot explain that. I ... I do not know what to say, I was just so angry, you do not understand yourself, you just do stuff sometimes.”* From his reason it can be hypothesised that he was projecting his repressed memories. Due to Sifiso’s ego excessively and inflexibly splitting it can be said that it led to his pathological repression of the unpleasant memories which he later identified with. Projective identification holds that by taking the bad objects back into themselves, individuals feel that they have become like that object, then they identify with that object. Therefore, Sifiso identified with his father’s aggressive behaviour and became a man that abused women and raped them.

Due to the disturbance in Sifiso’s paranoid schizoid position, the transition was not attained and the move from the paranoid-schizoid to the depressive position is associated with an increasing integration of the self and object relations and the achievement of the paranoid schizoid position. This means that Sifiso was not able to see the object as being a whole (part good and part bad); he saw them as being all bad. It is postulated that due to the insufficient transition of the positions, separation and differentiation did not take place which resulted in Sifiso developing the “need for power and dominance” trait.

Internalisation

❖ Ego

Sifiso's environment and experiences did not contribute positively towards the development of the ego. Winnicott (1953) explains that when the ego experiences the one good object, it expects similar good experiences with other objects or when the ego experiences one bad object, it expects similar bad experiences with other objects.

Sifiso's ego had bad experiences with bad objects and therefore it expected similar bad experiences with other objects (his relationships and his victims). Winnicott (1953) also notes that an individual's first object relationship becomes the model not only for the ego's future development but for the individual's later interpersonal relationships. Therefore, Sifiso's later interpersonal relations were modelled on the first object relation of his traumatic early life experiences. Segal (2018) argues that when the ego is mature, it can tolerate some of its own destructive feelings rather than projecting them outwards, and as a result the researcher can assume that Sifiso's ego was underdeveloped as he was unable to tolerate his own destructive thoughts.

❖ Superego

Evidence of a relatively dominating super-ego is based on Sifiso's ego-ideal (innocent man), his admission to committing the rapes and murder, as well as acknowledging that what he had done was wrong, but it was not really his fault, because he had been instructed to do so, thus he needed help from a professional to deal with his "stuff". *"I feel if I had an opportunity to see a social worker or psychologist, I would have been a better person or it would have also prevented me from doing what I did."*

❖ Oedipus complex

It is also postulated that Sifiso fixated during the resolution of the oedipal complex phase. Although not much information about this stage was disclosed, fixation is evident in his inability to form fulfilling relationships as an adult. The researcher is also of the view that Sifiso unconsciously repressed his memory of his latency years, which can also mean that this took place because of a traumatic experience at the shelters, possibly some form of physical or sexual abuse.

It is noted that Sifiso might have fixated during the oedipal complex phase, and the researcher assumes that Sifiso's resolution of the stage was incomplete as it was abruptly ended when the father abandoned the family. As a result, Sifiso internalised the characteristics and values of the father "of leaving the relationship or walking away from relationships".

6.4 Summary

Sifiso is a black African male in the late adulthood phase who speaks English, Zulu and a bit of Tswana. His convictions include multiple rapes, murders and robberies. He was convicted of 40 rapes, 38 murders and 6 robberies. He comes from a family of 14, with 11 siblings, where the parental relationship was marked by aggression, alcoholism, a lack of love and care, and rejection. The mother figure was emotionally absent because of her alcohol addiction, and when Sifiso was around five or six years old, his father abandoned them, and not long thereafter, the state removed them from their home because their mother could not care for them. All this occurred without the children understanding the reasons for the abandonment or their removal to shelters. The researcher assumes that these experiences left Sifiso with the fear of being abandoned suddenly and without reason, and thus rejected. This conclusion can be supported by the statement he made during the interview, when he explained that he did not have any serious relationships, as he always left them before they could abandon him.

It is also evident from his history that the disturbance contributed to his behaviour and decision-making patterns. This serial rapist identified with the father figure only in the early childhood phases, but then rejected the father as he abandoned them, thus withdrawing his love and care from the child, and not being a role model during the adolescent phase. In addition to having experienced the aggressive home environment and the impact of alcoholism, Sifiso might also have experienced either sexual or physical abuse during his teenage years when living at the shelter, which resulted in memories from these years being repressed.

The victims selected by him reveal his unconscious anger toward women (projected anger against his mother and against the first victim). According to the information provided by Sifiso, he committed the offences as a way of getting the attention of the officer who was in charge of arresting him for his initial offence, and indirectly placed the responsibility for all his rapes and murders on the police officer. However, the

researcher assumes that this might not be the only reason, as according to Berlin and Montgomery (2017), unwanted traumatic and unresolved feelings of frustration and anger that are repressed do not disappear; they manifest through a symptom, or series of symptoms and might continue to influence later behaviour. Therefore, the researcher concludes first that Sifiso was unconsciously angry with the mother, as he blamed her for the father abandoning the family. Second, the researcher also notes that Sifiso was also angry with the women who caused his first arrest as he claimed not to have raped her. The case study of Thato* will be discussed and analysed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7: CASE ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION, PART II

This chapter reports on the second case study findings. The analysed case is of a 30*-year-old male offender (Thato*) convicted of serial rapes and currently serving one hundred and thirty years (130 years) in prison.

7.1 CASE 2: Background Information and First Contact with Thato*

Thato is from the Limpopo province of the Bapedi cultural group. Thato was short in stature, with an average body weight. He was born in the Limpopo Province between 1985 and 1990*. He came across as a reserved, shy individual who keeps to himself, and not a man of many words. However, he became very vocal when talking about the things and people he was fond of. Thato was introduced to the researcher, and he greeted her in a polite manner, although he was somewhat reserved. The researcher explained the study and its significance to Thato, and he showed interest and willingness to participate. He went on to explain that he had little understanding of English and asked the researcher to translate the questions into Sepedi whenever he did not fully understand what was meant. Thato comes from a family of six, which includes his mother, three sisters and a half-brother. Thato's father passed away in 2017.

Thato was raised by his grandmother from a young age, together with his cousins while his siblings were living with his parents. He clearly stated that he was very fond of his grandmother. *“nna le bokoko be re kwana too much/Me and my grandmother got along very well.’ I spent most of my life with her, I mean from my early childhood.”* Unfortunately, he lost his grandmother when he was 16 years old, an event which he characterised as having had a great impact in his life:

*“Eish, I was heartbroken too much, because she was that one person who understood me. Someone I could go to about anything, and she used to do things for me, you see. I miss her advice, telling me to stop staying out late, and how she used to always want me close. She would take me everywhere she went ... *he smiles* ... she used to share her grant with me.”*

* *An alias name*

Thato's history, early life experiences as well as the modus operandi he used when committing his crimes will now be addressed.

Early Childhood Life Experiences (Age 3 – 12)

Thato's mother experienced complications with her pregnancy. Thato was the only surviving twin brother at birth.

“No, there was a problem whereby my mother was a sickly person for a while, until she went and consulted a traditional healer, and she was told that she was carrying twins and other people were bewitching her. When the time for her to give birth came, only one twin survived, and the twin was me.”

Because of circumstances when Thato was born, his mother abandoned him. In his view, she probably felt his grandmother was the best person to care for him. He was raised with the belief that his grandmother was his biological mother. For the better part of his early years, he lived with his grandmother and cousins. For him, those years were the best years of his life, as he was the grandmother's favourite grandchild. *“No, there were others as well, but she cared for me the most.”*

Growing up, he perceived his biological mother to be only a relative. Thato also remembered his father as having been available and supportive during his early childhood. This is what he had to say: *“I knew him as my father, he raised me and he used to support me, as he used to bring groceries at my grandmother's place and he would also come to visit me.”*

It is worth noting that Thato was confused by the fact that he had a father but was not aware of his mother or her role in his life at this stage, which might be his first association with being abandoned by her at that early age. His mother was always around him but he never mentalised her as a mother figure. However, his grandmother was mentalised accordingly. His treasured childhood memory was how his grandmother made sure that he got the best education. *“Ke gore mokgekolo o be a nratela tse di botse o ntsentshitse dikolo tsa godimo o be a nyaka ke rutega - Is that my mother wanted the best for me.”*

****Real dates and actual months are omitted to protect the identity of the participants***

Because Thato was raised by his grandmother, he fixated on the grandmother as he did not have a same-sex figure to identify with. His grandmother was the closest person to him, an object of constancy from whom he internalised many of her good attributes.

Adolescence Experiences (Age 13 - 18)

Thato's grandmother wanted the best education for him which meant that he was taken to the best school in the neighbouring town. His grandmother, loving as she was, was also strict. Much of his teenage years he was isolated from his peers. He also stated that he had limited interaction with the outside world besides school and his immediate family members. This meant that Thato never learned much about the necessary peer relational skills. He had his routine of going to school then back to be at home with his cousins and siblings, when suddenly his grandmother passed away. This was in the year 2006*.

During this phase, Thato had to deal with the loss of his grandmother, which he probably found very difficult to cope with, as she had been the centre of his young life, where he felt loved and was treated well. This was evident from the behavioural changes that took place soon after her death. *"I was heartbroken too much, because she was that one person who understood me."* The loss of his grandmother who used to be his anchor, and his guide regarding all aspects of life affected him so greatly that he started displaying deviant behaviour. It was during this turn of events that Thato had to go and live with his biological mother, father, and siblings. In this new environment, he had a good relationship with all his siblings except his older sister. They did not get along, as Thato claims that she had falsely accused him of theft and of raping her friend. Both these incidences landed him with the authorities.

Young adulthood experiences (Age 18 - present)

As stated, Thato was arrested in his late teenage years. He was released on bail, but shortly after the release, he went back and began with his series of crimes and was arrested yet again. Consequently, many of his years as an adult have been spent in a correctional centre.

7.2 Criminal History and his Psychology on the Crimes he Committed.

Thato's criminal record dates back to between 2010 and 2013*. His first offence and conviction were for theft. He claimed he was wrongfully accused of theft, as he only "borrowed" his sister's jacket. *"My sister claimed that I stole her jacket, and I did not"*. He also explained that during the same year he was arrested for the second time and was charged with the rape of his sister's friend of which he alleges he was also falsely accused. He spent three months in prison. Upon his release, he committed petty crimes such as robbing people of their belongings and selling them for money.

He further explained that in the process he ended up lusting after his female targets and began his rape spree in 2011*. Thato's series spanned from February 2011* up until his arrest in September 2011*. He was then given a life sentence as he was convicted of the following crimes: rape, robberies and kidnapping. He was convicted on twelve counts of rape, one of kidnapping and five on robberies. He was then sentenced to seven life sentences and 130 years of imprisonment.

His rape modus operandi included spying on vulnerable young girls around a local shopping complex. He used a knife and threatened them to make them comply with his demands. He noted that he did not have any relationship with any of his victims before the offences and did not know any of them. They were total strangers.

"Agh, it was just people I bumped into at our local complex, so I would see them, and we do not know each other. I would tell them that I would kill them and show them a knife then left with them."

The location where the offender raped his victims differed from where he first approached them. Thato approached all his victims at one location. He approached his victims at a local shopping complex, which was a public space, and then coerced or threatened them to go with him to a place he told them to go to. He mentioned that he would take them from the complex, walk with them to the cemetery and some he took to some abandoned house. Thato stated that he used verbal threats as well as showing them a knife. He further explained that since they were scared because of his threats and being shown a knife, he asked his victims to undress themselves and they complied with his instructions. When asked whether he ever undressed any of his victims, his response was: *"I asked them to."* When asked why the victims agreed and complied with his demand, he stated: *"Remember, I told them I would kill them."* He

added that after he had raped his victim, he would ask them to get dressed and he would accompany them back to where he initially met them, at the shopping complex.

Thato's choices of victim varied in terms of body structure, height and appearance across the entire series. He explained that the only similar feature in all his victims was the way in which they dressed, and while the actual type of dress was different, the way they dressed was what attracted him. *"Mostly it was the way they were dressed. I ended up lusting over them. No, they did not wear similar clothes."* He also clarified that his intention was not to rape them, but to rob them of their belongings and sell those items.

7.3 Theoretical Analysis of Thato

Unconscious Fantasy: Thato's adult unconscious fantasies were influenced by his exposure to rejection, loss, and abandonment by his mother. He noted that he was brought up by his maternal grandmother and knew his mother to be a relative. He was also rejected by his older sister when he started living with his biological family. He then later lost the grandmother, whom he had introjected as his mother. Thato went through a number of experiences and these events had a significant impact on his offending behaviour since they were repressed hostile feelings and memories, which were then projected as a way to release them in a more appropriate and less scary way for him. Thato ingested these fantasies, and they were absorbed into his growing identity.

"Koko o hlokofetse - my grandmother passed away."

"I didn't get along with the one I come after."

"My mother, I only found out after a while that she was my mother."

The only loving and pleasant female relationship Thato ever had was with his late grandmother whom he felt had eventually abandoned him just as the mother had abandoned him when he was young. These experiences, coupled with the rejection he experienced from his sister, resulted in him being unable to form and maintain romantic relationships as he feared being rejected or abandoned. He ingested the feeling of "being unwanted" and ended up believing it. In his teen years Thato was allegedly "falsely" accused and arrested for theft and rape, which could have led him ultimately to become the person he was labelled as or accused of – a thief and a rapist.

Internal and external objects: Thato had a mother (bad external object) that abandoned him, but a loving and present grandmother (good external object). Thato had a stable object relation with an external object (grandmother) until the constancy was ruptured by the loss of his grandmother. It can be hypothesised that the loss disturbed the ego-integration process, that is, his ability to fit together and incorporate life experiences. Since Thato's Internal object (the grandmother) was damaged or dead, it created a great deal of anxiety, consequently resulting in ego disintegration. To explain this, the only object which contained his fears or helped regulate his emotions and behaviour was lost, thus he started manifesting behavioural and emotional problems after the loss of his grandmother which may have also been the reason for his choice of location, the cemetery where his sense of morality, his grandmother, was lost.

Object constancy: In addition to the death, Thato's object constancy was disrupted by the realisation that the person that he thought was his biological mother, was in fact his grandmother. Now having lost his grandmother and being rejected by his own mother, perhaps disrupted his internal representation of 'women'. It can be argued that his trusted grandmother betrayed him by not telling him the truth. His own mother betrayed and rejected him. The experiences could have disrupted his mentalisation of women, that is, women are liars, treacherous, dishonest, and abandoning. Despite his grandmother having been good, he split her alike with his mother as being bad, that is, devaluation, a process which may have further disrupted the already emerging sense of attachment to external objects.

Ego Positions and Defence Mechanisms: Here the two Kleinian object relational positions, that is, the *Paranoid-schizoid and Depressive positions* will be illustrated as pertaining to the case. *Paranoid-schizoid position:* Thato's early life experiences involved living with his grandmother, of whom he had good memories during those years. He had a grandmother who was emotionally and physically available for him. After the death of the primary caregiver and good object, he experienced rejection from his siblings and abandonment from his biological mother. This suggests that Thato had a fair amount of both good and bad experiences, which occurred from his early childhood until his pre-teens. On the other hand, he internalised and idealised the bad experiences, which suggests that the process of splitting did not occur, and the bad experiences dominated the good ones.

Klein (1957) explains that clinical states of extreme pathology are noted when splitting as a defence fails and the entire personality is overwhelmed with primal anxiety which may later yield an individual who can't deal with uncertainty and frustration. It can therefore be concluded that the rejection from the sister and the abandonment caused Thato to experience the anxiety of being unwanted. Also due to the abnormal splitting, he was unable to view his bad objects (his victims) as being good individuals or having good qualities, as all his experiences with females were bad experiences. This is why he did not see anything wrong with violating them as they were already bad individuals.

Due to the split failing, Thato had introjected the unpleasant experiences of feeling unwanted and rejected by his sister and siblings. This made him end up feeling that he would not be able to be in a romantic relationship as he would be abandoned or rejected, So when he was in a relationship, we would end things as soon as he felt unwanted. Secondly, he also introjected the perception that he is a thief and a rapist since he was falsely accused of being both at an early stage. Introjection also occurs when a person internalises the ideas from or experiences with other people. So Thato ended up becoming what he was perceived to be.

As a way of getting rid of the introjected bad experiences, Thato utilised the projection defence mechanism as he was attaching his thoughts, fears, feelings, and motives onto another person (his victims). Projection is a form of defence in which unwanted feelings are displaced onto another person, where they then appear as a threat from the external world. He did that as the act or offence committed brought him shame and guilt, and he knew such acts were not acceptable behaviour, so in an effort not to experience the guilt, he chose the option to blame the way his victims dressed as the reason behind feeling compelled to rape them. Holding his victims responsible for their misfortune, and thus blaming them for "making him" rape them, was Thato's way to avoid having to admit that something unthinkable or unacceptable could be done by him of his own free will.

When projection is used, offenders blame their victims so that they can continue to feel safe and good about themselves, and it also helps them feel as if bad things will never be done by them. With regard to Thato, he takes the blame for taking or stealing his victims' belongings, probably feeling he had the right to take things that his

grandmother would have bought for him if she had not abandoned him by dying, thus indirectly blaming his grandmother for dying and thus forcing him to steal and rob others. He stated that raping them was not his intention, but lusting after them was motivated by the way they were dressed, which forced him to end up raping them.

“Eish, I ended up regretting what I did and I did not go to them with the aim of raping them, but I just wanted to take their money and belongings to sell, so I ended up losing control and raping them, using force, mostly it was the way they were dressed I ended up lusting over them”.

Thato's depressive position was attained, due to the disturbance in the paranoid schizoid position. Therefore, he was unable to tolerate either negative or positive feelings towards an object. The internal balance of forces was disrupted. Due to the disruption of the balance, an overall internal numbing resulted in a depressed mood which later evolved into Thato being a young adult with poor adaptive emotional regulation skills, which accounts for his constant need for instant gratification of giving in to his lust for his victims. Thato also stated that he had limited interaction with the outside world besides school and his immediate family (the members that lived with him at his grandmother's place). This meant that he had never learned the necessary social skills.

Internalisation

❖ Ego and Superego

According to the information provided by Thato, the researcher concludes that he had a dominating super-ego with an underdeveloped ego. This conclusion was reached because of his inability to control his need for instant gratification. Thato claimed that his intentions were not to rape his victims, but to rob them, and then ended up lusting for them, which motivated him to rape them and achieve instant sexual gratification. The researcher concludes that Thato's ego is underdeveloped because of his fixation on the grandmother who favoured him above others and then abandoned him through her death, in addition to the incomplete separation from his mother, as the mother was not part of his life in her role as his mother, but only as a relative. *“No, just a relative, I*

was raised by my grandmother, because of the problems my mother had when she was pregnant with me.”

The subject's relationship with the mother and father figure was a positive but distant one. The evidence of a primitive super-ego could be seen with him admitting that what he did was wrong and he regretted the crimes. *“I ended up regretting what I did, and I did not go to them with the aim of raping.”*

❖ **Oedipus complex**

According to Thato, his treasured childhood memory was how his grandmother made sure he got the best education. The researcher suggests that because Thato was raised by his grandmother, he fixated on the grandmother as he did not have a same-sex figure to identify with. His grandmother was the closest person to him, she preferred him to the other children, and let him know that he was her favourite. She took him everywhere she went and accompanied him to and from crèche.

Although the father was present by providing groceries and coming to visit him, this was not the same close relationship he had with his grandmother and the father thus did not become the boy's role model. The relationship between Thato and his father was a good one, even though they did not live together, which is why Thato saw him as being an involved father, because he provided food and checked on him.

“We used to get along very well, he was a good person, be ele motho o mo right, he was an involved father.”

As stated above, Thato fixated on the grandmother during the oedipal phase. Evidence of this was evidenced by his inability to achieve mature adult romantic relationships, and his possessiveness of any girl he was in a relationship with. His response, when asked if he idolised the person he was in a relationship with was, *“Yes, she agreed to be with me, right?”*

7.4 Summary

Thato is a black African male in the early adulthood phase, who speaks Sepedi. His convictions include rape, theft and kidnapping. He was convicted on twelve counts of rape, one of kidnapping and five of robberies. While he officially comes from a family of six, which includes the mother, three sisters and one half-brother, he grew up at his

grandmother's home, together with his cousins. The parental relationship was marked by his abandonment when he was a baby. While the grandmother, his mother figure until her death, was emotionally as well as physically present, he did not know his biological mother as his true mother, while his father was emotionally, physically, and financially present in his life.

Thato only found out that the "relative" was his mother when the grandmother who had raised him passed away, which meant that he then had to live with the mother, father and the siblings he knew as cousins. Thato felt abandoned when the grandmother died. She was the person he felt to be and had known as his mother figure. It is also worth noting that Thato felt that he was not accepted by his older sister after she "falsely" accused him of theft and rape. While the older sister might have reacted in that way as she suddenly had to accept a younger boy in the family, who had been spoiled by the grandmother, and thus possibly threatening her role in the family, the researcher concludes that this "betrayal" by his "new" family left him with the fear of being abandoned and not accepted.

This view can be supported by the statement he made during the interview, when he explained that he did not have any long serious relationships, and that he always left the relationship before there was any chance that he could be left. Also, probably resulting from his fixation on the grandmother who had given him all the attention, and had spoiled him, he tended to idealise the females he was in the short relationships with, or he felt that he owned the females. The researcher concluded that Thato left the relationships before the other person could leave him or hurt him, and thus, he felt he was protecting himself.

It is also evident from his life history that the disturbance in his paranoid-schizoid position contributed to his compulsive behaviour and decision-making. This serial rapist did not identify with the father figure as he was not fully present in his life, as he lived with his grandmother. The father was seen merely in his role of pleasant provider, without playing a part in the boy's upbringing or teaching him about healthy relationships.

The victims selected by him revealed his unconscious, but deep-seated anger toward women, feeling they were all abandoning him, and not giving him what he deserved. Judging from the information given to the researcher by Thato, he committed the

offences by wanting to take what he was “owed” by them, obtaining the valuable belongings from the victims, and then raping them in an effort to achieve instant gratification for his “lust”, which he blamed on the way they dressed. According to Berlin and Montgomery (2017), memories and unwanted feelings that are repressed do not disappear; they manifest through a symptom, or series of symptoms and might continue to influence one’s behaviour. Therefore, the researcher concludes that Thato was unconsciously angry or resentful towards his grandmother for no longer being there for him, abandoning him, with no one else giving him all their attention and the things he deserved. He suddenly had to share his real mother with others and felt compelled to steal/rob what he felt he was owed. Thato could thus still unconsciously have been longing for the grandmother, and wanting to take revenge on those on whom he projected his anger for her having left him, which might be the reason behind his choice of location.

CHAPTER 8: INTEGRATION AND CONCLUSION

8.1 Introduction

This chapter offers an integrated discussion of the quantitative and qualitative study results. The discussion will attempt to offer convergences and divergences between the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the study. The discussion will be offered while anchored by Kleinian object relations theory. A serial rapists' developmental model is also proposed with a view to help guide targeted clinical interventions, policy formulations and future research.

8.2 Unpleasant Early Childhood Experiences or Traumatic Experiences

The results from both studies revealed that a majority of serial rapists have suffered unpleasant early childhood experiences. Evident is that serial rapists have suffered complex traumas of physical, emotional, and sexual nature (Whitton et.al, 2019). Emotional abuse could be in the form of exposure to domestic violence and neglectful parenting. Some have suffered from exposure to repeated sexual violence from early childhood. The findings suggest that the traumas meted against them was largely a result of neglectful and harsh parenting. Early experiences of such unpleasant upbringing meant children are left emotionally depressed, angry, resentful, and confused about their emerging sense of self. A precursor to being vulnerable to further victimisation in the society, for instance, 'sexual predation' by adults.

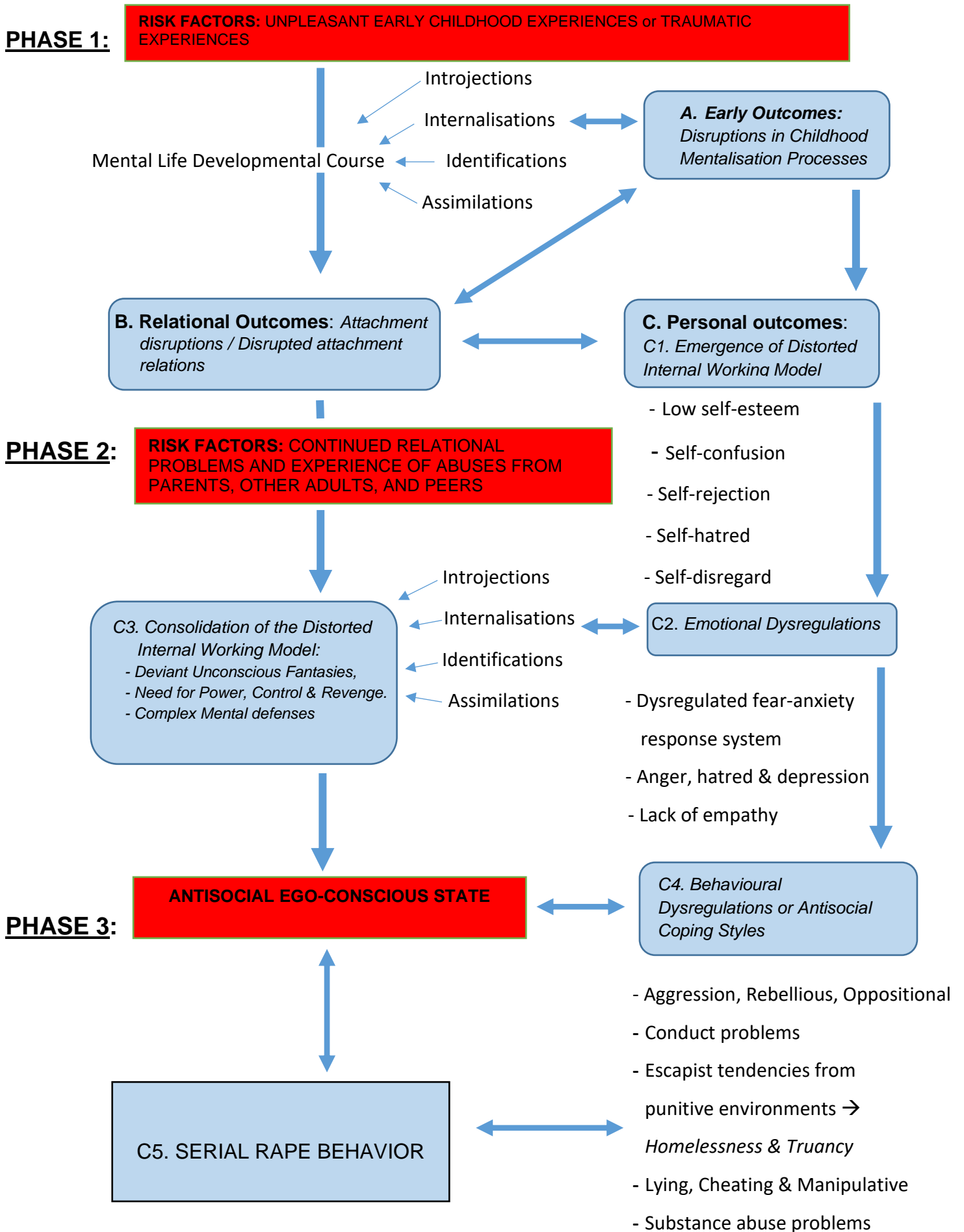
The data further suggests that serial rapists committed violent acts as a means of expressing their anger, frustrations, and other negative emotions. In object relations thinking, unpleasant attachment experiences disrupt the development of object constancy leading to behavioural and emotional dysregulation, a precursor for serial rape or criminal behaviours. It can be argued that due to carrying the heritage of badness within themselves, rapists will later in life, compulsively try to rid themselves of the introjected badness and confusing emotions through repeated acts of criminality including rape. This argument is also supported by the present study findings in that in both the review and case studies, participants revealed exposure to traumatic upbringing within the family setting. The argument is further supported by a study by Liu et al. (2013) which has also found that there is a cycle of abuse that eventually leads to the development of offenders.

Similarly, these acts of violent behaviour are noted to stem from unresolved conflicts with internal objects that the individual has repeatedly taken into the self. The results agree with the above statement as they suggest that the participants took in the violent behaviour and abuse they experienced which eventually became part of their personality and ultimately embedded in their psyche as a way of doing things (learned behaviour). Klein explains this process as introjection. She explains that individuals introject objects, in this case the abuse and the witnessing of violent behaviour, into the self which is later projected onto their victims. The data has also shown that serial rapists have suffered or witnessed physical abuse from their parents or guardians. The implication of this is that in response to conflict, pain, anger, and resentment, abused children will resort to some type of verbal or physical hostility to resolve the problem or to meet their unmet needs of dealing with their anger or displeasure with a person/event.

An earlier study by Ressler et al. (1988) suggested that many physically abused children become aggressive themselves or have other behavioural problems. The researcher is of the view that this behaviour eventually becomes a learned behaviour that ultimately results in adolescents that show traits of conduct defiant disorder. In Ressler's study, it was explained that children who have suffered trauma may struggle with boundaries and also with understanding and respecting the boundaries of others.

Overall, the findings of the research support Whitton et al and colleagues' (2019) view that sexual abuse alone does not cause or yield violent sexual behaviour, but that a pattern of experiences of multiple traumas including rejection increases the risk of an individual becoming an abuser or a violent sexual offender. Considering the study findings, a serial rapists' developmental model (see figure 3 below) is proposed to help map out the risk factors and developmental trajectories of serial rapists.

Figure: 3 A serial rapists' developmental model



8.3 Early Childhood Attachment Disruptions

The results from the study show that the participants have either experienced abandonment or rejection or endured cold or aloof treatment from their parents or guardians. Research has shown that abandonment, rejection and disruptive or dysfunctional family experiences are prevalent in the early childhood of sexual offenders or serial rapists (Marshall, 2010). The trauma of losing a parent through death, divorce, or neglect, shatters an individual's feelings of security, adequacy, and worth which leaves deep rooted psychological wounds for the victims. From Klein's suggestions, individuals that have experienced cold and aloof parenting have internalised beliefs of being unwanted, inadequate, and unworthy of love. This aspect is illustrated in Phase 1 of the proposed model. The distorted internal working model is hypothesised to be associated with self-defeating beliefs such as low-self-worth, self-hatred, self-rejection and so forth (see Figure 1, C1). The data has further revealed that serial rapists have repeatedly raped their victims to repair their damaged sense of self and dysregulated emotionality (See C1). It was also noted in the results that serial rapists who have experienced abandonment in their early childhood have a fear of rejection and are also sensitive to situations that may leave them feeling rejected. Lisak's (2011) study supports this notion as it suggests that individuals with an anxious attachment style may have a heightened fear of rejection and abandonment, which may lead them to use coercion to maintain a relationship or sexual encounter.

Abandonment produces an intense amount of fear and anxiety in children which causes them to develop into adults that are anxious and depressed (refer to phase 2: emotional dysregulations). Consequently, they also struggle in forming or maintaining relationships or close affectionate bonds. The present study revealed that a majority of participants struggled with adult-intimate relationships (see Phase 2). Although participants desired such adult attachment relationships, considering what appears to be functioning from the Paranoid-Schizoid Ego States, this was not possible. This is supported by the finding which highlighted that their emotional and behavioural dysregulations were triggered whenever they perceived or suspected that they were being rejected or abandoned. A consequent of early introjections of feelings of being abandoned or unwanted especially by female figures. Smallbone and Dadds's

(2002) study supports this argument by stating that early attachment styles shape our ability to form and maintain healthy relationships later in life.

The research participants had deprived and emotionally disturbed childhoods or teenage years, which left the respondents feeling lonely and detached. Lisak's (2011) study suggests that social and appropriate skills are learned through constant interaction with other people. This explains the participants' disregard for rules and social cues as they lacked appropriate socio-emotional skills to process and regulate feelings of rejection and abandonment. It was found that being rejected angered participants and led them to planning ways to revenge (Refer to Phase 2 & 3). One participant noted that he had raped his victim because she rejected him and looked down on him. The object relation theory would conceive of this abhorrent behaviour by arguing that this serial rapist did not experience or develop healthy internalised attachments or relationships which resulted in him being unable to regulate his behaviours and emotions especially his apparent lack of empathy. In line with the proposed model, although unconscious of their underlying drives, whenever triggered, serial rapists deploy an Anti-Social Ego Defensive Strategy (Phase 3, C5).

To sum up this aspect, the researcher observed that all study participants had either an uninvolved mother, abusive mother or a mother that had abandoned them while they were young. It is my impression that the attachment disruption coupled with the unpleasant experiences of abuse and neglect, greatly contributed to the hatred and hostility the participants developed towards women. Therefore, these participants were unable to view any women as being good but as being as bad as their mother or other women who had abused them. This suggests that serial rapists have not developed object constancy, that is, their ability to view people or women as possessing both good and bad qualities is impaired.

8.4 Emotional and Behavioural Problems

The findings further revealed that unpleasant early childhood experiences resulted in long-standing emotional and behavioural problems. It has been noted that some of the participants displayed aggressive and hostile behaviours towards their peers when from school-ages. For examples, some reported having been bullies, which was outlet of their suppressed emotions. What socially is perceived as behavioural problems or

antisocial behaviours to the ego, appears to be coping strategies, that is, antisocial behaviours are ego-syntonic mechanisms (See Phase 3, C4). In Object relations, such outer behavioural and emotional problems are reflective of internal objects that are damaged. As noted already, they cause a disintegration in the victims' personality which eventually results in anti-sociality or serial rape behaviour.

Card and Little (2006) emphasise in their study that an actual or perceived threat or provocation such as childhood experiences or violence may be a trigger for reactive aggressiveness, which is a trait of antisocial behaviour or may be a contributing factor to an individual's becoming a violent adult (Dodge & Coie, 1987). In essence, a person's childhood experiences may cause distortions in the formation of an individual's character, which may also lead them to being deviant or becoming offenders (White et al., 2013).

8.5 Psychodynamics of Power, Dominance, and Control

Since the participants felt abandoned, neglected, lonely and frowned upon by those close to them, the results of the study suggest that committing these crimes and violating their victims give them a sense of reparation, that is, being in control and having power over 'bad objects/women. The object relations theory suggests that individuals who have internalised bad-objects desire to inflict pain on their internalised bad objects (their mothers) or perceived bad objects (their victims). This is because they do not have pleasant encounters and experiences with them, they feel the need to humiliate and control them. Ryan (2004) notes that these individuals seek to exert control and power over their victims through acts of sexual violence, which may provide them with a sense of superiority and control (See Phase 2 & 3).

Some respondents have noted that they received pleasure from the sight of fear in their victims' faces or eyes, while others expressed that they felt powerful from tearing their victims' clothes. It has also been discovered that some felt entitled to their victims as they felt the victims owed them. The findings have also shown that these individuals may have felt a sense of inadequacy or inferiority in other areas of their lives and they sought to assert control and dominance over their victims through humiliating them and, at the same time, boosting their own self-confidence.

According to Simons (2015), for certain people, a desire for dominance and control may be the driving element in perpetrating acts of sexual violence, including rape.

These individuals may use sexual violence to exercise power and control over their victims, giving them a sense of superiority and dominance. According to Ryan (2004), the act of rape itself may be a mechanism for certain serial rapists to establish power and dominance, and the victim's suffering and vulnerability may be considered to fulfil this desire, see phase 3.

From the above discussion and deliberations, the researcher has noted that early attachment experiences of the participants include poor child relations and neglect from the participants' caregivers. It is my impression that the participants have unresolved psychological conflicts, particularly related to early experiences in childhood. These experiences have been internalised and assimilated into the development of their personalities. Since their experiences have been unpleasant, the implication is that the unpleasant early childhood experiences or traumatic experiences can be reason to psychopathic behaviour later in life. Worth noting is that, serial-rapists' projective identification is not always with a woman or female figure, but whichever bad object that was introjected as bad, and such introjections go on trigger antisocial behaviours later in life.

The researcher advances that psychological motives or drives behind serial rape behaviour include the need for revenge, control, power, and humiliation of mentally introjected bad objects. Although bad-objects in this study were predominately found to be women, men can also be represented as bad-objects thus triggering or maintaining serial rape behaviour.

8.6 Study Limitations

This study offers new insights into this rarely studied psychological phenomenon. Although this is the case, some aspects may have limited the study. A systematic review methodology is often challenging especially in non-collaborative research projects. Therefore, having collected and analysed the review study findings with the support of my promoter, the researcher acknowledges that this might have limited the study outcomes. Secondly, there were few articles available for review from the South African context, this may mean the quantitative studies may not necessary be generalised thus suggesting that there's a need for more empirical psychological studies on serial rape behaviour. Similarly, for the qualitative study, the cases

interviewed reflects the willing and available sample for participation in the study. Some of potential study participants approached were not willing to engage in the study. This limited the number of study units that could have potentially been analysed thus strengthening the quality of the study.

On the one hand, the participants were not freely volunteering some of the information. They may have withheld other information either on purpose, or because they had blocked the recall of any specific aspects in their memory. Also, while the perpetrators gave their view on what had happened while they were committing the crimes, there is also another silent voice, that is the voices of their parents, surviving victims, and the police. There's therefore a need for a triangulated approach to studying this phenomenon for a holistic picture to be painted.

8.7 Conclusion and Recommendations

The purpose of this study was to examine psychological factors that contribute to serial rape behaviour. The study findings revealed that unpleasant early childhood experiences or traumatic encounters have long-term mental, emotional, and behavioural consequences for the victims. The research has shown that participants introjected their being punished, rejected, neglected, and abused by primary caregivers giving rise to disrupted internal working models or maladjusted personalities. Consequently, their intrapsychic dynamics go on to impact on their personal and social lives including failure to develop and maintain meaningful and satisfying adult intimate relationships. In object relations theory, such "victims" function from what appears to be the Paranoid-schizoid ego state, leading to antisociality including serial rape behaviour. The unconscious psychological motives or drives behind serial rape behaviour include the need for revenge, control, power, and humiliation of women rape-victims. Although women were predominately found to be the common trigger of serial rape behaviour, some men who are introjected as bad objects also have the capacity to trigger rape behaviour in rapists.

The researcher notes and shares sentiments with Barkhuizen (2004) who states that serial offenders have weak egos and superegos or underdeveloped egos as they struggle to control their need for instant gratification or trigger a functional superego regulatory mechanism to help regulate or moralise their immoral behaviours. Other

shared views are those of Leyton (1986) who states that there is an inability to maintain meaningful and lasting relationships, on both social and sexual levels, marked by poor early child-parent relationships.

Even though the data in the review study was limited, by having complemented the data with the two case studies improves on the validity, reliability and trustworthiness of the study. Yin (1984) submits in support that the findings of an exploratory case study can be generalised to a theory. Therefore, the researcher concludes that Klein's object relations theory is important and can be applied successfully to studying cases of serial rapists. It is in this regard that this study has strengthened Kleinian's object relations theory.

The researcher recommends that correctional centres should create or offer rehabilitation programmes that are tailor-made for the individual offender. Currently, according to South Africa Yearbook 2018/19, such rehabilitation programmes are geared more towards anger management, improving offenders' life skills, and providing literacy and education, whereas these offenders might have serious underlying mental health problems. The present study findings support this argument. Therefore, for long term sustainability of rehabilitation programs, key is adopting the idiographic intrapsychic approach as opposed to the universalistic approach. Correction centres needed to have specialised mental health practitioners who can provide intrapsychic psychotherapies to help resolve underlying psychic traumas leading to serial rape crime behaviours.

For a more preventative approach, the researcher advocates for the rolling-out of national educational programs on the importance of quality parenting towards healthy mental and physical development. Such programs can be rolled out on the media and telecommunications. School curriculum can be designed and introduced in schools to make aware yet preparing young people for parenthood later in life. Also, if a majority of citizens are made aware this could aid with early detection of children with attachment problems or emotional and emotional problems secondary to abusive or traumatic upbringing. Early interventions could have long term positive outcomes in the fight against the pathology of serial rape.

Moreover, the researcher recommends that a crisis centre with toll-free helpline should be established whereby potential offenders or individuals thinking about rape or planning to act upon their fantasies could always be assisted through anonymous counselling. It should be highlighted that object relation theory may not necessarily be the only strong theory to help explain serial rape behaviour, therefore, other theories should also be tested. The researcher also recommends that future investigations of serial rape should be conducted with larger samples and a multi-theoretical approach.

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10. APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: PARTICIPANT CONSENT LETTER, CONSENT FORM AND LEGAL UNDERTAKING

Department of Psychology
University of Limpopo (Turfloop Campus)
Private Bag X1106
Sovenga,
0727
Date: _____

Dear participant

Thank you for demonstrating interest in this study that focuses on “**An investigation of the Psychological factors involved in the development of serial rapists in South Africa: A mixed-methods study**”. The aim of the present study is to explore psychological factors accountable for serial rapists’ behaviour through analysis of the documented literature including conducting interviews with serial rapists. Your responses to this individual interview will remain strictly confidential. The researcher will not attempt to identify you with your responses to the interview questions or to disclose your name as a participant in the study. Please be advised that participating in this study is voluntary and that you have the right to withdraw your participation at any time.

Kindly answer all the questions and reflect your true reaction. Your participation in this research is very important. Thank you for your time

Sincerely

Mothapo Mapula (Masters student)

Date

Supervisor: Prof M Makgahlela

Date

CONSENT FORM

I _____ hereby agree to participate in this Masters Research project which **“investigates the Psychological factors involved in the development of serial rapists in South Africa: A mixed-methods study”**.

The main purpose of the study, terms and conditions has been explained to me. I understand that should I feel like discontinuing my participation in this focus group I can terminate it at any time. Although the interview will be tape-recorded, my responses will remain confidential, anonymous and no names will be mentioned in the report.

I understand the outcomes of this research project, the purpose of which is not necessarily to benefit me personally. I understand that my details as they appear in this consent form will not be linked to the interview schedule and that my answers will remain confidential.

I understand this information and agree to participate fully under the conditions stated above:

Signed: _____

Date: _____

LEGAL UNDERTAKING AND RECORDING PERMISSION

I, THE UNDERSIGNED (state full initials and surname)

A major person, **DECLARE** myself willing to participate voluntarily and without remuneration in the proposed research programme on the phenomenon of serial Rape, which is to be undertaken by Ms. MT Mothapo.

This undertaking is subject to the conditions that all information will be treated as confidential and that my identity will be protected at all times. In addition I undertake that all interviews, conversations be audio recorded and therefore I give permission to the researcher to record the whole interview. These recordings may not be used for purposes other than for the research.

Signed at _____ on this the _____ day of _____ 20__

As witnesses:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

(Signature of participant)

**APPENDIX B: PERMISSION LETTER TO THE DEPARTMENT OF
CORRECTIONAL SERVICES**

Department of Psychology

University of Limpopo

Private Bag X1106,
Sovenga, 0727

Date: _____

The Research Department
Department of Correctional Services
124 WF Nkomo St
Pretoria Central, Pretoria, 0001

**RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THREE CORRECTIONAL
CENTRES IN CAPRICORN DISTRICT**

My name is Mapula Mothapo, a Masters student in the Department of Psychology at the University of Limpopo (Turfloop Campus). I am conducting a study on: **“An investigation of the Psychological factors involved in the development of serial rapists in South Africa: A mixed-methods study** The purpose of the study is to explore psychological factors accountable for serial rapists’ behaviour through analysis of the documented literature including conducting interviews with serial rapists. I hereby apply to be granted permission to conduct this research in any of the correctional centres that have confined serial rapists in Limpopo. It is important to point out that the researcher will take measures to maintain confidentiality regarding the identity of the participants in this research project. The participants will be assured about the voluntary nature of this study and further that they are free to withdraw from the study at any time should they wish to do so. The methods of data collection will be unstructured individual interviews with the confined serial rapist.

Sincerely

Mothapo Mapula (Student)

Date

Prof M Makgahlela (Supervisor)

Date

APPENDIX C: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

1. Tell me about your family structure.
2. Tell me about your mother/the woman who raised you.
3. How would you describe your past relationship with your mother/the woman who raised you?
4. How would you describe your current relationship with your mother/the woman who raised you?
5. Tell me about your father/the man who raised you.
6. How would you describe your past relationship with your father/the man who raised you?
7. What is the nature of the relationship between you and your victims?
8. Did you have girlfriends while growing up? If yes, please describe her/them.
9. Please describe the physical appearances of your victims.
10. What did they have in common?
11. How would you describe your method of approach to your victims?
12. Was the victim alone?
13. How did you control your victims to do as you asked them to?
14. Did you order your victims to undress or did you undress them yourself?
15. If you ordered your victim to undress, did you watch them undress?
16. Was the sexual contact violent?
17. Did you assist your victim to get dressed or did you watch the victim re-dress?
18. Did you stay with the victim after the attack or did you leave the victim at the rape location?
19. Did you leave the victim naked at the scene?
20. Did you threaten the victim with the intention of keeping her from going to the authorities?

APPENDIX D: TREC PERMISSION LETTER



University of Limpopo
Department of Research Administration and Development
Private Bag X1106, Sovenga, 0727, South Africa
Tel: (015) 268 3935, Fax: (015) 268 2306, Email: anastasia.ngobe@ul.ac.za

TURFLOOP RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE ETHICS CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

MEETING: 29 November 2022

PROJECT NUMBER: TREC/602/2022: PG
PROJECT:

Title: Title of project: Psychological factors involved in the development of serial rapists in South Africa: A mixed-methods study
Researcher: M.T Mothapo
Supervisor: Dr MW Makgahlela
Co-supervisor: N/A
School: Social Sciences
Degree: MA Psychology

PROF D MAPOSA
CHAIRPERSON: TURFLOOP RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

The Turfloop Research Ethics Committee (TREC) is registered with the National Health Research Ethics Council, Registration Number: **REC-0310111-031**

Note:

- i) This Ethics Clearance Certificate will be valid for one (1) year, as from the abovementioned date. Application for annual renewal (or annual review) need to be received by TREC one month before lapse of this period.
- ii) Should any departure be contemplated from the research procedure as approved, the researcher(s) must re-submit the protocol to the committee, together with the Application for Amendment form.
- iii) PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES.

APPENDIX E: DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES PERMISSION LETTERS



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 MT Mothapo

RE: Psychological factors involved in the development of serial rapists in South Africa: A mixed method study.

I wish to inform you that your request to conduct research in the Department of Correctional Services has been approved

Your attention is drawn to the following:

- This ethical approval is valid from **21 December 2022 to 21 December 2023**
- The relevant Regional and Area Commissioner where the research will be conducted will be informed of your proposed research project.
- You are requested to contact the Area Commissioner 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 Centers.
- 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 Centers" 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 2059

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

Yours faithfully

ND MBULI
Chair: DCS REC
DATE: 21/12/2022



correctional services

Department:
Correctional Services
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: (012) 307-2895

INTERNAL MEMO

DATE:	21 DECEMBER 2022	FILE NR:	4/7/4/1/152
TO:	AREA COMMISSIONER	FROM:	REC: ADMINISTRATION
SUBJECT:	RESEARCH ON THE PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS INVOLVED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SERIAL RAPISTS IN SOUTH AFRICA: A MIXED-METHODS STUDY		

Dear Area Commissioner

1. This is to inform you that the application on the above mentioned research has been approved
 2. You are therefore requested to grant permission to the following researcher – **Ms MT Mothapo** , to conduct the said research, at **Polokwane Management Area**
 3. Please take note that :
 - 3.1. The researcher is not allowed to use photographic or video equipment during their visits to the Correctional Centre, however the audio recorder is allowed
 - 3.2. The Area Commissioner is requested to identify the person as an internal guide that will work with the researcher
 - 3.3. It is the researcher's responsibility to make arrangements with the Correctional Centre for the visiting times. The researcher has been informed of this arrangement
 - 3.4. The security measures are still applicable and must be adhered to by the researcher
 - 3.5. The researcher must comply with Covid 19 safety and hygiene procedures during data collection processes and
 - 3.6. Ensure that all participants have been duly screened for Covid 19 screening protocols
- Should you have any enquiries regarding this process, please contact DC Mbuli for assistance at telephone 012-3072895/94

Your cooperation is highly appreciated

ND Mbuli
Deputy Commissioner –Policy Coordination & Research
Date: 21/12/2022



correctional services

Department:
Correctional Services
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: (012) 307-2895

INTERNAL MEMO

DATE:	21 DECEMBER 2022	FILE NR:	4/7/4/1/152
TO:	KSCC MANAGEMENT	FROM:	REC: ADMINISTRATION
SUBJECT:	RESEARCH ON THE PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS INVOLVED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SERIAL RAPISTS IN SOUTH AFRICA: A MIXED-METHODS STUDY		

Dear KSCC MANAGEMENT

1. This is to inform you that the application on the above mentioned research has been approved
 2. You are therefore requested to grant permission to the following researcher – **Ms MT Mothapo** , to conduct the said research, at **Kutama Sinthumule Correctional Centre**
 3. Please take note that :
 - 3.1. The researcher is not allowed to use photographic or video equipment during their visits to the Correctional Centre, however the audio recorder is allowed
 - 3.2. The KSCC Management is requested to identify the person as an internal guide that will work with the researcher
 - 3.3. It is the researcher's responsibility to make arrangements with the Correctional Centre for the visiting times. The researcher has been informed of this arrangement
 - 3.4. The security measures are still applicable and must be adhered to by the researcher
 - 3.5. The researcher must comply with Covid 19 safety and hygiene procedures during data collection processes and
 - 3.6. Ensure that all participants have been duly screened for Covid 19 screening protocols
- Should you have any enquiries regarding this process, please contact DC Mbuli for assistance at telephone 012-3072895/94

Your cooperation is highly appreciated

ND Mbuli
Deputy Commissioner –Policy Coordination & Research
Date: 21/12/2022

APPENDIX F: EDITORIAL CERTIFICATE

DR LARAINÉ C O'CONNELL
LANGUAGE PRACTITIONER
(SATI Member No.: 1001497)

CELL: 083 2289 801

E-MAIL: laraine@lantic.net

PO BOX 4166

0850 TZANEEN
7 August 2023

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

I hereby wish to confirm that I am a qualified, professional editor. I am also registered with SATI, as stated above.

I also wish to confirm that I have edited the dissertation submitted for the degree, Master of Arts in the Department of Psychology,

PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS INVOLVED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SERIAL RAPISTS IN SOUTH AFRICA: A MIXED-METHODS STUDY

by Ms Mapula Tryphosa Mothapo, Student No. 201308887, University of Limpopo.

Yours sincerely

LC O'Connell
Dr LC O'Connell

APPENDIX G: TURNITIN CERTIFICATE

Psychological factors involved in the development of serial rapists in South Africa: A mixed-methods study

ORIGINALITY REPORT

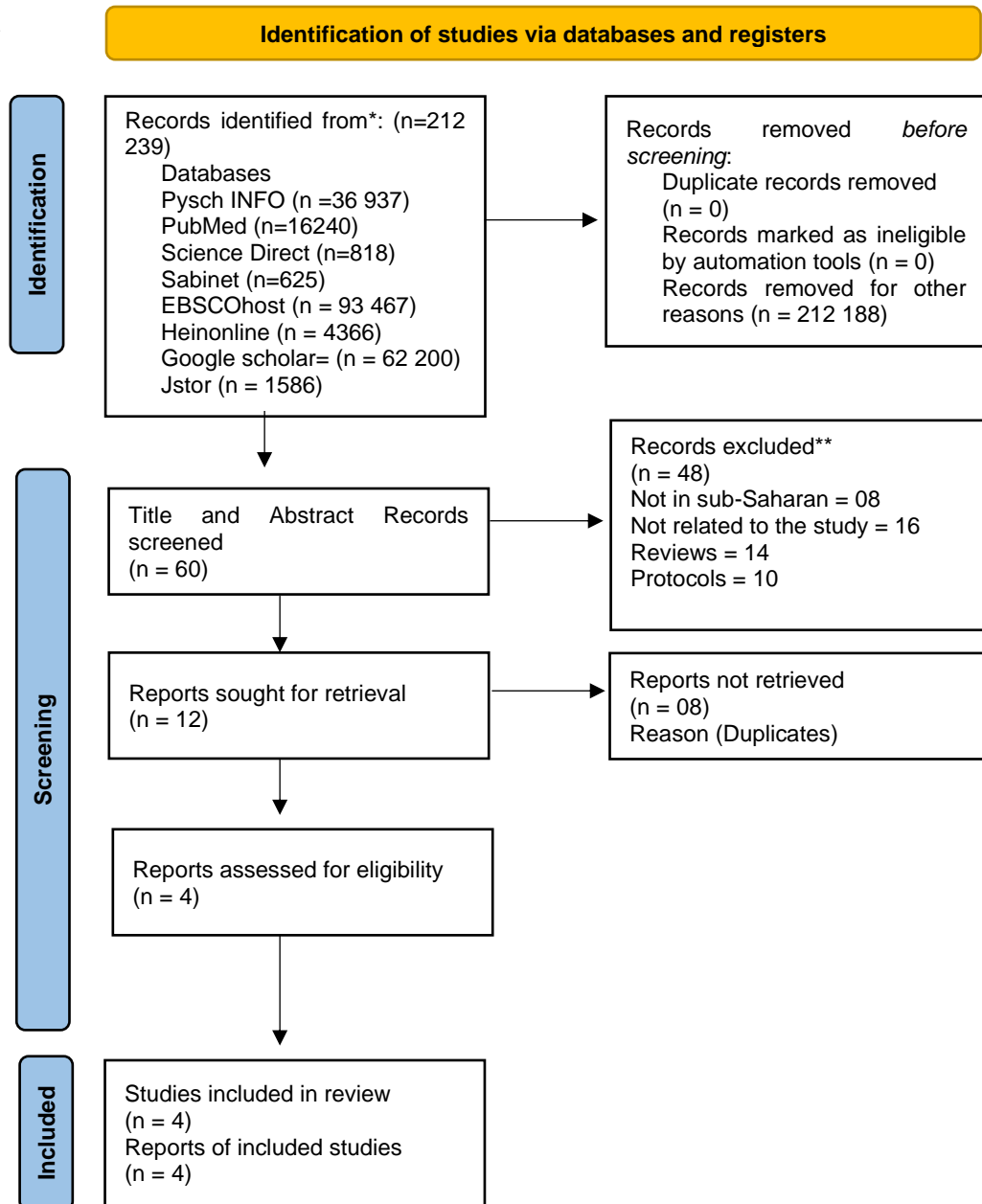
14%	11%	5%	8%
SIMILARITY INDEX	INTERNET SOURCES	PUBLICATIONS	STUDENT PAPERS

PRIMARY SOURCES

1	Nigel Bradely Bougard, Anni Hesselink. "Child Sexual Abuse in South Africa: A Criminological Case Study Analysis Exploring a Life-Course-Persistent Pathway for Serial Rape and Murder", Journal of Asian and African Studies, 2021 Publication	1%
2	moam.info Internet Source	1%
3	ulspace.ul.ac.za Internet Source	1%
4	silo.pub Internet Source	1%
5	www.repository.up.ac.za Internet Source	1%
6	upetd.up.ac.za Internet Source	1%
7	en.wikiversity.org Internet Source	1%

APPENDIX H: PRISMA FLOW- DIAGRAM

PRISMA 2020 flow diagram for new systematic reviews which included searches of databases



*Consider, if feasible to do so, reporting the number of records identified from each database or register searched (rather than the total number across all databases/registers).

**If automation tools were used, indicate how many records were excluded by a human and how many were excluded by automation tools.

From: Page MJ, McKenzie JE, Bossuyt PM, Boutron I, Hoffmann TC, Mulrow CD, et al. The PRISMA 2020 statement: an updated guideline for reporting systematic reviews. *BMJ* 2021;372:n71. doi: 10.1136/bmj.n71

For more information, visit: <http://www.prisma-statement.org/>

APPENDIX I: ROBIS TOOL

	PHASE 2			PHASE 3	
	1. Study eligibility criteria	2. Identification and selection of studies	3. Data collection and study appraisal	4. Synthesis and findings	Risk of bias in the review
Signalling questions	1.1 Did the review adhere to the predefined objectives and eligibility criteria?	2.1 Did the search include an appropriate range of databases/electronic sources for published and unpublished reports?	3.1 Were efforts made to minimise error in data collection?	4.1 Did the synthesis include all the studies it should?	A. Did the interpretation of the findings address all the concerns identified in domain 1 to 4?
	1.2 Were all eligibility criteria appropriate for the review question?	2.2 Were methods additional to database searching used to identify relevant reports?	3.2 Were sufficient study characteristics available for both review authors and readers to be able to interpret the results?	4.2 Were all predefined analyses reported departures explained?	B. Was relevance of identified studies to review's research question appropriately considered?
	1.3 Were eligibility criteria unambiguous?	2.3 Were the terms and structure of the search strategy likely to	3.3 Were all relevant study results collected	4.3 Was the synthesis appropriate given the	C. Did reviewers avoid emphasising results based on their

		retrieve as many eligible studies as possible?	for use in the synthesis?	nature and similarity in the research?	statistical significance?
	1.4 Were all restrictions in eligibility criteria based on study characteristics appropriate?	2.4 Were restrictions based on date, publication format, or language appropriate?	3.4 Was risk bias (or methodologic quality) formally assessed using appropriate criteria?	4.4 Was between-study variation minimal or addressed in the synthesis?	
	1.5 Were any restrictions in eligibility criteria based on sources of information appropriate?	2.5 Were efforts made to minimize error in selection of studies?	3.5 Were efforts made to minimise error in risk of bias assessment?	4.5 Were the findings robust for example as demonstrated through funnel plot or sensitivity analysis?	
				4.6 Were biases in primary studies minimal or addressed in the synthesis?	
Judgment	Concerns regarding specification of study eligibility criteria	Concerns regarding methods used to	Concerns regarding methods used to	Concerns regarding the synthesis	Risk if bias in the review

		identify and /or select studies	collect data and appraise studies		
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Table 3: Summary of phase 2 ROBIS Tool adopted from www.robis-tool.info

PHASE 1					PHASE 3
STUDY ID	1. Study eligibility criteria	2. Identification and selection of studies	3. Data collection and study appraisal	4. Synthesis and findings	Risk of bias in the review
1. Bougard & Hesselink, 2022	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
2. Bougard & Hesselink, 2019	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
3. Hesselink & Jordaan, 2018	Low	Low	Unclear	Low	Low
4. Londt & Roman, 2014	Unclear	Low	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear

Table 4: ROBIS Tool applied to the reviewed studies.

APPENDIX J: TRANSCRIPTIONS

SFISO

TRANSCRIPTIONS

[Tell me about yourself.] Uhmm, I am from Gauteng, my family is spread between Soweto, the East Rand and Boksburg. **[Ok, can you please tell me about your family structure?]** My mother and my father? **[Yes, including your siblings.]** Sorry? **[Your siblings, your sisters and brothers.]** Oh, we are 12 at home **[12?]** Yes, seven girls, sorry seven boys, five girls **[oh okay, and what number are you?]** Uhmmm *he counts down using his fingers and their names* I am number six. **[Can you please tell me about a memory that you have from your childhood?]** It was when I normally wait for my father by the gate on Fridays to bring some sweets. **[So your father worked far away and only came back home on Fridays?]** No, he normally ... he stayed at home, but Friday was a special day as he would bring something special for us. **[Okay that was a nice gesture from him, so how was the relationship between you and your father?]** It was good. **[So you had a good relationship, will you describe the kind of person he is]** I did not have ... I did not spend much time with him, but the few years that I had with him were good. **[Few years? Did he pass away?]** No! He didn't pass away, he walked away from the family **[Oh, he left.]** Yes, he left the family. **[What do you think was the reason he left? Personally, from your own view, what do you think could be the reason?]** I know they fought a lot ... with my mother, you know, and and at times we had to go my uncles and stay there, all those type of things, so ... no.... but at the time, things were being hidden from us as children, no one was telling me what was really going on or happening. I do not want to guess that this was happening and honestly, I do not know. I tried to find out, but no one was telling me what was the cause. **[How does the fact that he left you when you were young and he was not part of your life afterwards make you feel?]** I think I was angry ... Yes, I was angry not seeing him ... You develop this bond with your father and suddenly he disappears and you do not know where he is and where to find him. You do not even know why, asking yourself questions what was the cause and so on. **[So, are you still angry at him or you have forgiven and let go?]** Yeah, no, I have forgiven him, because at ... sometime, I tried to find his brothers, they too did not know where he went. It looks like he just walked away and

disappeared from the face of the earth. No-one knows where he is **[Oh okay, can you tell me about your mother?]** I spent a lot of time with my mother, but because she used to drink ... that was another problem, and the state decided to remove us from my mother and place us in a children's home. **[How old were you when the state removed you from your mother?]** I think I was about five or six, I was still young **[And how was your relationship with her?]** My mother? I cannot tell you, I had a relationship with her, as I have said she used to drink a lot and was always drunk and all those sorts of things, so normally, there will never be a relationship under those circumstances. **[But she raised you, right? She was there during your childhood. How was she with you? Was she an involved parent or was she just a present parent?]** She left everything to my sister and brother to take care of us, which was me and the younger three. **[So you are saying your mother was an absent mother?]** You can say so. **[How was your stay at shelters and homes?]** I don't remember much about my stay there, but the experience was not nice, as they mistreated us. **[Then how did you leave the shelter?]** I just decided to leave and go to live with my brother in Johannesburg and also look for a job. **[Oh, so what jobs did you work?]** Odd jobs* around Gauteng. **[Okay, now I am going to take you back a bit and talk about your offences ... how many victims did you have?]** Let me give you a statistic: I was charged with forty rapes, thirty-eight murders, and six robberies. **[Oh okay, of all the forty rapes, did you have a relationship with any of your victims or were they just people you had just met?]** No, I never knew one of the victims. **[So, where did you meet them?]** It's in the street. **[So, you just saw an opportunity and used it?]** Yes. **[Were they violent approaches or did you sweet talk them into agreeing to go with you to the location where the rape took place?]** Come again? I want to hear the question. **[I want to understand how you approached your victims and how you got them to cooperate to your demands.]** Some of it was a violent situation, where you just grab a person, and some I told them I would help them find a job. **[Okay, so did all the forty rapes take place in forty different locations?]** No, it's not different locations...not forty different locations, some were in the same place, yeah, something like that. **[Alright, can you please give me a brief description of some of the locations where the rapes took place?]** Ahh, you are taking me back *he laughs* You are stretching my mind into something that I am trying to forget, but okay, they were in public places most of them, and they were not far apart normally. **[Okay, what is similar about the locations you chose?]** I never

looked at that. To me it's just a place....let me see ... they are dissimilar, they are not the same locations, cause ... is next to a dam, one to a railway and a police station. No, they are not the same. **[Okay, but aren't they in secluded places?]** Yeah, some are. **[Okay, did you have girlfriends growing up?]** Yes, I did a number. **[So how were your relationships with your girlfriends?]** Eish, I would say difficult a little bit, you know I mean, you had stuff growing up and some of the stuff you never settled them and do not understand what happened, so it was difficult and you have somebody this side that you must pay attention to, so it was complicated and difficult. **[What stuff was not settled?]** Like the issue of my father. **[Okay, how many relationships did you have, serious relationships?]** I think not many, if I count not many. **[But then did you see yourself settling down, having a family of your own?]** I would like to say I wished to, but I did not have time to. I wished to settle down, but I could not, because I have always had something that keeps troubling me, so I just walk away without talking to somebody telling me that what is troubling me and so on. **[So you think that is the reason for not having a serious relationship, because you never had a perfect picture of what a good relationship looks like?]** *he takes a deep sigh* I think so. **[Alright, what do you think was common between all your forty victims and what is it that attracted you to all your victims?]** I did not ... there was something common there. **[So you are saying there was nothing that looked the same in all of them?]** Nah...they didn't ... no, no, no, no, they were not similar, nothing similar at all, some were big and some were small figure-wise, some were slender. One thing they had in common, they were women. **[So nothing in them resembled something or someone close to you?]** Come again, can I get that question? **[There was not anything that resembled anyone that is close to you or you dearly loved and you just wanted to be close to them, because they reminded you of someone or something, maybe they looked familiar or they had features that the mother had or your sister?]** Remember, my lady, I was angry for the police, and wanted to get the attention of the officer, this is why my murder started next to the police station. **[Why were you angry with the police?]** Because I was caught for a case I did not commit; hence, I came to prison to serve that sentence and when I got out, I asked the state to review the case and they failed me and told me to "get out and go look for the person" myself (the first victim) and "if you come back to the police station again, I will lock you up again", then the anger started from there. **[So you first raped the victims and murdered them after?]** Yes. **[What was your**

reason for raping them before murdering them?] Huh you know, I cannot explain that. I ... I do not know what to say, I was just so angry, you do not understand yourself, you just do stuff sometimes. **[It was just a moment of being in a space where you did not think before acting?]** Yes. **[Oh okay, so during the process of raping your victims, do you ask them to undress or undressed them?]** Sometimes you ask, sometimes you do not. **[What did you use to make them undress themselves?]** It was not about ... sometimes you ask them to undress, sometimes you just have sex while she is still dressed, you just use your power. **[The ones you asked to undress themselves, what did you use to make them undress willingly?]** No, you just ask them. **[I mean, if you were to tell me to undress, I could easily say no. So you did not have a gun or knife to make them do it?]** No. **[Oh okay, so did you leave your victims at the location?]** On a normal basis, I would call the police to come and collect and I would leave the scene before they get there. **[How did you make contact without them knowing it was you?]** I contacted them telephonically and they knew it was me all the time. **[How come it was not easy to arrest you?]** He was not able to get me, because he sent me to do it. I mean he was the one that said go look for the person. So I told him that since he is sending me there and he is too busy to reinvestigate my case, then I will keep him busy, so the rape and murders were a communication with the officer that failed with my case. So on many cases, I would call him and tell him there is a body at this place. He would go and find it. He knows it was me, he still went and 'caught' someone else for my crimes. **[Okay, did you or do you have an increased need to feel wanted?]** By who? **[It might be anyone, your siblings, your parents, or even friends.]** No, I mean I have never contacted my family for the longest time. **[But do you not want them to reach out to you?]** I cannot force them to, but if they want to they can. **[Do you spend a lot of time thinking about your relationships?]** I used to think about them, but the same time I understand that I cannot take back the hands of time, so there is nothing I can do. I just have to go forward. **[Do you get jealous of other friendships or relationships your partner has?]** No, nah, I am not the jealous type. **[Do you idolise your partner?]** Oh my God, no, I do not believe in that. **[Do you seek reassurance from people close to you or around you that care about you?]** Assurance from the people close to me? **[Yes.]** Sometimes I do, just to see you are doing something right, but on a normal basis I learned to do things on my own and it's life. **[Do you have a hard time depending on your partner or other people close to you?]** Hard time?

No. I never need to depend on other people, I don't want to be a liability **[Do you prefer being on your own?]** I prefer being around people, although I am selective who I go with, but I prefer being around people. **[Do you feel like close relationships are not worth your time or the trouble?]** No, I think they are, they are worth the time and trouble, it's just that it is a waste of time to form relationships. **[Do you worry that forming close bonds with others will make you less independent?]** Not exactly. Less independent how? You can form bonds with people and still have your independence and allow them their independence too. **[Do you have conflicting feelings about relationships and intimacy?]** Yes, because I wanted to have serious relationships, but could not, because of my past stuff that I was to deal with. Also with intimacy, I believe it happens when there is a special bond between two people and I did not have any with anyone. Because I was angry. **[Do you develop romantic relationships, but worry that your partner will leave you?]** You will remember I said it was difficult for me, because I had other stuff to deal with. They did not give me time to even worry. I did not even worry if they stayed or they left. It did not matter. **[Do you push your feelings and emotions aside to try to avoid experiencing them?]** Yes, I do that, especially if I am in a relationship. I find it difficult, with my childhood and the environment that I grew up in and everything that happened, it's difficult to experience the emotions and feelings. **[Do you feel you are not good enough for the kind of relationship you would like to have?]** No, because I feel like they did not understand the type of person I am or where I come from. **[Do you not think if you spoke to them and explained that this is what happened to me and it resulted in me being a certain way they will understand?]** I do not think they will be able to handle it, you understand, you come with a lot and you sometimes feel you do not want to burden other people and so on, but now I feel if I did or do that it will be better. **[Okay, why did you not have that kind of mentality back then?]** You know, at a normal ... **[Was it because of lack of information or just pure ignorance?]** I think so ... mind you, things like therapy were not used back then and you did not have people to talk to, so it was everyone for themselves. I feel if I had an opportunity to see a social worker or psychologist, then I would have been a better person or it would have also prevented me from doing what I did. **[Do you trust that close people will be there for you when you need them?]** Now I do, but back then I did not. I felt like I was on my own. **[Do you find it easy to form intimate bonds**

with others?] I won't say it's easy, but I believe I can, but it's too hard, since now everyone is watching me and I cannot afford to fall.

THATO

TRANSCRIPTIONS

[Can you please tell me a bit about yourself?] Okay, I am from Limpopo. I speak Sepedi, I have three sisters and one half-brother that I share only the mother with. So I come from a family of six, including my mother. **[Okay, and where is your father?]** My dad? My dad passed away. **[Oh, when did he pass away?]** In 2017.* **[Oh okay, and how was your relationship with him?]** We used to get along very well, he was a good person, "be ele motho o mo right", he was an involved father. **[Can you please tell me about a memory that you have from your childhood?]** Is that my mother wanted the best for me. That she took me to good schools, " ke gore mokgekolo o be a nratela tse di botse o ntsentshitse dikolo tsa godimo o be a nyaka ke rutega". **[When you say "mokgekolo", are you referring to your mother or grandmother?]** "bomma"- my mother. **[Oh okay, so you were raised by your mother?]** No, I was brought up by my grandmother. **[Oh, so you stayed with your grandmother?]** Yes, I stayed with my grandmother. **[Why, if I might ask? Was she working far away from home?]** "Aowa go ile gwa ba le problem, bomma be ele motho o ile a lwala sebaka nyana baimile bafeleletsa ba ema ema le di ngaka b aba botsa gore bai mile bana ba babedi mara gona le batho ba go ba loya. Ge nako ya setswetsi e fihla gwa direga gore go phele ngwana o tee elego nna". - No, there was a problem whereby my mother was a sickly person for a while, until she went and consulted a traditional healer and she was told that she was carrying twins and other people were bewitching her. When the time for her to give birth came, only one twin survived and the twin was me. **[Oh, so you were a twin?]** Yes. **[Oh okay, can you tell me about your mother?]** My mother, I only found out after a while that she was my mother. **[Huh, who did you think she was to you, your sister?]** No, just a relative. I was raised by my grandmother, because of the problems my mother had when she was pregnant with me. **[Oh alright, how was the relationship with your grandmother?]** Oh *he lights up and smiles*, me and my grandmother got along very well. " nna le bokoko be re kwana too much". I spent most of my life with her, I mean from my early childhood,

she is the one that accompanied me to the crèche every day. That women did everything for me. **[Okay, that is nice. Now that you know who your real mother is, how is your relationship with her?]** It's okay. To me, she was the relative that wanted me to be educated and made sure I had the best education. So we had a good relationship, even before. **[Oh okay, were you staying with her after you found out?]** Yes, I stayed with her. **[Right and where is your grandmother and how did you feel about leaving her to stay with your mother?]** *He takes a deep breath*. "Koko o hlokofetse"- my grandmother passed away. **[Oh, when did she pass away?]** Eish, 2006. **[And how do you feel about koko's passing?]** Eish, I was heartbroken too much, because she was that one person who understood me. Someone I could go to and used to do things for me, you see. I miss her advices, telling me to stop staying out late and how she used to always want me close. She would take me everywhere she went. *he smiles* She used to share her grant with me. **[Were you the only grandchild that was staying with your grandmother?]** No, there were others as well, but she cared for me the most. **[Oh okay, then how is the relationship between you and your siblings?]** Yeah, we do get along very well, but I didn't get along with the one I come after. **[Why?]** Eish, there are a lot of problems, uhm, what I can tell you is that I was firstly arrested because of her, and secondly, her friend for rape and I did not do it. **[Oh, can you please explain to me further?]** It was in 2010* for theft. My sister claimed that I stole her jacket and I did not, and for raping her friend, which I did not do also **[What happened?]** I used to attend school in the neighbouring town, so that morning when I left home it was very cold, so I borrowed her jersey, only to find that the weather at school was completely different, it was too hot, so I had to take off the jersey and put it in the pocket of the table where I used to sit. When it was school out, I forgot to take the jersey. When I got home, I explained to my sister that I forgot the jersey at school, but she did not believe. Then I promised to come back with it the following day. Come the next day, when I get to school, the jacket was stolen from where I had left it. When I got back, I explained that I did not find it where I had last seen it, and she accused me of selling it and went to open a case against me. **[How does the fact that she chose not to believe make you feel?]** It does not sit well with me. I just did not think she can do me that way, I mean she is my sister. **[Oh okay, and when did the friend open the case against you?]** Then I was arrested again in 2010* for rape, which I did not do. **[You said your father passed away 2017, how was your relationship with him and did you know him as your father?]** Yes,

I knew him as my father, he raised me and he used to support me, as he used to bring groceries at my grandmother's place and he would also come to visit me. **[Did you have girlfriends growing up?]** Yes, but our relationships did not last ... some it was because they moved where they were staying, some I left them before they could leave me, judging by how they behaved. **[So you never had a serious relationship?]** No, not that I remember. **[Alright, since you were firstly arrested in 2010 for theft and then later for rape in 2010, when was your next arrest?]** It was in 2012 for rape as well. **[Oh, and how many victims did you have?]** Uhm, 11. **[Okay, out of all your 11 victims, did you have any sort of relationship with them?]** No, no relationship. **[So how did meet your victims?]** Ahh, it was just people I bumped into at our local complex, so I would see them and we do not know each other. So, I would meet them and take their belongings such as cell phones and then rape them. **[How did that happen?]** I would take them from the complex, walk with them to the cemetery that was in a not so secluded place, and some I took them to some house. **[What did you use to make them comply with your instructions?]** I would just threaten them with words. **[I mean a complex is a crowded place, so for a person to threaten me without any weapon, it will be easy for me to deny leaving with you.]** I would tell them that I would kill and show them a knife then left with them. **[So, looking at all the eleven victims, what is it that you found common or found attractive?]** Eish, I ended up regretting what I did, and I did not go to them with the aim of raping them, but I just wanted to take their money and belongings to sell, so I ended up losing control and raping them, using force. **[What made you rape them?]** Mostly it was the way they were dressed, I ended up lusting over them. **[Oh, so you were enticed by how they were dressed?]** Yes. **[Oh, so they wore clothes the same way?]** No, they did not wear similar clothes. **[So what attracted you?]** *lustful look and giving a description using his hands*, those small length skirts that showed thighs and those see through tights, uhm those that they wear without any underwear. **[Did you ask them to undress or did you undress them yourself?]** I asked them to. **[And they agreed?]** Remember, I told them I would kill them. **[Was your contact a violent one?]** No, they just complied to instruction. **[Okay, after you raped them and took their belongings, did you leave them at the scene or did you accompany them?]** Yes, I asked them to get dressed and I accompanied them back to the complex and told them that I'll see and left them there. **[So, when you tell them that you will see them, does it mean you will meet them again or after raping**

them, it meant that you guys were in a relationship?] I just wanted to bid them farewell, even though I knew there was no way I was going to see them again. **[So, were you not afraid that they will go to the police?]** I did not have that thought. **[Did not you threaten them not to report you?]** No, I did not. **[Do you have an increased need to feel wanted?]** Yes, I feel that I am important as well. **[Do you spend a lot of time thinking about your relationships?]** Yes, which ... my past relationships with people I used to date and how we left things. **[Do you get jealous of other friendships or relationships your partner has?]** No, I let them have other relations besides what we have. **[Do you idolise your partner?]** Yes, she agreed to be with me, right? **[Do you seek reassurance from people close to you or around you that care about you?]** No, I don't I know. I am capable, I don't need to be told. **[Do you have a hard time depending on your partner or other people close to you?]** No, I prefer doing things on my own. **[Do you prefer being on your own?]** No, I prefer being around people. **[Do you feel like close relationships are not worth your time or the trouble?]** No, not at all. **[Do you worry that forming close bonds with others will make you less independent?]** Mostly I feel it does, because you always want people around you. **[Do you have conflicting feelings about relationships and intimacy?]** The way things are, yes, because there are times where I wish I had a serious relationship, but at the same time, I fear that things might not work out the way I want them to, or they just leave me. **[Do you develop romantic relationships, but worry that your partner will leave you?]** Yes, it will be based on how she behaves, so I protect myself by leaving first. **[Do you push your feelings and emotions aside to try to avoid experiencing them?]** Yes, I try to avoid them by keeping myself busy and distracted from feeling them. **[Do you feel you are not good enough for the kind of relationship you would like to have?]** Yes, I deserve it, but I still have my fears of being left. **[Do you trust that close people will be there for you when you need them?]** Yes. **[Do you find it easy to form intimate bonds with others?]**

APPENDIX K: PROSPERO CERTIFICATE



PROSPERO
International prospective register of systematic reviews

Systematic Review of the Psychological Factors contributing to adult male being serial perpetrators in South Africa

Mapula Tryphosa Mothapo, Mpsanyana Makgahlela

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Citation

Mapula Tryphosa Mothapo, Mpsanyana Makgahlela. Systematic Review of the Psychological Factors contributing to adult male being serial perpetrators in South Africa . PROSPERO 2023 CRD42023478122 Available from: https://www.crd.york.ac.uk/prospero/display_record.php?ID=CRD42023478122

Review question

1. What are the early attachment experiences of South African male serial rapists?
2. What are the psychological motives/drives underlying serial rape behaviour?

Searches

We will perform a systematic review by searching selected global databases (Sabinet, JSTOR, Heinonline, Sage, Taylor & Francis, Springer, EBSCOhost, Elsevier ScienceDirect, PubMed, and Google Scholar).

We will include both quantitative and qualitative original papers, Due to the nature of the study and the limited number of studies on the phenomenon the researchers chose not to set a time frame or publishing date limit of the papers.

We will consider articles published in English

Types of study to be included

Types of study to be included:

- a). Studies will be included if they reported on early unpleasant experiences and attachment disruptions of serial rapists;
- b). studies conducted in South Africa; and,
- c). any type of original study (i.e. quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods studies)

Condition or domain being studied