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RAPE IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE EXPERIENCES OF WOMEN WHO HAVE BEEN RAPED BY A "KNOWN PERSON".

A CASE STUDY OF WOMEN AT A SHELTER IN JOHANNESBURG.

Corey Sarana Spengler

A dissertation submitted to the Wits School of Sociology, Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Sociology.

Johannesburg

2012/2013

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The experiences of women who have been raped by a "known person". A case study of women at a shelter in Johannesburg.

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THAT MAN (Alone I Can't Be Heard)



Written by an anonymous rape survivor

Once upon a time…
A man helped in making me
I once heard of a man
They say he is powerful
They say he is a father
They say he is a man
But I say he is just a person.

Thoughts, feelings run wild and explain yourself!
A man, A man, A man
What makes him a man?
Define man!

Is it the big hand that is meant to comfort and protect you?
No it touches you!
Is it the deep voice that is meant to give a fright and safety is in the air?
No it tells you "to not tell anyone"

Does he have a role?
Where is his pride?
Is he a man when he lays a hand on a woman?
When he lifts up the bottle
And he throws hurtful words at people
And is a threat to everyone.

A man, A man, A man
He who whipped me, he told me he would use me
If I run he will find me
It doesn't have to be him it would be the other one!

It doesn't take balls to be a man
It doesn't take a deep voice
It doesn't take strength
But it takes pride, sense of heart.

What man abuses a child and goes to sleep at night knowing what he did?
That man hurt me
What's stopping him from hurting you?
Pride + doing what's right = Preventing Wrong
Makes a man not that man
Alone I can't change the world but it starts with him.

IT WAS MY FAULT – NOW I HAVE TO LIVE WITH IT

Acknowledgements:

This research would not have been possible if it was not for the research site: the shelter and the research respondents, so first of all I would like to say thank you to them. The other people I need to thank for making this research possible are Dr Terry-Ann Selikow for all her guidance and support while I was doing the research. Lifeline Johannesburg (Norwood) for all the support they gave me when I was doing the data collection phase. Ms Harriet Etheredge from the Wits Writing Centre for all her assistance and guidance in the editing of my research report and for doing the final editing of the Masters dissertation. Most importantly I would like to thank the Lord for giving me the necessary strength during the research process.

I dedicate this research to all the women who have been raped in South Africa.

Plagiarism Declaration:

I acknowledge that this research is my own work, and where I have used any other authors' work I have made reference to them. I did the fieldwork and data collection personally and I attest and affirm that I have not submitted this information for any degree purposes before to any other university.

……..

Signed by: Corey Sarana Spengler

Date: ……

Abstract:

"…it was like someone was stealing a little bit of you every time – you don't know what is happening to you… it's by force – it's hurting me – I don't know what's going on…." (Sandy).

Police statistics in South Africa show that the numbers of reported rape cases are growing annually and studies have shown that a large percentage of women are not reporting their rapes. My research looks at the experiences of women who were raped by a "known person" and were at the time of the research living in a shelter, either as a result of abuse or because they were homeless. Through standpoint theory I made use of my own rape experience as an opener into the area of research and as a tool in obtaining the respondents for my research. In-depth interviews were utilised in obtaining the detailed narratives from the women who took part in the research. The narratives were based on the women's experiences of rape by a "known person". Within the research a "known person" included, amongst others, family members, "boyfriends", friends and intimate partners.

The aim of my research was to provide insight into the experience of being raped and to show how for women it is a lived experience that affected the course of their lives. The narratives were linked to the greater theoretical context of rape in South Africa. This was done in order to highlight the extent of the influence that the rape experience has on the survivor's life and the choices that they make. Overall, my research sought to give insight into the subject of rape in South Africa, in order to highlight the fact that rape goes beyond the statistics and to show how the women's individual rape experiences shaped their lives.

Within my research report I have highlighted the literature on rape, both globally and that which is specific to South Africa. The report then goes on to look at the theory of feminism, feminist standpoint theory, patriarchy as an element of feminism, stigma, rape myths or stereotypes and structure and agency. This is followed by an outline of the methodology used, an introduction to the research site and the detailed narratives of the respondents. This is all drawn together in the analysis chapter where the narratives are linked to both the literature and the theoretical framework. The conclusion summarises everything and notes the limitations, findings and the way forward for the research.

My research could be criticised for the small number of respondents, however, due to the nature of the research topic, it was imperative to obtain very detailed data. My research also chose to focus on women from a low socio-economic background and all the respondents were from an African or mixed-race racial group. However, due to their own personal experience of rape, other women will still be able to relate to the respondents' experience, due to the commonality of the violation of the female body. The narratives came from the respondents themselves and this increased the validity of the information. My own rape experience could have had both a positive and negative impact on my research. My rape story assisted in obtaining the respondents as well as in my understanding of the area of research, however, it could also have led to possible bias on my behalf as the researcher, and it is therefore acknowledged.

My research was largely able to confirm what was found in the literature and it shows how a girl child who has been abused is more likely to be abused as an adult. It also focused on how the family was able to hide the abuse and keep the women from seeking the necessary help. It highlighted the power men held over women due to patriarchy and the role that virginity played for the respondents. The role of religion in the respondent's post-rape experience was also looked at. Following on from my research there are areas that can be strengthened as well as areas for further research. One example of this was the interlinked issues that were raised regarding family, virginity and culture.

Acronyms:

ANC- African National Congress

CEDAW- Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women

CERSA - Administrative Science Studies and Research Centre

C/F – Carry Forward / Carry From

CSA – Child Sexual Abuse

CSI – Corporate Social Investments

CSVR- The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation

DV- Domestic Violence

GBV- Gender Based Violence

IPV- Intimate Partner Violence

IPVAW- Intimate Partner Violence Against Women

JHB – Johannesburg

MRC- Medical Research Council

POWA- People Opposing Women Abuse

SA – South Africa

SADC- South African Development Community

SAP – South African Police

SAPS – South African Police Services

TEARS- Transforming Education About Rape and Sexual abuse

TLAC- Tshwaranang – Legal Advocacy Centre

TRC - Truth and Reconciliation Commission

UN- United Nations

VAW- Violence Against Women

WHO – World Health Organisation

Definitions:

Gender Based Violence

In 1993 at the United Nations (UN), the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, the first approved definition of "gender-based violence"[1]was defined as:

> *"Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life."(United Nations Population Fund Chapter 7, 2003)*

Sexual Violence

The World Health Organisation (WHO) adopted a globally recognised definition of sexual violence in their "World Report on Violence and Health" as:

> *"any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed, against a person's sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work" (WHO 2007b).*

Rape

The new definition of rape was defined in Act No. 32, of (2007). Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act 2007 (http://www.saflii.org), and prescribes that:

> *Chapter 2, part 1- Rape and compelled rape,*
> *Rape*
> *(3) Any person ("A") who unlawfully and intentionally commits an act of sexual penetration with a complainant ("B"), without the consent of B, is guilty of the offence of rape.*

Rape by a known person

"Non-consensual sex between people who know one another" (French 2003: 298-299).

Patriarchy

The power men have over women, where the woman is ruled by her father and later her husband. Today it also refers to the belief or system that permits men authority over women (Vetten, 2000: 57).

[1] Also cited by www.csvr.org.za

Chapter 1: Introduction

"....when I told everyone at home that my sister's boyfriend raped me – they told me that I asked for it – they called me names, they told me I wanted to take my sister's boyfriend" (Lerato).

1.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to introduce the sphere of research and why it is an important area of study. It outlines the research focus, the aims and objectives of the research and the reasons why I chose to conduct this research. My research intends to give an insight into the experiences of women who have been raped by a "known person". The aim of this being to provide very detailed accounts of women's rape experiences in order to highlight how rape is more than merely statistics but rather a "lived experience". Within my research the woman's experiences are linked to the broader social context taking into account the long-term effects based on a breakdown of trust, relationships and families. This segment then concludes by giving an overview of the research report that follows.

1.2 Research Aims and Objectives

The key focus of my research is: **The experiences of women who have been raped by a "known person". A case study of women at a shelter in Johannesburg.** A shelter in the inner city was selected as the site for the research and permission was granted to make use of the shelter[2]. Rape is an important area of research due to the fact that rape is a challenge in South Africa as evidenced by the rape statistics, which show an increasing trend, as discussed in chapter 2. South Africa has also been termed the "rape capital of the world" (Coetzer, 2005: 69; Meel, 2008: 69). The crime statistics show that rape is widespread, both in South Africa and globally. Another reason that makes this an important area of research is the negative social and emotional effects of the rape on the woman or child, which my research will illustrate. It is also important to acknowledge and illustrate the substantial long-term effects that rape has on the individual, family and community.

In my research there was a focus on rape by persons known to the women, rather than rape by persons unknown to the women. The reasons that I chose to do research on rape by a "known person" is, firstly, because there is a body of literature on "stranger violence" and intimate partner violence (IPV), however there is little literature on rape by a "known person". An intimate partner refers to a person who a woman is married to or in a sexual relationship. A "known person" refers to someone that a person has met before the rape or has a relationship with; for example, a family member, a friend or a community member. Secondly, rape by a "known person" is not seen as "real rape" (Woods & Porter, 2008) and would therefore result

[2] This consent letter does not appear within the appendix as it gives the name of the shelter which will compromise the confidentiality of the report.

in a range of experiences different to those seen in "stranger violence" and IPV. As a result, society is still largely unaware of the extent of the problem of rape by a "known person". Thirdly, in line with standpoint theory I am a survivor of rape by a "known person" and this has stimulated my interest in this area of research[3]. My own rape experience also shaped the theoretical and methodological framework for the research. Fourthly, through my research I aim to give women a safe space in which to voice their experiences in line with the objectives of feminist research. In the conclusion I reflect further on my own experiences throughout the process of conducting this research. This was included based on the importance of my own rape experience to this research; it highlights how I was able to deal with the sensitive nature of this research. The overall purpose of my research was to highlight that rape goes beyond the statistics and shows how the woman's individual rape experience/s helped to shape their lives.

I used the following questions, which guided, but did not determine, the interviews, as the women's stories determined how the interviews unfolded[4]:

1. What their experiences of rape by a "known person" was.
2. Who the rapist was to them (what was their relationship to the rapist).
3. The role of agency and constraining structures and the effects of this on the participants' rape experience.
4. How the rape experience, which refers to the actual act of rape, as well as the range of experiences afterwards, which may include reporting or not, the healing process and the decision to go to the shelter, affected the women.
5. How the rape changed their lives.
6. The role of the shelter.
7. Any other prompt questions that arose from their stories as their stories guided the interview.

It was important to highlight that the women's narratives of the rape would shift and change as the stories evolved. I made use of in-depth interviews which were guided by the women's stories and analysed through narrative analysis. Within my research I attempted to make use of the term "rape survivor" as it reflected that the women had survived the rape experience.

[3] See my rape experience as appendix 6. My current and future involvement within the area of violence against women (VAW) and academic plans can be found in the final paragraph of my conclusion to the dissertation.
[4] The interview guide can also be found as appendix 2 a.

However, some of the literature made use of the phrase "victim", and as a result of this, the terms were used interchangeably within this report. When referring to the research respondents the term "respondents" was used to show how they were not passive subjects but active participants in the research.

I used qualitative research to show how rape survivors were not just a figure or a percentage in government and police statistics, but rather individuals who lived through the experience of being raped. I focused on women who had been abused by a "known person" and were in a shelter, either for protection, or because they were homeless. This meant that the women who took part in the research were from a low socio-economic background. I acknowledge that rape occurs across all economic classes but have chosen to focus on women within the lower socio-economic group. I will, through a case study of one shelter, detail the experiences of women on the ground that have not only experienced, but lived through, being raped. Through the research narratives I captured how the rape affected them and changed their lives. This was in order to fill a gap in this area of research and go beyond what was done by other researchers.

1.3 Structure of the Report

The literature review (chapter 2) commences by examining gender-based violence (GBV) globally and defining rape within South Africa as per the legislation. The social context of rape in South Africa, as well as the changes in the definition of rape in 2007, influenced a woman's experience of rape. The literature review then moves to consider the history of rape in South Africa, showing the changing rape statistics and embedding this within the social context of rape in South Africa. Rape is then examined in the unique social context of South Africa and the role that women's agency played in their rape experience. The literature review ends by looking at the reporting or not reporting of rape, as well as at the role religion plays. This section is followed by the theoretical framework (chapter 3) which is largely embedded within the feminists' theory of rape. It explains how I make use of feminist research whereby I aimed to give the women a space in which they would be able to talk about (voice) their experiences without fear. Through this I attempt to "correct the male-oriented perspective that has predominated in the development of social science" (Neuman, 1997: 80). Under feminist theory of rape I also look at standpoint theory and patriarchy. The theoretical framework also focuses on stigma, rape myths or stereotypes and the structure and agency debate.

The next section outlines the Methodology, used in the research process (chapter 4). It explains feminist standpoint theory as it relates to research, and how the research with the respondents was conducted through in-depth interviews. These interviews were guided by the respondents' experiences which enabled the collection of detailed data. Through the use of narrative analysis I was able to look at the women's stories as a whole (Hansen, 2006). The narratives not only focused on the participant's rape experience but went deeper to examine the underlying issues. The overall aim of my research was to shed light onto the epidemic of rape in South Africa. The research site, the shelter, and the respondents are introduced within this chapter and an overview of the interviews and the process of analysis (narrative analysis) is given.

The subsequent chapter gives a detailed overview of the respondents' Narratives (chapter 5) and an insight into the diverse and common experiences of the respondents. Chapter 6, Analysis, makes use of the literature review and the theoretical framework in order to analyse the research narratives, using narrative analysis. The Conclusion, (chapter 7), sums up the research and highlights the critical findings. This chapter also examines the limitations and strengths of my research and the implications of my research for future studies in this area. A reflexive piece is also included, which gives an overview of the experience that I had both as a researcher, and as a survivor of rape, doing research on rape. The final conclusion gives feedback on where the research respondents are at the end of the research process.

1.4 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to give an introduction into this area of research, and acknowledge the importance of this research as well as the main aims of my research. It also briefly explained the reasons that I chose to do this research and why I chose to focus on rape by a "known person". The chapter then concluded with an overview of the entire research report. The next chapter defines the important definitions of gender- based violence and rape. It also gives the updated definition of rape in South Africa. This is followed by a look at the rape statistics which highlight the extent of the problem of rape in South Africa. The social context of rape and previous studies done on rape are then examined, with a look at the literature on the reporting and non-reporting of rape, and the role of religion.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

"…And he [Lesedi's boyfriend] was like don't go around telling people I forced myself on you. Because if you had just done, you are my girlfriend – I am your boyfriend – let's just do it the right way next time, we don't have to fight – I [Lesedi's boyfriend] am so impressed that you are a virgin you know…" (Lesedi)

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter covered the introduction and an overview of the area of research of this dissertation and noted the importance of this research. This chapter will focus on defining the concepts of gender-based violence and rape, including rape by a "known person". The rape statistics in South Africa are given to show the extent of rape in the country. A range of local and international literature exploring rape is also included in this chapter. In this section there will be a particular focus on the unique social and cultural aspects of rape in South Africa.

2.2 Definition of Gender-Based Violence with a Focus on Rape

The definitions of gender-based violence (GBV) and rape, both globally and specific to South Africa, are outlined below to provide a foundation for this research. In 1993, the "UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women" broadened the meaning of GBV (UN Population Fund, 2005). This helped to establish an internationally recognised definition of GBV. For example, the South African Police (SAP) statistics refer to a category of "all sexual offences" which includes rape, attempted rape and sexual harassment. In 2007, the World Health Organisation (WHO) adopted an updated, globally recognised definition of sexual violence in their "World Report on Violence and Health" as:

> *"any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed, against a person's sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work" (World Health Organisation, 2007b, Tianna, 2010:12).*

This definition is broad and covers all aspects of "sexual violence". The updated classification of rape in South Africa was passed into law in December 2007. The new definition of rape was defined in *Act No. 32, 2007 Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act 2007* (http://www.saflii.org), and prescribes that:

> *"Chapter 2, part 1- Rape and compelled rape,*
> *Rape*
> *(3) Any person ("A") who unlawfully and intentionally commits an act of sexual penetration with a complainant ("B"), without the consent of B, is guilty of the offence of rape."*

The Act goes into greater detail about other aspects that constitute rape and "expanded the definition of rape to include sodomy and penetration by objects other than a penis" (M&G online, 2006; Minister for Justice and Constitutional Development, 2003). The change in the

definition of rape in South Africa in 2007 impacted on the way rape cases were defined and conducted through the court system (Arts & Smythe, 2007).

Acquaintance rape is defined by French (2003: 298-299) as "non-consensual sex between people who know one another" and this definition included what was termed as "date rape" if the date was someone known to the woman. In my research, the term "known person" was used to include rape by an acquaintance, family member, friend or intimate partner. Intimate partner violence (IPV) included violence from a "current or former spouse, boyfriend" (Fox, Jackson, Hansen, Gasa, Crewe & Sikkema, 2007: 584). Rape within marriage also became a "criminal offence" with the Prevention of Family Violence Act, 133 of 1993. Prior to this, a husband could not be convicted of raping his wife (Albertyn, 2011: 141).

2.3 Rape Statistics in South Africa

In 1994/95 the number of reported rape cases was 44 751 while in 2009/10 it was 68 332. The jump in the figures between 1994/95 and 2008/09 has partly been accounted for by the 2007 change in the legal definition of rape and indecent assault in South Africa (Kane-Berman, 2010).

From April 2011 to March 2012 64 514 sexual offenses were reported in South Africa. Gauteng had the highest rate of sexual crime reported, with 12 419 incidents over this period. In 2011/12 rape in South Africa was 94.9 per 100 000 of the population. In the period April 2012 to March 2013 the rape statistics for a population size of 52 274 945 rose to 66 387, an increase of 2.9% compared to the previous year (www.saps.gov.za). In the SAP crime statistics for 2010/11, it was noted that 30.8 % of all crimes were contact crimes and of these contact crimes, 10.4% were sexual offences amounting to 66 196 cases (www.saps.gov.za). Research has shown that 10% of rapes result in pregnancy. This is termed as "forced motherhood" and it is another unwanted consequence of rape (Mapombere, 2010/11: 69).

In 2009, the Medical Research Council (MRC) investigated rape in South Africa and found that only 1 in 25 rapes were reported annually (United States Government, 2011). Other research shows that "one-in-four men in South Africa have admitted to rape" (M&G Online, 2009).[5] The 1999 research report done by the MRC in Cape Town reflected how violence towards women is a "problem in South Africa". The report found that more than "40%" of

[5] Although it must be noted that these statistics only account for those cases which were reported to the police, as not all women reported being raped, due to possible "secondary victimisation" (UN Government, 2011: 4).

men in the research admitted to abusing women, either bodily or sexually, in the 10 years before the study (Abrahams, Jewkes, Laubsher, 1999). While this research shocked South Africa it is imperative to acknowledge that it was conducted in one area, so its generalisation to the rest of South Africa is questionable. However, the research does highlight the magnitude of the dilemma of rape in South Africa.

A report in the *South Africa Crime Quarterly* 2012 reflected that "28-37%" of men in South Africa have committed rape (Jewkes, Vetten, & Jina *et al.,* 2012). Studies have shown that both "household studies" and "police statistics" do not encapsulate the full degree of the problem of "sexual coercion" within South African communities (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002: 1237). Within French's research (2003) it was seen how "women found it difficult to define their experience as rape" due to the rapist being a "known person". This was also seen in research done by Lira, Koss and Russo, 1999. It was important for a woman to define their experience as rape before they would be able to report the rape. This had an effect on the rape statistics as these women were often either unwilling to report the rape or unaware that they could. This meant that these rapes did not form part of the recorded statistics and meant that the magnitude of rape by a "known person" was unknown. The women who chose to open rape cases were often "more likely" to make a decision to withdraw the charges. In addition, studies on rape in South Africa are affected by the different ethnicities, languages, incomes, cultures and education levels of South African people (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002).

Hamber (2009: 9) argues that the "high levels of crime" in South Africa are a result of "the legacy of the civil conflict of the past". This is a reference to South Africa's history of apartheid, which has created what has been termed "a culture of violence[6]" (Robertson, 1998: 139). Robertson (1998) attributes the high rape statistics in South Africa to the feeling of emasculation amongst men and also to their need for power. Breetzke (2012: 300) carried out an analysis of crime in South Africa and noted that the "crime pandemic in South Africa is a natural occurrence in transitional societies". Bower (2003: 85) argues that the history of apartheid, and the subsequent poverty in South Africa, has made children "especially and increasingly vulnerable to abuse and neglect". She highlighted that while "poverty did not cause abuse," the rights of children are violated when they live in poverty and this makes them vulnerable to abuse. Studies by Jewkes (2002: 1424) noted how "poverty and associated stress" played a vital role in IPV. Jewkes and Abrahams (2002), highlighted how,

[6] Also noted by: Lutya, 2009:5

within South Africa, violence against women needed to be understood in the culture created by poverty. Their research demonstrated that in poor areas, young men had few options and little to occupy themselves. This resulted in men pursuing women as an "available and affordable" way of amusing themselves and keeping busy (Jewkes & Abraham 2002: 1239). Women who live in poverty are often forced to be in places that made them vulnerable to abuse, especially within "rural areas" in South Africa. For example, some rural women needed to walk long distances often through isolated areas (Jewkes & Abraham, 2002).

Research on rape is especially important in South Africa (WHO, 2005), given that it has been demonstrated globally how violence against women is an obstacle to the attainment of gender "equality and development" (Meel, 2008; UN General Assembly, 2006). South Africa has the highest rate of rape worldwide, and rape in South Africa is the crime most unlikely to result in a guilty verdict or jail time (Coetzer, 2005; Meel, 2008). In this research I have chosen to focus on rape by a "known person" largely due to the extent of the problem in South Africa. This is seen in SAP statistics which point out that 50-80% of cases in 2002-03 were perpetrated by an individual known to the victim (http:// www.saps.gov.za). This was supported by a study of 9 623 court rape dockets which showed that 76% of offenses were committed by someone known to the victim (Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation CSVR, 2007).

2.4 "The Social Context of Rape in South Africa"[7]

Within a societal context, rape was still largely viewed as a woman being dragged into the bushes and brutally raped by a man whom she had never met before (Woods & Porter, 2008). A woman, who was raped by a "known person", often exhibited little physical evidence, and was, as a result, treated as if nothing had happened. In many rapes by a "known person", the woman came into contact with the perpetrator on a regular basis, or even, in cases where the man was a family member, lived in the same house as him. This could result in detrimental emotional effects on the woman, as in many cases, the woman was expected to act as if nothing had happened. Many women did not understand what rape by a "known person" was, and as a result, were unable or unwilling to define their experiences as rape (Etaugh & Bridges, 2006).

[7] Term also used by: www.svri.org

Rape, and the fear of rape, played a role in South Africa throughout the apartheid years. Evans (2001), outlines how the fear of "black men" raping white women meant the need to protect white women became a central feature of "white politics". This was also at a time when "black men" were entering the work force and, consequently, white men felt that they were in danger of losing control of their families (Evans, 2001: 27). As a result of this apartheid history, women from different racial groups have had different experiences of abuse; however the one feature common for all women was that of "patriarchy" (Frenkel, 2008).

The "real" experiences of women cannot be understood by looking only at statistics. An examination of the "personal lived experiences" of women as "survivors of rape" is also called for. Sindiwe Magona, as quoted in Moffett (2006), condemns the debate that blames rape in South Africa today on apartheid. Moffett looks at three reasons why apartheid cannot be used as the cause of high rape statistics. Firstly, "it creates discourses that resemble a series of excuses". Secondly, "the degradation of masculine pride as reasons for rape offers no critic of patriarchy." Lastly, "it unwittingly blames those who were oppressed during apartheid for the rape" (Moffett, 2006: 134). The reference to apartheid creates a misapprehension that a large percentage of rapists are black. Although this is the case, it is, however, due to the fact that a larger percentage of the population is "black" (Moffett, 2006: 135). Moffett also argues that "in post-apartheid South Africa" it is no longer "men" experiencing a "crisis of masculinity" who use sexual violence as a way "to keep women in a subordinate position" (Sigsworth, 2009: 20). What we are seeing now is that women as a whole, rather than the African people, have become the "potentially powerful, unstable subclass that must be kept in their place" (CSVR, Department of Safety and Security, 2008: 94). My research focused on women as a class which has been oppressed by men.

Rape in South Africa and its causes need to be understood and embedded within the larger social context. As seen by Mills (1959), an issue becomes a sociological issue once it moves from being a private trouble to a societal issue. Rape has been recognised as a dilemma that requires action on a societal level because it has an effect on society as a whole. Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) argued that rape in South Africa should be identified in terms of the "gender inequality" within the country. Studies have found that rape by a "known person" is more likely to occur indoors, as opposed to stranger rape, which occurs outdoors; and rape by a "known person" also makes use of emotional abuse, while stranger rape involves more

physical force (Woods & Porter, 2008). Research has found that rape by a "known person" occurs more often than stranger rape (Etaugh & Bridges, 2006). A study done by Vetten, Jewkes *et al.*, (2008: 7) on rape cases in Johannesburg, found that young girls were "more likely to be raped by a "known person", a friend or acquaintance or neighbour." In approximately one in three cases, the girl was raped by a relative (Vetten, Jewkes *et al.*, 2008: 7). South African statistics have shown that it is more probable for a woman to be raped within her home (Coetzer, 2005). A study on reported rape cases in South Africa found that "more than half of all rapes occurred in a home" however, it was not the woman's home but rather that of the perpetrator (Vetten, Jewkes *et al.*, 2008: 35).

Within the South African context most women are affected by rape, even those who have not been raped live with a fear of being raped in public spaces. Dosekun (2011: 98) carried out research with fifteen women in South Africa who "attested to never having been raped". In the findings it was seen that these women took rape into account in their everyday lives by avoiding places of danger, such as empty parking lots. The participants noted that even though they were aware that most rapes happened at home, they were fearful of being raped in public spaces. Research has shown that womens' behaviours also "evolve to reduce the risk of being raped" (McKibbin *et al.*, 2008: 92). Within intimate relationships, research has shown that there are two main causes of the abuse. Firstly, the "unequal position of women" both within the "relationship" and in the community, and secondly, "the normative use of violence in conflict" (Jewkes, 2002: 1426).

In South Africa the subordination of women is recognised as a challenge in both the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. This has resulted in women being recognised as disadvantaged and this has become an issue that needs to be corrected within policy (Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities, 2010). The Bill of Rights in South Africa (the Constitution, Act 108 of 1996) assigns equal rights to men and women. With the end of the apartheid era, South Africa signed various international agreements which have bound them to make every endeavour to "protect women from discrimination and abuse in all spheres" (ANC Gender paper, 2012: 2 & 23). South Africa is unique because they have recognised the challenge of violence against women at a government level, as seen within the gender policy. By allocating resources to gender-based issues a step has been taken towards highlighting "violence against women" in South Africa (MRC & CERSA,

1999). However this has not translated and many women do not feel the benefits of the stand taken at a government level (WHO, 2007b).

Child Sexual Abuse (CSA) was seldom mentioned until the 1970s and Ussher (2012: 123) noted that it was an "invisible crime". CSA was also not spoken about by children themselves, largely due to "threats" from the perpetrator. The perpetrator often attempted to convince the child that it was normal, so that the child would not disclose the abuse. For example, one woman explained how her uncle had threatened to abuse her younger sister if she mentioned her own abuse (Ussher, 2012). Ussher highlights the need for research on CSA and notes how it leaves women or girl children "vulnerable to re-victimisation". Across all cultures, age at the start of the violence highlights the "risk factors", and recognition of this would help to "prevent abuse" (Dunkle, Jewkes, Brown *et al.*, 2004: 238).

Studies have shown that women who were "sexually abused" as children are prone to being "sexually abused" later in life (Carlson & Shafer, 2010). Research has also demonstrated that "children who are abused" are prone to being abused in adult relationships as a result of the way they have learnt to "tolerate aggressive behaviour" (Jewkes, 2002: 1426). It has been documented how women who have experienced abuse react differently in abusive situations, and how they are vulnerable to future abuse. Women who were abused as children tended to be hyper-sensitive in normal situations, and therefore, overlooked warning signs of potentially threatening situations. Men are also able to pick up the woman's vulnerability and to take advantage of that. When previously-abused victims are "intoxicated" their possibility of being sexually abused increases further. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, drinking alcohol "impairs their problem-solving and their escape behaviours" and secondly, the places that they are drinking in, make it more likely for them to "encounter potential perpetrators". Men are also under the impression that women who are intoxicated are "more sexually responsive" (Messman-Moore & Long, 2003: 574).

In South Africa, culture is considered to be a contributory aspect to violence against women. "Culture can be most usefully viewed as a shifting set of discourses, power relations and social, economic and political processes, rather than as a fixed set of beliefs and practices" (UN General Assembly, 2006: 31). Men who grow up in a violent environment are more prone to use "violence to obtain sex". This is known as a "culture of violence" (Wallace, 1999: 302). This reflects the need to understand the culture within South Africa and to recognise the way in which it has contributed to the inferior position of women. Certain

cultural practices assist in keeping women inferior to men, especially within the home, and they reflect the power that men hold over women, largely due to the ideals of ownership. The overall argument is that violence against women "is grounded in power imbalances between men and women" (Heise, 1994: 139). Feminists view rape as a way men attempt to hold power over women and keep them subordinate by maintaining sexual inequality (Anderson & Doherty, 2008). The feminist understandings of rape will be explored within the next chapter on the theoretical framework for the research.

Culture can be studied in South African society by studying "cultural practices," some of which are outlined by Maluleke (2012: 428) as "virginity testing, forced marriages, widows' rituals, female genital mutilation…" These cultural practices "reflect the values and beliefs held by members of a community …" (Maluleke, 2012: 428).

A virgin is a woman who has never had sexual intercourse and whose hymen is still intact. Various cultures and religions assign "considerable importance to the premarital virginity" (Hegazy & Al-Rukban, 2012: 112). Maluleke (2012) notes that the importance of virginity is associated with the ability of women to marry "honourable men". A woman is expected to be virtuous by maintaining her virginity, while a man is allowed to be sexually promiscuous. Jewkes and Abrahams (2002: 1240) also note that, while families want to "protect their girls", they do not bring up male children to "respect" a woman and her right to say "no" to sex.

The idea of testing for a woman's virginity is based on the "false assumption" that the hymen can only be broken through sexual interaction/ penetration (Maluleke, 2012). When a woman is married her virginity represents the "honour of the family" and the evidence of her virginity is seen through bleeding during the first sexual encounter (Hegazy & Al-Rukban, 2012: 113). Women, while being brought up to fear rape, are also taught to be proud of their virginity, and not to allow a man to have sex with them until they are married. Women who have been raped are likely to be socially ostracised, even if they lost their virginity through rape, as explained in chapter 3. The practice of virginity testing shows a bias against women, as men are not tested (Maluleke, 2012).

2.5 Research on Rape in South Africa

Most of the literature on 'rape in South Africa' is on IPV. This literature is relevant to my research, but it is significant to note that the emphasis of my research is on rape by a "known person", and therefore IPV would only be one part of this. While there is a large amount of literature on IPV, as well as on stranger rape, rape by a "known person" is the grey area that has not been as thoroughly researched. The focus of my research will be on the experiences of women who have been raped by a "known person" and are now afforded protection by a shelter. A similar research report was published in the *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* by Campbell and Wasco (2005) which examined research on rape in South Africa over the past 20 years. This report noted that future research needed to look into the qualitative aspects of rape, which are equally as important as the large variety of quantitative studies that have been conducted on the topic (Campbell & Wasco, 2005).

Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) did a synopsis of rape in South Africa using rape statistics and other studies done on rape and sexual violence in South Africa. Within their research they found that "non-consensual or coerced sexual intercourse" was very common, and was likely to occur at some stage in a "woman's life". The right to sexual integrity being the "most commonly violated of all human rights in South Africa" (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002: 1240). Research done by Sikweyiya, Jewkes & Morrell (2007: 51) with South African men on their attitudes towards rape, found that men found it easy to talk about rape, due to their belief that "…rape could only occur if a woman got pregnant in the act, if physical force was used, particularly weapons, and if the man had scratches to prove she had fought him off". Within this research it was seen how men often viewed rape as an inconvenience for them, rather than acknowledging it as abuse wielded against women (Sikweyiya, Jewkes & Morrell, 2007).

A study using open-ended questionnaires done in the United States of America (USA) (2000) as quoted in Chasteen (2001) examined how women understood rape. This research tried to analyse women's understanding of rape, both by those who had been raped, and those who had not. As in my study, they wanted to understand a woman's experienc**e** of being raped, and the subsequent post-rape experiences the woman faced. This research concluded that there was a need for information on how individuals "define and interpret sexual assault" (Chasteen, 2001: 136). My own research aims to provide more information in this area with its focus on how people experience, as well as define, sexual assault.

Yang (2010) draws attention to some of the limitations found within statistical research in this area. One of the limitations is that it aims to examine and obtain information from a large number of respondents, and therefore, is unable to go into great detail. For example, statistical research largely makes use of an arrangement of questions that often require a "yes" or "no" response. These types of questions would not enable the respondent to go into details of their views and feelings concerning a particular topic. Statistical research also aims to "describe numerically what has already happened". This means that it will not be able to take into account "some unobservable process that may be at work" (Yang, 2010: 9). Other limitations include that it is unable to observe a phenomenon over a period of time and that the data obtained is rather "static" to the time that it was collected (Yang, 2010).

Women who experienced IPV also reported experiencing other types of violence, including "physical, sexual, psychological and financial" (Fox, Jackson, Hansen *et al.,* 2007: 588). For these women rape was only one part of the abuse. Fox, Jackson *et al.,* (2007: 588) interviewed fifteen women who had experienced IPV and it was found that eleven of the women "were repeatedly raped or forced to have sex with their partners". These women did not experience one rape, but rather multiple rapes over a period of time. Combined with this, there are many cultural beliefs around rape within marriage, and women are often blamed for "withholding sex" from their husbands. As a result of the beliefs around men's need for sex, rape within marriage is seen as being "less serious," and in these rapes the woman is given the majority of the blame (Bennice & Resick, 2003: 232- 233). A study on IPV in Sub-Saharan Africa in 2010 found that women who lived in communities where violence against women was a "norm" were more likely to experience violence from their husbands (Uthman, Lawoko & Moradi, 2010).

There is literature on the dynamics of relationships and how, within them, women are seen to hold power and to make use of their agency. Firmin (2013) explains how adolescent relationships are open to perpetuating gender inequalities. Rasool (2013) explains that within a "discourse of love" women often hold onto the romanticised events that took place when their relationship started. These women believe that the "violence is temporary" and that the man will keep the promises that he made at the start of the relationship. Women use their agency in deciding to stay in an abusive relationship, due to beliefs that "love is timeless," which is an idealised concept, and therefore remain dedicated to the relationship. In seeking

a “happy-ever-after” ending to their relationship, women hold onto the “declarations of love” made by their partner, even if the partner has been abusive (Rasool, 2013: 60).

Rasool (2013) reflects on how once the women realise that these romanticised notions of love are just an “illusion”, they are able to seek help. Through this realisation women recognise that their partners do not “love them” and at times begin to hate their partners. It is at this point that the women will be willing to leave the abuse (Rasool, 2013). This shows how the choices a woman makes within a marriage or an abusive relationship is linked to the taught notions of marriage. Only once the woman stops believing these taught notions is she able to use her agency and leave the abuse. The women within these relationships do have power to leave but they often make the choice to stay linked to their own belief and dreams of a perfect and “timeless” love. Herlihy (2013) highlights how women believe that a man loves you when they hit you, due to the belief that love is linked to “pain”. This also resulted in the normalisation of abuse as it was believed to be part of a “loving relationship” (Herlihy, 2013: 83). The above reflects how women hold power in relationships through their choice to accept violence and through their decisions to stay in the relationship.

Selikow and Mbulaheni (2013) look at the transactional nature of relationships which have been termed “transactional relationships”. Within these relationships women hold power, as they enter them willingly, and accept gifts, with the subtle agreement that the man will receive sex in return. These relationships are distinguished from “sex work” in that these women do not accept money, but instead, the man pays for the women’s needs or buys them things. This was due to the fact that the giving of money reflected “a lack of care” (Selikow & Mbulaheni, 2013:89). However, some women entered these relationships through the receiving of gifts but were not willing to give sex in return, and this led to “sexual abuse” as the man felt entitled to sexual intercourse. It was seen that by accepting the gifts, the women were consenting to “meet their side of the bargain” (Selikow & Mbulaheni, 2013: 91).

2.6 Reporting or Not Reporting Rape

Allen (2007) did an analysis of the rape data in the USA and found that there were key reasons that would motivate women to report being raped. According to his findings, women “who sought medical advice” and “had evidence” were more likely to report the rape. The findings also noted that if the perpetrator was a stranger then the chances of the woman reporting the rape were higher. Other reasons for reporting the rape included:

- "Living in a supportive community,"
- When "a weapon was used,"
- When the crime "involved theft" (Allen, 2007: 633 – 634).

The reasons given for not reporting the rape or sexual assault included:

- The fact that "nothing would be done,"
- That they did not want to "bother the police,"
- That the incident had been "a private matter,"
- "Fear" of the consequences,
- Rather told "someone else", and
- That they felt it "was not important" or "did not want to get involved" (Allen, 2007: 635).

Research on rape cases in South Africa supports the above reasons as it has been found that cases in which the women had "genital injuries" where more inclined to "progress to trial and more likely to result in a conviction" (Vetten, Jewkes *et al.*, 2008: 55).

Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) support most of the reasons given above, adding to this a fear of both the "police" and the "perpetrator" - fear of the police, as they might not define their experience as rape, fear of the perpetrator, as they might hurt them for reporting the rape. Another obstacle for women in South Africa is that they frequently do not have "physical access to police" in order for them to report the rape (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002: 1232). Ahrens (2006) carried out research in the USA where eight women, survivors of rape, were interviewed. (Ahrens, 2006) highlights how speaking about the rape could have "detrimental consequences" for the women, due to how people responded to them. Through these women's stories, three reasons for keeping "silent" about their experiences were identified. Firstly, the reactions from "professionals led survivors to question whether future disclosure would be effective". Secondly, when telling family and friends their "negative reactions reinforced feelings of self-blame". Lastly, reactions made them start questioning whether their "experiences qualified as rape" (Ahrens, 2006: 263).

Accordingly Womersley and Maw (2009: 49) carried out similar research by interviewing South African women on their rape experiences. The findings highlighted various effects of the rape, namely those of "damage," "ostracism," "resistance" and "survival," and the different understandings of "masculinity and femininity". The women saw talking about the rape as part of their healing process and as a way of "alleviating emotional pain" (Womersley

& Maw, 2009: 49). This is a change from in the apartheid era, where Frenkel (2008) highlights how women were "silenced" and their history was unspoken. Even during the proceedings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), women focused largely on the experiences of men, leaving their history untold (Frenkel, 2008). Womersley and Maw, (2009) noted that their research had focused on the experiences of women within the first 72 hours after the rape; however, there could be greater benefit in following the women over a longer period of time. While their research found that the "blaming, alienating and degrading of women and their sexuality" had an adverse effect on their healing process, it also noted that they were only able to interview women who came to get help or report the rape (Womersley & Maw, (2009: 53).

Rickert *et al.,* (2005) carried out research on acquaintance rape and the circumstances under which a woman would tell someone about the rape. In the findings, it was seen how a woman whose partner had consumed alcohol during the course of the date, was more likely to disclose the sexual assault to someone (Rickert *et al.,* 2005). Alcohol consumption by their date also affected the time it took for them to tell someone about the incident (Rickert *et al.,* 2005). The other reasons that influenced whether they told someone or not included the seriousness of the relationship and how many dates they had been on. However, a woman was less likely to tell someone about the "rape" if the man was their "boyfriend or partner" which points out how the seriousness of the relationship affected the woman's choice to tell someone (Rickert *et al.,* 2005: 22).

French (2003: 306) carried out research with seven women who had been raped by an acquaintance. The key findings of this research were that the women had difficulty defining their experience. Many of the women were willing to take on responsibility for what had happened to them, as it had been by someone that they knew. Due to the women having difficulty in defining the experience, they "experienced feelings of guilt and shame". An important part of the findings involved the issue of "blame". After the rape it was seen how the women held themselves responsible for what had happened, but over time they were able to "decrease their self-blame", and, in turn, place the blame on the perpetrator. The women placed blame on themselves for actions that they had taken, for example, "inviting the person into their home" (French, 2003: 307).

Research done on rape cases by Vetten, Jewkes *et al.,* (2008: 9) showed that of the cases in the court system at the time of their research, "14%" were withdrawn by the plaintive and

"22.9%" were dropped because the victim had "not been traceable". However, for those cases that did go to trial, the study showed that few "ultimately resulted in a conviction" (Vetten, Jewkes *et al.*, 2008: 56).

2.7 Role of Religion

Religion plays two crucial roles, one in the oppression of women and the other in a woman's healing process. The use of religion in the oppression of women is explored in chapter 3, "patriarchy within feminism"; in order to see how religion created norms that justified the oppression of women. Bowland, Biswas *et al.*, (2011), in a study they did with older women on their healing, explain how these women made a distinction between "spirituality and religion". Religion was used to refer to the structures and "rituals" that people follow, and includes the "church, teachings by religious leaders and members of the congregation", while spirituality represented a relationship with a "divine or an experience of transcendence" (Bowland, Biswas *et al.*, 2011:325). This created a contract between religion, which had been seen to assist in the oppression of women, and a relationship with a higher being or power, known as God, Lord or Jesus.

Cargioli (2011:1) focuses on how Christian healing from trauma is about the healing of "both the body and the spirit". He looks at how sexual abuse can cause the woman to "disconnect from the body" (2011:3). This results in a need to reconnect with the body, and this can be done through "exercise, yoga, meditation, massage, prayer, sex, eat". Some people, on the other hand, would rather "enhance the disconnection from the body," and this can be done through, for example, "drugs, alcohol and excessive exercise" (2011:3). Cargioli (2011), overall, stressed the need for the spirit to be reconnected with the body. So while the body can be "cured" the spirit (soul) has to be "healed". The body is made up of "body, mind and spirit" and in order for an individual to receive healing; all three parts of the body need to be considered (2011:6).

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to set the foundation for the rest of the thesis by firstly outlining the definitions of GBV and rape, with a focus on how these definitions were adjusted historically to reflect the changes within South African society. Secondly, the chapter moved on to give a synopsis of the "rape statistics" in South Africa and the changes pre and post-apartheid. This was done in order to give an overview of "rape" in South Africa, and to show the extent of

the problem in the country. This also highlighted why this is an important area of research and an important issue for the women living in this country. This was then followed by a look at the social setting of "rape" in South Africa, noting the challenges due to the violent history in the country. This section took into account the differences between stranger and non-stranger rape, as well as the rape of children, and their subsequent re-victimisation in adulthood. There was a particular focus on the cultural practices in the country and the importance of virginity. The remainder of the chapter looked at previous studies done on rape, both in South Africa and internationally, noting the reasons that women choose not to tell anyone about the rape experience.

Previous research done on rape, both in South Africa and internationally, pointed to the need for future research on how women experience rape over a period of time, and on the consequences of rape. It also highlighted the need for research with women who had not reported the rape, as most of the research focuses on those women who had asked for help, or who had opened cases against the perpetrator. My research hopes to both corroborate the conclusions of previous research and to highlight the other areas and challenges that survivors of rape by a "known person" face. Research highlights the extent of rape within South Africa as an important area of concern as it links to the studies on sociology of health and gender (feminist theory), as well as to key sociological debates, for example, the debate around structure and agency.

The next chapter will detail the theoretical framework for this research. It will focus on feminist theory of rape, feminist standpoint theory, patriarchy as an element within feminism, stigma, rape myths or stereotypes and finally structure and agency. The two chapters overlap on different levels as the theory chapter goes into greater detail on the issues presented in this chapter. The theoretical framework gives an insight into the unique social context that is found within South Africa. It will not only give an insight into the history of "rape" in South Africa but also examine the history of feminism and the role it played in the liberation of women on an international level.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

”I just know when he touched my leg I felt dirty I had to scrub, so I had to burn my legs with cigarettes, still after I did not feel clean I felt worse then I started saying maybe it was my fault maybe it was what I was wearing I did not have decent clothes maybe he was attracted….” (Candice).

3. 1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I focused on the definitions of the key concepts and on the previous research. In this chapter I will discuss my theoretical framework which will set the framework within which the narratives will be analysed. I have identified the following theories for use within this research, namely: feminist theory of rape, standpoint theory, patriarchy as a concept within feminism, stigma, rape myths or stereotypes and structure and agency.

3.2 Feminist Theory of Rape

In order to comprehend the "theory of rape" it is essential to contextualise it within feminist theory. The term "feminist theory of rape" was used by Mardorossian (2002). There have been three waves of feminism. Woodhead (2000: 67) outlines the three different waves. The first wave of feminism started in the "late nineteenth century" and this wave focused on "equality between the sexes". The second wave took place "between the 1960s and 1980s" when feminists "campaigned for the liberation of women from male oppression". The third wave formed in the 1990s and focused on investigating "gender differences" which are varied, and not as closely linked "to the body".

Feminism began as a reaction to the oppression faced by women. The second wave of the feminist movement really took shape during the 1960s when more and more women entered the work force and were involved in pursuits outside of the home (Donat & D'Emilio, 1992). Feminism is defined by Hooks (2000: 1) as "a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation and oppression". This was a definition that attempted to move away from the gendered nature of feminism. Feminists were the first to challenge the conventional definitions of rape, where the women were often blamed for the rape, and the rape was viewed as a crime against the father or the husband (Brownmiller, 2007). This was particularly evident when a virgin was raped, as after the rape she was seen as damaged and all chances of a good marriage were ruined (Donat & D'Emilio, 1992). The feminist movement was a movement around women, challenging the ideals in society that had kept them, or made them, unequal to men. The movement also challenged the ideology that insisted that women be loyal to the "traditionally defined feminine roles and behaviours" (Donat & D'Emilio, 1992).

The oppression of women by men started many centuries ago and it had a sexualised nature. Brownmiller, (2007: 312) pointed out how "man's discovery that his genitalia could serve as

a weapon to generate fear must rank as one of the most important discoveries of prehistoric times". This was linked to the early feminist movement which was also seen as a fight for "sexual liberation" (Hooks, 2000: 148). Part of this movement was an attempt to change the way society viewed rape. This involved a shift to a more victim-centered rape ideology (Donat & D'Emilio, 1992).

Chasteen (2001: 101) states that the definition of rape changed over time due to feminism "challenging traditional constructions of sexual violence". It also proposed another understanding of rape, and transformed "rape into a social problem". Brownmiller (2007: 311) notes that feminism gained momentum in the second wave, as feminists started openly discussing "women's sexual vulnerabilities". By openly discussing issues that affected women, it led to women challenging the definitions used to describe violence against women (VAW). Helliwell (2000) argues that feminists aimed to show that rape was embedding within "society and culture". This view was taken as an alternative to focusing on men and their sexual desires.

Before the 1960/70s, rape was a subject that was seldom discussed in society, and Chasteen (2001:103) identified this period as the "sparse pre-1970s discourse". The feminist movement changed this, making it a "central concern" (Chasteen, 2001: 106). In the 1970s feminists were able to alter the definition of rape to show how it was used as "a means of enforcing gender roles in society and maintaining the hierarchy in which men retained control" (Donat & D'Emilio, 1992: 14). With the change in the definition of rape, rape was for the first time being defined from a "victim's perspective" (Donat & D'Emilio, 1992: 14). This meant that while the understanding of rape changed, so did the understandings around the rape perpetrator and the rape victim (Donat & D'Emilio, 1992).

Brownmiller (2007: 311) observed that rape was a way to ensure women were afraid, and, in turn, "dependent on men's protection". She looked at how girls are raised, or taught, to be "rape victims", and how they grow up to fear men and being raped (Brownmiller, 2007). This can be linked to literature that noted how women are raised to fear being raped. Helfgott (2008: 209) looked at how women "see themselves as prey and men as predators". MacKinnon (1989: 172) expressed the view that rape was "an act of terrorism and torture within a systematic context of group subjection". In naming rape as a form of terrorism and torture, MacKinnon was trying to express that rape goes beyond one man making an error in judgment. She further goes on to look at how rape was defined in the law, and how, if it

"looks like sex it was not considered a crime" (Mackinnon, 1989: 172). Brownmiller (2007: 314) observed how men choose to believe that women "want to be raped" and how blame was shifted to the victim by saying "she asked for it". This was in line with women being too scared to be out after dark, which helped to create a divide on gender lines, as men do not have these same fears as women.

It is clear that feminist theory of rape had three main goals: firstly, to bring women's issues to the fore and thereby making them societal issues; secondly, to change the definition of rape to one that is centered on the "victim"; and lastly, to show how rape is embedded within society and culture. The next theoretical framework, the feminist standpoint theory, took shape during the movement from the second to the third wave of feminism. It looks at standpoint theory and its role in the development of a theory for women. The second role of feminist standpoint theory is discussed in chapter 4, and looks at women doing research from within their "own lived experiences".

3.3 Feminist Standpoint Theory

Within the third wave of feminism, I focus on standpoint theory as it is relevant to my research. Smith (1992: 88) defines standpoint theory as beginning from "the actualities of a woman's experience" and from their actual bodies. Smith (1992: 89) stressed that the standpoint a person has is important. She understands that feminism is primarily about "beginning with what we share as women, our sexed bodies". The woman's body being the site of domination against women. Smith (1992) remarked that even though the experiences of women may be different, women always had to "return to [themselves] and to each other as subjects in our bodies" (Smith, 1992: 89). While Smith acknowledged that women are different and do not always agree on everything, what women have in common could be "grounded in [their] sexed bodies, our women's bodies" (Smith, 1992: 90). This can be linked to a woman's experience of rape, whereby even though every woman will experience the rape differently, a commonality is that the rape would be a violation of the female body. Moor (2007) looks at how rape was also an invasion of a woman's boundaries and how it would have psycho-social consequences for the women.

It is important to acknowledge the "body" which is the site of the rape experience. Minge (2007: 252), a feminist and rape survivor, refers to herself as a "stained body", noting that she had "been stained by rape", and that she was confined in what she terms as "this body". She

refers to her "body as disconnected" as "cut, bruised and complicated" (Minge, 2007: 252). She brings in the notion of the body as the site of the rape, that "I carry inside my body the unresolved tensions, the emotional battles, the dirty aftermath of rape" (Minge, 2007: 253).

The origins of feminist standpoint theory lie within a tradition of Marxist theory of the "critique of class" and his "theory of knowledge" (Hartsock, 1998: 283). This is important as it links to the desire of feminism to achieve equality for women and a knowledge that pertains specifically to women. Hartsock (1998: 284) noted that the standpoint of women was linked to the "sexual division of labour". This was important, because it was during this time that women were entering the workforce, and therefore, sexual equality could also be fought for within the workplace. The initial argument around standpoint theory was around the issue of the "invisibility of women and women's issues" within the knowledge of the time (Henwood & Pidgeon, 1995: 8). Harding (1992: 181) looks at how knowledge, or what she terms "western knowledge", started from the experiences of "men as the dominant group". She stresses that all knowledge is socially located and that feminists have called for knowledge that is "grounded in women's experience" (Harding, 1992: 184).

A standpoint was not solely about an individual, but more about the common opinions of a group of women, who have shared similar experiences. Epistemic advantage was related to the shared knowledge of women and their ability to endorse the validity of their situated knowledge (Intemann, 2010). As mentioned above, women share common experiences due to their sexed bodies and how they are raised to fear rape. The other experiences that women share are those of "unpaid household labour" and childbearing, the latter being a shared experience for many women (Hirschmarm, 1998: 76). Fournier (2000: 66) looks at a further experience that women share, that of the "body in pain". By pain she is referring to the pain of menstruation and childbirth (Fournier, 2000). She suggests that by using pain it is referring to women having a "sense of being emptied out and reduced to a mass of abject and seeping flesh" (Fournier, 2000: 66). Harding (1992: 185) looks at how experience and knowledge are related; she notes that there are "social relations that would not be visible if women did not speak of their experiences".

Patricia Hill Collins sought to define the collective shared experience of black women. She looks at the standpoint of black women coming from a "shared oppression" (as quoted in Hirschmarm, 1998: 77). There has been critique of feminist standpoint theory as a theory for white (western) women that does not take into account the black womens' experiences of

race and class (Hirshmarm, 1998). This is an important consideration for South Africa where, due to the history of apartheid, "black Africans and white Africans lived largely separate lives" (Jewkes, Morrell, 2010: 4). This has also meant that there are different understandings of gender and sexuality within the different groups of people. Sex was seen as a more normal action within the black African culture (Jewkes, Morrell, 2010). In South Africa (Ebunoluwa, 2009: 232), looks at another term used to define the "triple oppression of Black women", that of class, gender and race. This term is "womanism" and was used by Ogunyemi (1985). This term attempted to fill the gap where feminism, viewed by many "as a practice [addressing] the needs of middle class white women", had failed (Ebunoluwa, 2009: 232).

The next section will focus on feminist theory of patriarchy, looking at the power men have over women due to set norms and beliefs in society. Patriarchy gives an insight into the unequal relations between men and women in society and how this enables the oppression and abuse of women.

3.4 Patriarchy as an Element within Feminist Theory

Vetten (2000: 57) defines patriarchy by comparing the old understanding of it to the new understanding of patriarchy. The concept of patriarchy generally but with some nuances originally referred to a "father's right", where the father exercised authority, and this authority was later replaced by that of the husband. However, today it is used to define societies where a belief or system permits men authority and advantage over women (Vetten, 2000). This, therefore, means that within these societies, women are seen as not being equal to men and thus their roles are limited. South Africa is seen as a patriarchal society. Patriarchy is the one ideal that links all the different cultures within the country and has resulted in men having authority over women (Vetten, 2000).

Hunnicutt (2009: 557) defines patriarchy as the "social arrangements that privilege men, where men as a group dominate women as a group". Fortier (1975: 278) defines patriarchy as social relations where "men own the women and children and rule over them". For Hunnicutt (2009) there was patriarchy both on a societal level (macro) and a family (micro) level.

Within feminist theory, debates on violence against women need to be understood with "gender as its central organising feature" (Hunnicutt, 2009). In South African policy it confirms how gender needs to be understood in terms of the "historical racial and patriarchal oppression" (Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities, 2012:19). This statement points to the reality of patriarchy within South African society and its influence over the way women experience their role and position within society. Feminists view patriarchy as the root of gender inequality within society, and "radical feminist" analysis views it as control over a woman's body "through sexuality or male violence in the form of rape"' (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004: 93- 94). The overall belief by radical feminists is that women experience gender inequality as a direct result of male oppression (Etaugh & Bridges, 2006). Radical feminists encourage research that is both "about women and for women" (Burr, 1998: 19). My research fits into this space, as it is about women and their experiences but also for women, as it gives them a chance to "tell their story".

Patriarchy was rooted within most cultures and based on the idea of "male dominance and female subordination" (UN General Assembly, 2006: 102; Meel, 2008: 69). It has been seen how violence against women assists in keeping them subordinate to men thereby maintaining male domination (Watt & Zimmerman, 2002). Within the home men often abuse women as a form of punishment (Jewkes, Sikweuiya, Morrell & Dunkle, 2011) for challenging the inherent male domination within the family setting. In brief, domestic violence is seen to be enforcing and maintaining the patriarchal domination of men within society (UN General Assembly, 2006). It is based on the perception that "women have traditionally been treated like men's property" and that "women are treated as if they are objects of masculinity contests among men" (Thio, 2005: 151).

Religion has been seen to create "patriarchal norms" regarding the "family and marriage" which bestows upon men power over women (Dangor, Alderton & Taylor, 2000). Religion, for example Christianity, has been seen to accelerate or entrench the problem of patriarchy within society. This is through the belief that patriarchal societies are "the way life is" and that they are "sanctioned and ordained by God" (Rakoczy, 2004: 30). The church often protects the offender, through the teachings that men are the "head" of the household and that "women are subject to the dominance of men" (Frans, 2002: 6). Frans (2002: 6) further looks at how victims of violence are not willing to speak out, due to the belief that "such things do not happen among 'good Christian' people".

Patriarchy has, however, been challenged, largely due to the way it groups all women's experiences of violence into one mould, rather than looking at the different levels that exist in different societies. This creates what is termed "false universalism" (Hunnicutt, 2009: 558). There has been a link between capitalism and patriarchy whereby the man is portrayed to be the head of the house, the "breadwinner." When he is unable to be the "breadwinner" the man often uses violence to reassert his masculinity. This has been seen in studies whereby it has found that employed women with unemployed partners are most likely to experience abuse in the home (Hunnicutt, 2009).

This paragraph considers alternative views of patriarchy. One such view is the "family violence approach," whereby male dominance is only one aspect behind GBV and not the central factor. There are also "individualistic theories" which focus on the individual and tend to ignore the larger social context. "Liberal-feminist theory" on rape defines it as "a crime of dominance through violence" rather than an uncontrollable sexual desire (Brownmiller as quoted in Phipps, 2009: 668). In contrast to the above theory, the "dominant feminist perspective" still believes that rape is a "sexual crime" (Meel, 2008: 670). Hunnicutt (2009), however, argues for a "theory of patriarchy" that accounts for the different aspects, or layers of, patriarchy, which will possibly be able to portray the different types of male domination.

The theory of patriarchy has moved from being defined as the ownership of women by the father or the husband, to that of a society where men are believed to have power over women. Patriarchy has been entrenched within South African society and has resulted in women being treated as unequal to men. This leaves them open to abuse, both in society, and the home. Without simplifying the complex construction of manhood and identity, central to the "construction" of a real man are power and control, and one way of expressing this is by "being the bread winner". When it is not possible for the man to be the "breadwinner" or main provider in the home, they may express their dominance by coercive sexual activities (Hunter, 2004: 209- 223).

The next theory looks at the stigma, rape myths or stereotypes which are in line with patriarchy, whereby women are viewed in a particular way. It looks at how rape myths or stereotypes are linked to the "sexual scripts" which dictate how women should react to sexual advances from men (Wiehe & Richards, 1995). These all create rape myths, which impact on the way women are treated, as well as whether they will report the rape or not.

3.5 Stigma, Rape Myths or Stereotypes

Scrambler (2009) defines a stigma as something a person has which will cause them to be judged by society as being against the norm or not normal. Goffman (1963: 14) speaks about the stigmatised individual and divides this stigma into three types. Type one is that of the body, type two that of a person's character and type three that of a person's community, for example "race, nation and religion" (Goffman, 1963: 14). Moor (2007: 21) speaks about the "devaluation of the self" following a rape experience, which is largely due to the stigmatising effect that the rape has on an individual's "most intimate boundaries" (Moor, 2007:21).

Rape creates a stigma which mostly cannot be seen, and is termed "invisible" by Weidner & Griffitt (1983). From a feminist view, within patriarchal society, women are seen as the property of men. This meant a man was the owner of his wife and as husbands have "unlimited 'rights' or access to their wives' bodies whenever they chose" (Field, 1978: 172). However, when a wife was raped by another man that was viewed in a different way as it meant that someone's "property was used" (Weidner & Griffitt, 1983: 165). Children were raised to follow particular "sexual scripts" in which the girls were taught "to not show sexual initiative" and the boys were taught to "take sexual initiative". This resulted in some men taking initiative and continuing to make advances, even after the woman had said "no" (Check & Malamuth, 1983: 344). As explained by Vetten (2010: 59), women who were "sexually active" were labelled as "loose" or "promiscuous" while men were encouraged to be sexual and have many partners. This developed a "rape supportive culture" and societies in which "sexual coercion is seen as normal and acceptable in-role behaviour" (Check & Malamuth, 1983: 344).

In understanding invisible stigma the "labelling perspective" is used. This perspective focuses on the "people doing the labelling" rather than the individual with the flaw (Weidner & Griffitt, 1983: 153). This perspective goes hand in hand with the fact that victims "label themselves in negative ways" due to victimisation (Taylor *et al.*, 1983: 22). Victimisation such as rape, experienced during an individual's life, converted them from being normal to having an abnormality, even if it could not be seen. This means that the individual, knowing how they used to "view victims", in turn, start to view themselves in the same way (Taylor *et al.*, 1983). The main impact of victimisation was the feeling that it "represents a loss of value, status or resources". It also makes them feel that they have lost control, leading them to experience "emotional behaviour" (Taylor *et al.*, 1983). The other effect is the "loss of

self-esteem" whereby the victim starts to feel less worthy, even if they did not play a direct role in what happened to them (Taylor *et al.,* 1983). Once an individual was labelled it was difficult for them to lose the label and their actions were often viewed in light of the label (Taylor *et al.,* 1983: 34). It is also acknowledged that a person can be falsely labelled, and that, due to the "overwhelming" nature of being labelled, even if it is a false label it can affect the individual. This is due to the fact that the "truth of the label has little to do with the power of its impact" (Jones, Bradley & Le Boutillier, 2011: 109).

There are two types of victimisation, firstly, the act itself that results in the victimisation, and secondly, the way society judges or labels the person (Taylor *et al.,* 1983). Weidner & Griffitt (1983: 153) look at the link between people who hold or "view women in traditional roles", arguing that they are more likely to "see a rape as being the woman's fault".

The theory of stigma, or stereotypes, looks at how women are stereotyped within society over periods of time. This affected the woman's sexuality and "societal" standing. Consequently, it led to the creation of various stereotypes that served to keep women unequal to men, and the women who went against these stereotypes were labelled. Women who "slept around", for example, were labelled "promiscuous" as they were expected to remain pure. Women were imagined to be sexually passive and many men misread this, and did not accept that women, when they said "no", really meant "no". In turn, women who had been raped would be labelled by society. Women also labelled themselves, and took on the stigma themselves. So that while society might view rape victims as different, the individual also views themselves as different. This was also linked to myths around men and why they rape, for example, "man's need for sex", which could result in the victim being blamed and the man feeling that he had done nothing wrong.

Rape myths, as defined by Burt (1980: 217), are "prejudicial, stereotyped or false beliefs about rape, rape victims and rapists – in creating a climate hostile to rape victims". These "beliefs" result in the rape victim being blamed for the rape by society, police, or hospitals. Wiehe and Richards (1995: 74), define a myth as "delusions or misunderstandings that a large number of people hold". These myths arose largely due to the fact that it was easier for society to blame the woman for her rape as it meant that other women would still be able to take measures to prevent themselves from being raped. This was because "rape [made] people feel insecure and vulnerable" (Field, 1978: 156). Field argues that how people view rape will impact on the way that they themselves respond to rape and rape victims. Within

South Africa there are different ways in which women from different racial groups are viewed. As pointed out by Vetten (2010: 59), "the stereotypes of black women's promiscuity abound". It was found the black (African) women's bodies were used without consequences while a white woman's purity was protected (Vetten, 2010).

Many in society viewed rape by a "known person" as not being "real rape" and a woman who put herself into a compromising position, was noted as "willing to have sex", for example, "going to the home or apartment of a man" (Check & Malamuth, 1983: 345). There was a view that if a woman did not oppose the rape with visible evidence the issue of consent was questioned. This was in line with the view that if the woman did not challenge the rape she must have consented (Field, 1978). It was believed that real rape was seen through "physical injuries and the use of physical force" and this meant that women with physical evidence were more likely to report the rape. The significance of the act of rape was calculated by the "amount of physical harm" (Du Mont, Miller & Myhr, 2003: 479).

Some commonly-held myths about acquaintance rape are explained by Wiehe and Richards (1995), who outline four of them. Firstly, that "the victim is responsible," - this myth has resulted in the victim "blaming" themselves for the rape. Secondly, that "women say no but really mean yes", which is linked to the trained sexual script as mentioned above and often results in men misinterpreting the signs given by women (Wiehe & Richards, 1995: 77 - 78). The third myth is "that women can always say no, or resist forced sex," - this is a contradiction for women, who are expected to be passive, but at the same time "defend themselves" (Wiehe & Richards, 1995: 78 - 79). Lastly, that "once men are sexually aroused, sex is inevitable" - this abdicates men from responsibility for their actions. While, in fact, it is "the way men cognitively handle their sexual arousal determines the outcome of their behaviour" (Wiehe & Richards, 1995: 79). This is linked to the view that rape is connected to, or "motivated by a man's need for sex" (Weidner & Griffitt, 1983: 153).

The next theory is structure and agency. This theory takes into account the structures within society and how they impact on the individual. Agency is defined as the individual or group's ability to act against the various structures within the society that they live. The purpose of this theory is to show how society often allows, or enables, women to be abused and how women are able to use their agency to act against these structures.

3.6 Structure and Agency

One of the main theorists that speaks to the structure-agency debate is Giddens. Giddens does this through a theory that he termed the "structuration theory". Giddens (as quoted in Jones, Bradbury & Le Boutillier, 2011: 164) explains how the "social world is made and re-made by actors". Giddens highlights the importance of being aware of "actors" and what "they know about their situation" as for him it is "premature" to assume the role of structures and agents without this detail (as quoted in Jones, Bradbury & Le Boutillier, 2011: 165). Giddens views structures as being "both enabling and constraining" - that we need structure in order to understand the social work, but that structure may also constrain an agent's ability to "manoeuvre in the social world". The two terms Giddens uses for structure are "rules" and "resources", which point to the rules which are made by the structure, and the resources that the agents "bring to the interaction encounter" (as quoted in Jones, Bradbury & Le Boutillier, 2011: 166- 167). The overall argument by Giddens is that "agents and structures are inseparable, each is dependent for its existence on the other" (as quoted in Jones, Bradbury & Le Boutillier, 2011: 167).

Giddens theory of structuration focuses on structure, and the effect this has on an individual's agency. This theory looks at the "relationship between structure and agency" (Ritzer, 2003: 529) - that structure and agency are always working together and cannot be independent of each other. This means that the individual (agent) is affected by the structure within which they live. As a result the individual cannot be understood without taking the structure into account. It is these structures that allow agents to form routines that are followed and which give them "a sense of security". Giddens stresses that agents are also able "to change their social context" (Giddens as quoted in Ritzer, 2003: 531).

Fuchs (2001: 26) looks at how "it is part of human nature and personhood to have agency". He notes how agency requires "consciousness, free will and reflexivity". However, he further goes on to explain that while agency is what enables individuals to relate to the world around them, having agency does not explain anything on its own (Fuchs, 2001). Ruiz (1998) argues that agency has to be defined in terms of "actions" and cannot be viewed independently from the context within which the acts take place. Ruiz (1998) explains how within feminist theory there is an attempt to look at two contradicting "sources of control". The control that comes from societal influences that could "oppress the individual" versus the "power of the individual or agent to resist" such influences (Ruiz, 1998: 182). Kockelman

(2007: 375 - 376) explains agency as the "inherent human capacity" while it is also viewed as a "kind of resistance".

In terms of using this theory for my research, I would need to take a few things into account within my research, namely the structuring of "society over time and space," changes in "institutions over time," the way "leaders intrude on and alter social patterns," and take into account the "impact of their findings" (Ritzer, 2003: 532).

Fuchs (2001: 24) notes that "actors do act, but they do so under circumstances not of their own choosing". Lempert (1996) explains how within abusive situations, with a focus on "wife abuse," women play a role, even if it isn't as equals. She gives some examples of women's agency within an abusive environment, which is the structure within which the woman lives. She looks at how women try to save face by keeping the violence undercover. This was in line with the fact that "when the violence or its consequences became public, it challenged the women's public presentation of self and identity" (Lempert, 1996: 276). This goes in line with the idea that women want society to view their "family as happy" (Lempert, 1996). There are other coping strategies that women use to deal with the violence in which they live, and Lempert (1996) focuses on a few. These include "fantasies of murder", and "fantasies of suicide", both of which involve removing a person, either the perpetrator, or the victim (Lempert, 1996: 281 – 282). This shows some of the ways in which women could have agency within a very abusive and restrictive structure. It is significant to note that the actions taken by the women may not necessarily result in resistance, and could, in fact, reinforce structures. However Giddens (1984) would not view the thoughts of a person as a reflection of an individual's agency, as, for him, agency was not concerned with the thoughts that individuals had, but rather their ability to action those thoughts.

Dietz and Burns (1992) outline four criteria that people need in order for them to have agency. Firstly, they need to "be able to make a difference". Secondly, the agent must have some intention in the action taken. Thirdly, that the agent has more than one option to choose from thus showing that "agency involves choices and decision making". Lastly, an agent needs to be aware of the consequences that will result due to their actions (Dietz & Burns, 1992: 191 – 192). Dietz and Burns (1992: 192) stress that "all actors possess agency to some degree and that no actor has total, unconstrained agency".

Hay (1994) highlights the contradiction between the role that structure and agency play. While structure has been seen to constrain agency, it must also be "understood as the creator of human beings as well as the mould that they fit" (Hay, 1994: 61) and that "people are agents… carriers or instruments of social structure" (Hay, 1994: 62). This highlights how people have helped to create structures but are constrained by these same structures. It is also important to note that "without structures there are no rules and that the rules are necessary to create the path within which "conscious, purposive action" takes place (Hay, 1994: 61).

Goffman (1969) explained that in what has been called the game theory, the individual was either a "player or a party". The game theory represents the choices individuals made within a structure. He used the term "pawn" when referring to an individual whose "social and bodily welfare" is threatened. The other term he used was that of a "token". This referred to individuals who have "expressed and marked openly a position taken". Within this theory, an individual can take actions on "behalf of another party if authorised to do so" (Goffman, 1969: 86 - 87). This means, for example, that a parent could make decisions on behalf of a child.

Ritzer (1996: 401) notes that an actor's ability to reach his/her goals needs to take into account the fact that "actors have different resources as well as different access to other resources". Resources would impact on actions that people take in achieving goals. It could result in individuals not taking any actions due to not having resources. This can be linked to women living in abusive relationships or abusive families and the fact that they stay in them because they do not have the resources to leave. The lack of resources that many abused women face has led to the rise of sheltering in South Africa. These are shelters that women can turn to for help and as places of safety. Park, Peters and De Sa (2000: 244) look into sheltering within South Africa and note that the first shelter was "opened in 1984 by People Opposing Woman Abuse (POWA)".

Dangor, Alderton and Taylor (2000) analyse the need for women in abusive relationships to empower themselves against structural constraints. They look at how "shelters" are a place for women to empower themselves after they have made the decision to leave the abusive structure. Their understanding of empowerment for women is "a process of gaining control and power over necessary resources, leading to significant life changes" (Dangor, Alderton & Taylor, 2000: 296). As mentioned above, the amount of resources a person has impacts on their ability to make choices. A woman needs to make the decision to leave the relationship

or abusive situation in order to begin their road towards empowerment (Dangor, Alderton & Taylor, 2000). This points to the fact that women need to use their agency not only to decide to leave, but also to actually leave. The main need of these women would be for "physical safety". It is only once these women are physically safe that they will then be able to move on to dealing with their need for "emotional safety". These are two needs that the shelters in South Africa offer these women to varying degrees (Dangor, Alderton & Taylor, 2000).

Dangor, Alderton and Taylor (2000) explain that for these women to be empowered they will need to deal with their "economic and employment issues," "social integration" and to become "politically empowered". By politically empowered they are referring to the woman's need to understand the laws in the country and the rights that they have in the abusive situation.

Structure and agency is the debate regarding an agent or person and how much agency, or free will, the person has, and whether structure limits this agency. Many have noted that the actions that a person takes cannot be viewed independently of the social conditions in which the person finds himself/herself; that the amount of resources a person has will impact on the actions that they will take, or will explain their lack of action; that in the context of violence against women, women use their agency in various ways but their agency is always limited by the context. Women need to use their agency in deciding to leave the abusive situation and begin their road towards empowerment. Shelters have been created in the community as a response to the abuse seen in society and recognises the need for these women to have a safe place to stay. This is in line with the fact that women would not leave an abusive environment if they were unable to see to their physical needs. The need for shelter and food could keep the women in the abusive situation even though they desire to leave.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the theoretical framework for the research. It started by looking at feminist theory of rape, which outlined the rise of feminism and the changes in the definitions of rape. It then moved on to look at the feminist standpoint theory, which analysed womens' shared experiences which led to them having similar standpoints. Standpoint theory also focused on doing research from within a particular standpoint, or from within the lived experiences of women, and how this enabled me to understand the context which is explained in chapter 4. This in turn was linked to the creation of knowledge for women and how

experiences would remain invisible if women did not talk about them. The theory then moved on to patriarchy as a concept within feminism, explaining the culture of patriarchy which keeps women unequal to men. It clarified how, through violence, men are able to maintain authority over women. Following this was a section on stigma and rape myths or stereotypes, which examined how women are judged and how they are viewed in a particular way. This section spoke about rape myths and how they prevent women from speaking out about their own rape or abuse. It showed how rape was viewed as an invisible stigma, as it was not a visible ailment, and how, after rape, it was the women who viewed themselves as different.

The last section looked at the structure and agency debate. It focused on how agency was defined and how agency could be limited by structure. It gave an insight into the debate and introduced the game theory whereby someone could be put in a position where they can make decisions on behalf of another person. It ended by briefly looking at shelters in South Africa and how women need to use their agency to leave an abusive relationship or environment. The different ways that women have agency within an abusive relationship were also looked at, following the line of one theorist who noted that everyone had agency, but it was within a particular context.

Overall, this chapter aimed to lay the foundation for the analysis and interpretation of the research data and the overall research. The next chapter will outline the research methods used in the collection of the data and give a brief overview of the research site and the research respondents. It will also outline the method used in the analysis of the data, and will look at any ethical issues, and how these were dealt with during the data collection process.

Chapter 4: Methodology

"…that even the doctor was like whatever is bothering you my sweetie you really need to talk. And when I did talk to him he almost declared me mentally insane" (Sandy).

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I outlined the theoretical framework for this research. In this chapter I will explain the methodological approach that was used, namely the qualitative case study approach through in-depth interviews. In order to understand the womens' experiences there was a focus in my research on whether the rape had changed the woman's life. This went beyond just gathering the statistics of rape in South Africa. The University of the Witwatersrand Ethics Committee approved the ethics application for my research[8]. My research was conducted over two years, 2012-2013, with the data being collected between the second half of 2012 and the first half of 2013. The research context will be explained in detail, based on the information received from the interviews with the staff in the shelter. This is important as there is a need to understand the context in which the interviews took place. This will be followed by an introduction to the research respondents. The final part of this chapter will look at the interview process followed by an examination of the chosen method of data analysis for this research, namely "narrative analysis".

4.2 Research Design and Procedure

4.2.1 Feminist Standpoint Theory

I will now consider feminist standpoint theory as it relates to my research. Due to my research making use of standpoint theory it is research that has been termed as "reflexive research" as it is conducted from within a particular standpoint. According to Smith (1992), there was no entirely "objective knowledge" as she notes that "no two people have exactly the same standpoint".

This is in line with feminist standpoint theory which maintains that a woman had the advantage of starting an investigation from within "a woman's lived experience." Brooks (2007: 63) explains how women have what is termed as "double consciousness" whereby they are able to understand both the "dominant group's perspective" as well as "their own". This "double consciousness" gives women an advantage enabling them to "provide a less 'distorted' and more 'reliable' understanding of social reality" (Brooks, 2007: 69). Within the standpoint theory there is a term known of as "strong objectivity" and Brooks (2007: 66) argues that this enables women to "produce an accurate, comprehensive and objective interpretation of society". Though doing research from within their own "lived experience"

[8] The ethics certificate is included as appendix 1.

women are able to give a perspective that differs from the "dominant interpretation at the time" (Brooks, 2007: 86). Also as women are part of the "oppressed group" they are able to identify issues in society and raise questions that would otherwise be overlooked by the "dominant group" (Brooks, 2007:67). Harding (1992: 184 - 185) explains that through listening to women's stories, stories which assist in the production of knowledge can help to "generate knowledge for marginalised people".

Standpoint theory challenges the idea of 'impartiality' however, according to Anthony (1993: 189), "by undermining the notion of impartiality, feminist standpoint epistemology was in danger of losing its critical edge". According to de Vaus (2001: 23), it was important for a researcher not to overlook their "own experience, hunches and intuitions" as "in the end all explanations started with hunches that sprung from individuals who had ideas and observed things around them". Critical realists maintain that, rather than trying to suppress insider knowledge, such reflexivity should be seen as a positive resource. Moreover, reflections on values and the research process must be as explicit as other so-called "rational" procedures. Thus, they may be subjected to the same kind of scrutiny as other methodologies (Morrow & Brown, 1994).

Standpoint theory is a theory which had the desire to create knowledge for women based on the common experiences of women. This theory was challenged by writers based on its attempt to assume that women had a shared experience. However the theory focuses on the shared experience of the woman's body, unpaid household labour, childbirth and pain. The theory noted that through the experience of women, a body of knowledge could be created about, for and by women. By doing research from within a woman's experience it meant that the researcher would have added knowledge, assuming that no research was entirely objective.

As explained above, there is "no objective knowledge" (Smith, 1992). As the researcher, I am also a survivor of rape. My own rape experience played a role in the research, as it was the main motivation for me conducting this research. As a rape survivor, I have experienced the effects of rape through my own experience. This meant that I was able to relate to the women who were interviewed from a point of personal knowledge, and that I shared knowledge with the women due to the rape experience. My own rape was also by a known person, hence my interest in this area of rape research.

4.2.2 Research Design

This research is a qualitative case study, and this section outlines the process of the collection and analysis of data (Greenstein, 2003). I made use of feminist research whereby I aimed to give women a voice and in so doing "correct the male-oriented perspective that has predominated in the development of social science" (Neuman, 1997: 80). The research question and theoretical position provided the foundation for the method that was utilised (Edwards, 2004; Allen, Arafat, Edgley & Gug, 1987). Neuman (1997: 262) explains the following crucial elements of the feminist method:

- "Unstructured and open-ended format,"
- More than one interview with the respondent,
- Creating a trust relationship,
- "Disclosure of personal experience by interviewer,"
- Ability to be understanding,
- Use of equality in the interview,
- "Emotional engagement,"
- "Response orientated,"
- Making sure the respondent expresses themselves in a way that they are comfortable with, and
- The "creation of a sense of empowerment" (Neuman, 1997: 262).

It is significant to note that the "real experiences" of women cannot be understood by only looking at statistics. Therefore the data that I needed for this research was obtained through the collection of in-depth stories from six women who had been raped by a "known person". Through putting their stories together, I aimed to get a greater understanding of rape within South Africa. I made use of a case study approach in combination with an "unfolding research approach," (Punch, 2000: 15). I chose this approach as the women's stories determined how the research unfolded (Punch, 2000).

A case study involves focusing on a smaller number of cases within one social context. In the context of this research, the social context is the shelter. Gobo (2011: 16) defines a case study as "research on a system bounded in space and time and embedded in a particular physical and sociocultural context". This required me to immerse myself within the social context of the study, in order for me to get a greater understanding regarding the women's

culture and way of life. In turn, this enabled me to analyse the data based on narratives collected within the context of the shelter (Neuman, 1997).

The framework for the research was developed through the active process of undertaking the fieldwork, and unfolded during the research process. This allowed me to develop the framework through the women's narratives (Zainal, 2007). The women were selected from amongst the women staying in the shelter, and the criterion was that they were survivors of rape by a known person, and that they were over the age of 21. I spent time staying at the shelter with the women in order to gain their trust before the interviews were conducted. I was open about my own experience of rape, which helped to me to gain the trust of the women within the shelter.

I told the women my rape story and, after I had explained the research to them, those who were willing to tell their stories volunteered to participate in the research. The fact that the women volunteered to take part in the research increased the ethical credibility of the research, as the women wanted to tell their stories to me personally, as the interviewer. The use of my own experience was important, as within feminist research, it exposed the illusion of "total objectivity in scientific research" (Henwood & Pidgeon, 1995: 11). I also came from a low socio-economic background and had experienced government hospitals and the court system as an impoverished person. I felt that I had a story that many of the women were able to relate to. By using my own story, I showed empathy towards what the women had experienced, and gave them an open door to tell me their story. This was done by showing the women that they would not be judged. This approach was very successful and it enabled me to collect very detailed stories on the participant's rape experience/s and is an example of standpoint theory.

In-depth, unstructured interviews enabled me to delve into the women's experiences and the significance they attached to them (Hansen, 2006). The interviews did not have a strict design. Due to the sensitive nature of the research it was important for the women to be allowed to talk without set questions that could interrupt their train of thought. I was therefore, able to prompt the participants regarding key issues, but at the participants' pace (Kirby, Kidd, Koubel, *et al.*, 2000). The in-depth interviews also enabled me to change the topic or stop the interview when I saw potential emotional impact or distress. Multiple interviews with the same respondent allowed me to establish a relationship of trust; I was also

non-judgemental, encouraging, listened and overall attempted to "create a sense of empowerment" (Neuman, 1997).

The purpose of the interviews was explained to each respondent at the beginning of the interview and I pointed out that it was their own stories that would determine the nature of the interviews. I did the research over eighteen months and the number of interviews I did was largely determined by the women available to participate in the research, as well as by time constraints.

The focus of the interview process was to have two or three, or maybe even more, interviews with the same respondent, because I felt that it was only through multiple interviews that the full depth of the woman's experience(s) could be gained. The goal in the proposal was to interview ten women, however only six were interviewed for the research. This could be viewed as a limitation of the research; however, the narratives received were very detailed. The interviews not only focused on the rape experience, but also on the events leading up to it, as well as on the social context within which the rape took place and how this social context affected the rape and the post-rape experience. This was done as the rape experience couldn't be fully understood independently from its context. Most of the interviews took place in a private room within the shelter, where the other women and staff were not able to overhear the conversation, as well as other safe spaces. I obtained written permission from the respondents for their participation in the research and for the interviews to be recorded.

4.2.3 Ethical Considerations

The ethical issues that arose from my research were largely related to the potential for psychological harm that might be experienced by the women while re-living their traumatic experiences of abuse during the interview. This in turn was linked to the "research relationship" and the need for the women to participate "out of free choice". I had the responsibility to treat all information gained in the research process as "confidential" and I guaranteed anonymity within the findings by using pseudonyms in publication (Kirby, Kidd, Koubel, *et al.,* 2000).

This research fell under what had been termed "the vulnerable populations' model". This was research that was, or could be used to, "uplift or empower those social groups who lacked power in society, especially by qualitative research that gave them a 'voice'"

(O'Connor, 2011:1). However, while "researching violence against women was similar to researching other sensitive topics", their issues go beyond the boundaries seen in other areas of research, due to "the potentially threatening and traumatic nature of the subject matter" (Ellsberg & Heise, 2005: 35).

The verbal conversation before the interview, and the content of the consent forms, explained to the women that all the interviews would be recorded anonymously, and that none of their names would be used in the final research report. All the information the women gave needed to be given voluntarily and of their own free will. The name of the shelter would also not be mentioned in the final report and this would assist in further safeguarding the identities of the women. There was a need for signed "informed consent" forms from every woman who took part in the interviews, however, this would only be ethical if the participants were given "appropriate information" (Wassenaar, 2006). Confidentiality would be guaranteed by keeping the data confidential and safe from unauthorised access, in this instance, by keeping it in a locked safe.

There were support structures already in place at the shelter at the start of the research to address vulnerabilities faced by the women staying there. These structures included a social work department with one social worker, two auxiliary social workers and a part-time counsellor. The shelter also had a referral relationship with an organisation where the women could go for counselling and added support. In addition to this I arranged a referral network with Lifeline in Johannesburg (Norwood) specifically for the research, so that the participants could get extra support where necessary. The participants would still be able to get support from Lifeline after they left the shelter. The term "survivor" would be used when referring to the women who had been raped, as it refers to the fact that the women were no longer victims. It was found that when using literature and theory the term "victim" was utilised in order to be consistent with the original text used.

I, who was also a survivor of rape, had put measures in place to assist with my own emotional support during the research process. I signed up for the Lifeline Counselling Course through Lifeline Johannesburg (Norwood). I became a qualified Lifeline Counsellor in the first year (2011)[9] of my research as a way of preparing myself for my interaction with the rape survivors. During the interviews with the participants the woman's storytelling never

[9] My Lifeline Counselling Certificate can be found as appendix 5 c.

substituted for my own counselling and at no point did I counsel them. Lifeline Johannesburg (Norwood) also agreed to act as a support structure for me during the process of the research through one-on-one counselling sessions where necessary.[10]

4.3 Research Context

4.3.1 Research Site (The Shelter)

Chapter 3 examines how shelters were created to provide abused women with their basic needs and to help them deal with their economic needs. Park, Shaik and Rasool (2000) explained how the critical, or first function, of shelters within a western tradition, was "to provide crisis intervention and safety for abused women and their children". They further outlined the fact that shelters were a short-term solution and needed to be "seen as a temporary relief, a tool, or a support mechanism for women in need". Sheltering was seen as only one part in the process of fighting violence against women (VAW) (Park, Shaik & Rasool, 2000: 230 – 231). All the information given in this section on the shelter, the women staying in the shelter and the area immediately around the shelter, was obtained from the four interviews done with the staff in the shelter, as outlined below.

Overview of interviews conducted with the staff

Staff Member	Length of interviews	Number of interviews	Date of the interviews
CEO / Pastor	26.minutes	1	19 March 2013
Social Worker	48 minutes	1	20 March 2013
Auxiliary Social Worker	40 minutes	1	19 March 2013
Part- time Counsellor	41. minutes	1	20 March 2013
Total:	2 hours and 35 minutes	4 interviews	

Overview of the shelter

Due to the sensitive nature of some of this information I have not specified which information came from which staff member, and it is only the CEO who I have quoted directly. The shelter was located in the inner city. In 2013 the shelter celebrated 10 years under the current leadership. The funding for the shelter came from the Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities, the City of Johannesburg, LOTTO, individuals and corporates that were involved in corporate social investments (CSI). The shelter being, a Christian shelter had a Board made up of three Pastors and other individual

[10] The letters confirming the support agreed to by Lifeline Johannesburg (Norwood) are within the annexures.

Christians who were experts in their field. This was in line with the fact that "approximately one-third of all shelters in South Africa are affiliated with a church or other religious group" (Park, Peters, De Sa, 2000: 261).

The shelter had the following staff at the time of the interviews:

Position	Number	Paid / volunteer
CEO / Pastor	1	Paid
Social Worker	1	Paid
Auxiliary Social Worker	2	Paid
House Mother	1	Volunteer at the time of the interviews but now they have a paid house mother
Teachers	2	Paid
Child-minder	1	Paid
Child care worker	1	Paid
Part-time Counsellor	1	Paid
Part-time administrator	1	Paid
General worker	3	Paid
Child-minder	1	Volunteer
Part-time bookkeeper	1	Volunteer
Volunteers and missionaries that gave their time to the shelter.	Varies	Volunteer

The staff working in the shelter had all been on training courses in their relevant fields and the volunteers had also received training.

The shelter's immediate surroundings

The shelter's immediate surroundings were not safe and were classified as violent, by the staff in the shelter, with shebeens, and people living in buildings with no lights, no water and no windows. There were men living in these buildings who drank, and it was known that women from the shelter would run to them for money. An example was given of two young women who left the shelter and spent the night with these men, drinking and having sex; they were both asked to leave the shelter on their return. During the night you often heard guns being fired, and girls and people screaming. Due to the situation around the shelter, the women were expected to return to the shelter before 7 pm, as, after this time it was considered to be unsafe. The CEO / Pastor noted that the shelter was a place of upliftment and comfort in the area.

Women in the shelter

Based on the interviews, the following information on the women in the shelter was obtained. There were two types of women admitted to the shelter, one being homeless women and the other being those that had been abused. At times the women could fall into both categories. The women were referred to the shelter by word of mouth, social workers, clinics, police and other agents. There were also women in the shelter who had come to Johannesburg with the belief that there was a better life there, but instead, found themselves without food or a place to stay, and ended up in the shelter.

The following people were not admitted to the shelter:

1. Men, as the shelter only took in women,
2. Mentally disturbed women,
3. Women who were disabled - they would not be able to manage the stairs and the lift was not working,
4. Boys over the age of 8 – they were referred to a boy's shelter close by so that the mothers could have constant contact, and
5. Women who hopped from one shelter to the next.

The shelter could accommodate 120 women but, due to financial constraints, the ideal number was 70 - 80. Park, Peters and De Sa (2000) support the statement that finances affected the admittance of women, by noting that admittance to a shelter is usually "based upon well-reasoned arguments, past experience and / or resources limitations". In March 2013, at the time of the interviews with the staff, there were 27 abused women and 14 homeless women in the shelter; these numbers excluded the children and the 5 youths staying on the fourth floor of the shelter. The shelter was normally fuller at the beginning of the year and during winter. It was agreed by the Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities that the teenagers living in the shelter would be transferred to a shelter that specifically catered for their needs, as this shelter did not have the necessary facilities. The young women remaining at the shelter were all over the age of 18, and were allowed to stay while they were still studying.

The shelter's guidelines stated that the women could stay for three to six months, but as this wasn't always practical, the women normally stayed between nine and twelve months. However, some of them left sooner. The amount of time allowed to each woman was

determined by the womens' circumstances; for example, when they had children attending school they normally stayed till the end of the year exams. Due to the length of time the women were allowed to stay in the shelter, the shelter falls under what Park, Peters & De Sa, (2000: 257) have termed a "long term shelter". They note that the advantages of "long term shelters" include, firstly, that the women have sufficient time to deal with their emotional needs. Secondly, that it regularises what has happened for both the woman and her children. Thirdly, that it creates a context "in which services can be rendered", for example, counselling. Lastly, that it allows the women to build relationships. However, there was still the downside of creating dependency (Parker, Peters & De Sa, 2000), which could lead to shelter-hopping, as mentioned above.

Women admitted to the shelter were screened and interviewed on arrival to ensure that they were suitable. After this a file was opened for them and it was important that they had a contact person recorded in this file. It was noted that, in the case of homeless women, the information given was double-checked to ensure they had a credible reason for being homeless. For the women who had been abused, the information was taken at face value and they were admitted to the shelter. It was only after two to three months that the staff would help the abused women find their families. Park, Peters and De Sa, (2000: 251) explain the importance of this stage saying "it serves to set the boundaries, define expectations and establish ground rules".

The women staying in the shelter were expected to participate in chores, volunteering for 3 hours a day, because it was felt that it wasn't healthy for them to do nothing all day. If the women did not want to participate in chores they were obliged to leave the shelter by 9 am and then return after 15:30 pm; during this time they could search for a job. The chores the women assisted with included: cleaning, working in the crèche, packing and sorting of donations, helping with cooking and washing windows. During the day, the women also attended counselling, both group and individual sessions, and workshops, where information was made available to them. The women were also assisted in acquiring skills which would contribute to their future employment. This was in line with the vision of the shelter that women would not have to rely on a man or a husband in order to survive, and that their lives would be turned around as a result of their own initiatives.

The racial demographics within the shelter at the time of the interviews with the staff were mainly African, with some Coloured (mixed race) women. It had been found that when the

shelter took in "White" women, these women often did not feel comfortable in the shelter and so they were usually either referred to another, smaller shelter or else reunited with family.

Responsibilities of women staying in the shelter

The women admitted to the shelter were expected to share a room, but this often resulted in fighting, as some of the women did not want to share. If a woman had a teenage girl as well as other children, they were allowed their own room as a family, because a normal room could only contain three beds.

The women were given warnings for the following:

- Refusing to do duties,
- Not looking after their children,
- Coming back to the shelter drunk,
- Vulgar language,
- Untidiness,
- Coming in late, after 7 pm, and
- Not attending church. Although they were given a warning when they missed three services nobody had been asked to leave the shelter for not attending church. Church attendance was monitored through a register, which recorded the woman's name, room number and the time that they came to church.

After three warnings the women were asked to leave the shelter, but if they physically fought, stole or if they were lesbian, they were asked to leave immediately. Women were also refused entry into the shelter if they returned to it drunk or high on drugs.

The women in the shelter mostly came from a particular background:

- Mostly from single families (single mother),
- Poor socio-economic conditions,
- Unemployed,
- Homeless, many were foreigners (for example: Zimbabwe, Congo),
- HIV positive, and as a result rejected by their family,
- From abusive relationships physical, financial and sexual,
- Most of the women who had children had been living with boyfriends and not husbands,
- Many of the women had between 3 – 5 children, and

- There were women who came for safety reasons; they were encouraged to find a place to stay.

The women staying in the shelter were expected to attend six counselling sessions with the part-time counsellor, but some women took longer to open up, and therefore attended ten to twelve sessions. The main issues that came up during counselling were emotionally-related, and concerned domestic violence, sexual violence as well as relationship issues. Through counselling the women were also given advice on child maintenance and employment issues. Often, women were not open about being raped in their admittance interviews, largely due to the family not accepting it or not believing them, but the rape would come up during counselling. The part-time counsellor confirmed that 40% of the women who had come to the shelter had been raped, and only once a trust relationship had been built up, would the women open up and talk about being raped. The part-time counsellor encouraged the women to report the rape but often the women did not want to do so. She gave one example where a woman said she could not report the rape as her husband got on very well with the police. This woman was also scared of being stalked, as her husband had threatened to kill her. In domestic violence cases the women felt that the system did not work. It had been seen how many women withdrew the cases they opened against their husbands, and then the next time they were abused by their husbands they did not report the incident as they would not be taken seriously.

An example given by the staff was that of a woman in the shelter who was pregnant through rape. She was raped by her pastor and she was determined to have the child. This woman did not want to open a case as she had reported the rape to the senior pastor in her church. However, the rapist was bribing the senior pastor by buying him things, which resulted in him protecting the rapist and not the victim. She would not open a case as she felt that he would win given that he was able to buy support.

It had been seen how the women blossomed in the shelter, partly due to the fact that they no longer had to worry about nappies, toiletries, food and paying rent. However, this had created a comfort zone for some of the women, which then lead to a "dependency syndrome". As a result, when these women were asked to leave the shelter, they would immediately look for another shelter. This has been termed "shelter hopping". Some women who refused to participate in chores would leave the shelter to look for a man and for money to feed their children while other women would lock themselves in their rooms and refuse to answer the

door when someone knocked. It was also observed how the women arrived at the shelter with only one bag of belongings and left with many bags. The many bags that the women left the shelter with were due to the donations they received during their stay in the shelter.

Religion in the shelter

The shelter was a Christian shelter and therefore religion, or as the CEO stressed, a "relationship with God", played an important role in the day to day running of the shelter.

The CEO / Pastor explained that the role of God within the shelter was:

- About a relationship with a God who wanted to heal the hurts of the past,
- Had seen ladies blossoming week to week as they grew in the Lord,
- Being a Christian was more than going to church on a Sunday, as it was not a set of rules, but rather coming to know God as Father, and being "born again",
- There was an obvious change in the women due to being in the presence of God,
- It was a lifestyle which involved spending time with the Lord,
- There was a church service on a Sunday, a prayer meeting in the week, a home cell and also various groups coming in to share with the ladies, and this also assisted with their healing.

The attendance at church on a Sunday was compulsory, as it was considered important for the women to be exposed to church and the presence of God. It was seen that they responded well, and enjoyed the church services, with many of them giving their hearts to the Lord, being "born again". However, the church attendance could sometimes be seen as a burden to the women, as they would have liked to have attended their own churches. The benefits of church attendance were seen in the counselling sessions, where, as the woman grew spiritually, and as they understood the advantages of forgiveness, it became easier for them to forgive.

Factors which came up in the counselling sessions and which affected the women's healing were seen to be:

- Failure to manage their anger,
- Improper management of emotions,
- Not being patient, as they did not consider the effects of time and did not acknowledge the role it plays in the healing process.

There was, at times, a clash between Christianity and the rules of the shelter, as well as Christianity and the principles of social work. One example of this is that if a woman rebelled, she would go to church on Sunday and ask for forgiveness, and then be allowed to stay in the shelter. A challenge was also presented when women, who did not fit the criteria of admittance in terms of policy, wished to be admitted to the shelter. The staff were then reminded of God's teachings, and this meant that the women were then admitted. The Christian principles of forgiveness, tolerance and understanding were occasionally used as reasons for women to continue staying in the shelter after doing something that was against the rules. The women often took advantage of this, as due to the Christian principles in the shelter, it was often difficult to enforce the rules of the shelter. This, in turn, compromised the relationship between the staff and the residents, as it undermined the credibility of the staff.

The women after the shelter

The women were granted a leave pass for three days. If they left for longer periods, or without permission, it could be assumed that they had found another place where they could stay. The shelter conducted regular interviews with the women and, through regular communication; they were able to determine when the women were ready to leave the shelter. If a person had been in the shelter for a while they were given a month's notice in writing to leave the shelter, but often this time was extended. The social worker assisted those who were working with budgeting so that they would be able to cope when they left the shelter and be able to budget wisely.

The shelter assisted in the reconciliation of families and marriages. The most serious incidents of abuse were seen in women who were abused by their husbands. It was found that these women did not want to get divorced, because the concept of divorce went against their traditional values. These women often reunited with their husbands, as even though they were in pain, they missed them, and felt that the man was, after all, still their husband. In most cases these women would go back to their husband's family. Where the woman was not in a married relationship it was found that the woman's boyfriend tended to abuse her in order to get her to leave the relationship.

When the women left the shelter they normally went:

- To look for a place to rent if they were working,

- Back home,
- To stay with a spouse / partner, and
- To other shelters or places of safety.

Once the women left the shelter they were not re-admitted and the shelter would refer them, if necessary, to other shelters. There were however some cases where women were taken back. In one instance, a woman who had left the shelter, became ill and lost her job. She was found living on the streets with her children, so the shelter agreed to take her back. Since her return to the shelter, her health had improved and she had managed to get her job back.

Limitation of the shelter as a case study

The site of the research imposed various limitations on the research. As the women who participated in the research all came from the shelter the interviews were limited to women of Black African and Coloured origins. The majority of the women came from a low socio-economic background which meant that the findings would not be applicable to women who came from a higher socio-economic group. It was found that women from a higher socio-economic social group would have more access to resources and would be therefore less likely to move into a shelter.

4.3.2 Research Respondents

4.3.2.1 Overview of the Respondents

Respondent	Age	Racial Origins	No. of interviews	Length of interviews	Sexually abused / raped by	Venue of the interviews
Daisy*	55	Coloured (mixed race)	1	1hour, 34 minutes	• Sexual abuse by uncle, • Raped by uncle, • Attempted rape by her uncle, and • Attempted rape by son of a friend of her father.	• Safe room in the shelter
Sandy*	35	Coloured (mixed race)	2	2 hours, 3 minutes	• Multiple rapes by step-father.	• Safe room in the shelter
Lesedi*	36	Black African	3	3 hours, 49 minutes	• Raped by “boyfriend”, • Raped by husband.	• Coffee Shop • Safe room in the shelter
Grace*	22	Black African	1	48 minutes	• Raped by older sister’s “boyfriend”, • Sexually assaulted, by stepfather, and • Attempted rape by stepfather.	• Coffee shop

Respondent	Age	Racial Origins	No. of interviews	Length of interviews	Sexually abused / raped by	Venue of the interviews
Lerato*	32	Black African	2	4 hours, 18 minutes	• Raped by "boyfriend", • Raped by sister's "boyfriend", • Raped by later "boyfriend", and • Raped by taxi boss.	• Safe room in the shelter
Candice*	41	Coloured (mixed race)	2	2 hours, 34 minutes	• Raped by friend, • Attempted rape by "drinking buddy", and • Raped by "drinking buddy".	• Safe room in the shelter
Total			11	**15 hours, 6 minutes**		

*Pseudonyms have been used to protect the identity of the women

4.3.3 Interviews

It was the woman's story which guided the interview process and it was seen how when questions were asked it broke the woman's train of thought. Therefore, questions were only used when really necessary. It was seen how once the woman started to tell her story it flowed, as she remembered more and more of what had happened. Due to the nature of the research, the in-depth interviews worked well by enabling the women to allow their stories to flow with detailed descriptions of their experiences. Some of the interviews lasted up to two hours at a time which meant that not as many follow-up interviews were needed.

The staff in the shelter were interviewed through structured interviews with a set of guiding questions. Other prompting questions were asked during the interview based on the answers given. These interviews were shorter, with the average interview lasting about thirty minutes. This was due to the nature of the interview and the need for answers to a few very specific questions. Similar questions were asked to all four of the staff interviewed which enabled me to get a view of the shelter and its context from all sides.

4.4 Data Analysis

My research made use of narrative analysis, a narrative being an "oral, written or filmed account of events told to others or to oneself" (Smith, 2000: 328). I chose to make use of narrative analysis as it enabled me to analyse the women's stories as a whole, rather than break them down into separate parts. Narrative analysis makes use of interviews as the main data collection method. It was through in-depth interviews that the researcher was able to get

the participants to tell their story. It was the participants' story, and how they understood their lives, that was important in narrative research. The benefit of narrative research was that it allowed me to gain "insight into the beliefs, actions and values of the participants from their own frame of reference" (Hansen, 2006:152 &153). However, the limitation of using this method was that respondents could forget certain details due to trauma, and exaggerate or leave out details with which they were not comfortable disclosing (Riessman, 1993).

Each individual interview was transcribed chronologically as a whole, and themes across the interviews with the same respondent were identified. This resulted in one combined transcript per interviewee which gave an overview of all the interviews done with the respondent. The first interviews were used as a way to guide the second and third interviews that followed. These overall transcripts per interviewee were cross-referenced in order to pick up the common themes that were found across the different respondents. These themes were then used in order to form a code with which the interviews were analysed. I repeatedly went through the transcripts in order to make sure that I had been able to capture all the themes that emerged from the narratives (Chase, 2005).

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter looked at the research methodology used, and how it facilitated the collection and analysis of the necessary data for the research. An overview of the research site and the respondents was also given, as well as the method of analysis, namely, narrative analysis. The following chapter is entitled Research Narratives and gives a chronological overview of the individual woman's stories and the data collected during the interviews.

Chapter 5: Research Narratives

"So when I told my mother what happened that person was like our neighbour understand the same man was our neighbour so she said I must keep quiet just because she [Grace's mother] don't want to make bad neighbourhood but I told my mother this man raped me…" (Grace)

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I outlined the method used in the data collection process as well as the method of analysis, namely, narrative analysis. In this chapter, I detail the women's narratives and begin to link their stories to the literature and the theoretical framework. In line with narrative analysis and standpoint theory, I have used the women's voices as far as possible so as to remain authentic to their stories and to allow their voices to be heard. Therefore, where possible, I have used direct quotations in the relating of their experiences. Although in the interviews, the women moved between events, and jumped from one part of their lives to the next and then at times back again, in what follows I have depicted the "stories" in chronological order.

Each narrative will follow the same format; namely, a brief chronological summary followed by a detailed narrative which will be linked to themes from the literature and theory. The key themes I shall focus on are: reporting or telling about the rape, socio-economic status, stigma, rape myths and family relations. All the information given below was obtained from the interviews conducted with the six women as outlined in (c/f) chapter 4. In the next chapter I draw all the themes together and link them to what was found in the literature review and the theoretical framework.

5.2 The Narratives

5.2.1 Daisy

5.2.1.1 Brief Summary

Daisy was anally raped at seven or eight years of age by her uncle, who had sexually abused her prior to the rape. Initially, she did not tell anyone. When her uncle attempted to rape her a second time, her parents had walked in and prevented the rape from happening. In Standard one Daisy had wanted to tell her teacher, but she never did. As a teenager, Daisy experienced another attempted rape by a known person, which was again averted by her father walking into the room. She often felt the need to tell someone that her uncle had raped her, but she was fearful, and did not know how to broach the subject. At the age of 15 she confided in a friend about the rape by her uncle, and before their first sexual experience, she told her boyfriend, who subsequently became her husband. Daisy believed that her mother must have suspected that she had been raped, as her mother asked her about it on her deathbed. Daisy confirmed that the abuse and rape had indeed taken place.

5.2.1.2 Detailed Narrative

Daisy first experienced abuse and rape by her uncle. Daisy's uncle had been in jail and when he was released he had stayed in an outside room at Daisy's family home, which she described as "sub-economic". Thus he had frequent contact with Daisy, including when she bathed in a tub in the kitchen. In the years that followed, Daisy had pondered why her mother had left her with her uncle. Daisy also noticed that her uncle had been aware of when her mother was not at home.

In the quote below Daisy describes her rape experience by her uncle:

> *"…[my uncle] was taking me to somebody… then he took me into a field like a bush you know, and I remember on that particular day and it [the rape] only happened once … it was the strangest thing because I was little so I was somewhere between seven and nine.* ***But to me I actually knew*** *– he was walking down the road with me holding my hand and* ***I knew that, what his plans were even though I was so little*** *and I was* ***fearful*** *and at the same time* ***I was ashamed*** *as* ***I believed everyone we passed in the road knew- I believed that they were looking at me as though they knew….*** *there was that* ***sense of shame.*** *They* ***knew I was doing something wrong*** *um! And then … he had sex with me [my emphasis]."*

This quote demonstrates Daisy's internalised stigma (Taylor *et al.*, 1983) and her feeling of shame, which started immediately prior to the rape. Her uncle had previously abused her and perhaps this made her suspect that he had immoral intentions. This shows the first time that Daisy felt different. Daisy sensed that the people who passed them as they walked down the street knew that she was "*doing something wrong".* At the time of the rape, Daisy was aware that what her uncle had done to her was *"wrong",* and she had always wanted to tell someone about what he had done, but felt that she was incapable of doing so.

On the night her uncle attempted to rape her a second time, her parents became aware of her uncle's intentions and the abuse came to an end. Daisy had used the opportunity to get out of the abuse.

> *"Oh yes when* ***it didn't seem to me that I could tell somebody*** *until the one night um! I woke up and he was standing beside the bed, … I had been sleeping I think and woke up to him standing by the bed or maybe he called me or touched me I don't know what and I remember thinking that* ***this was the opportunity to get out of it because I was trapped in it.*** *So I just shouted, I just screamed blue murder. Of course my father came running into the room – he [her uncle] pretended that he actually needed the loo and that he had gone to the loo. Of course we learned then how…. he [her uncle] had actually bribed my brother to let him in… [my emphasis]."*

Daisy's brother was an unwitting accomplice to the sexual abuse as her uncle had sent him to the shops for sweets and asked to be let into the house. Daisy had wanted to get out of the abuse, which she noted as having taken place "*over a long period of time".* As stated above,

she explains how she felt "trapped" by the abuse. Her father had chased her uncle out of the room, and both her parents felt that *"they had averted something"* and her mother had asked her uncle to leave after this incident.

The abuse by her uncle came to an end after this, and Daisy noted that she had not told anyone about what happened as a result of feelings of shame. This illustrates the internalised stigma (Taylor *et al.*, 1983 / Goffman, 1969) that Daisy felt due to the abuse, which she carried throughout her life. At the time of the abuse Daisy had not told her mother about the rape for four key reasons. Firstly, her mother had an accident resulting in amnesia not long after the abuse took place and hence she was unable to remember her children for a period of time. Secondly, the rape was something which was not spoken about in her family, even after her parents became aware that something might have happened. Thirdly, Daisy had noted that she came from a "dysfunctional" family and that she did not have the kind of connection with her mother that would allow her to do so. Fourthly, Daisy was aware that her mother had been sexually abused herself, which added to her reluctance to disclose the abuse.

> *"…We just lived such strange lives that things like that [the abuse]* ***were not spoken about*** *but I do know that* ***my mother had also been subjected to sexual abuse as a young woman****, because I remember as a child overhearing something … [my emphasis]."*

Daisy only told her mother about the abuse when she asked about it on her deathbed. She reflected that after the abuse ended she would have told her parents if they had asked. While Daisy had just wanted the abuse to end, "*I don't think I said anything actually because I just wanted it to stop…".* Daisy explained that when looking back she would not have reported the rape as she "felt sorry for him". At the time of the abuse Daisy would have told her parents, however, she would not have reported it. Daisy felt that she was unable to tell anyone about the rape until the age of fifteen when she told her best friend. She felt that she was able to tell her friend as they had a relationship of trust which meant that her friend would not have judged her. This was the first time Daisy had been able to overlook the shame and tell someone about the abuse without fear of judgment.

> *"…well at some stage* ***I had told a best friend at High School*** *– I mean I think I was in STD 7 that would have been* ***the first time I told somebody****. Either STD 7 or STD 8 we were* ***really very close friends,*** *we are still friends so I told her… [my emphasis]."*

As a teenager, Daisy was almost raped again by the son of a neighbour who was friends with her father. Her father had walked in and prevented the rape. However, he blamed her for the incident, largely due to the boy being the son of his good friend.

> *"... **my father blamed me** because this was a friend, this guy – his dad was my father's friend or not friends but they were good friends as in neighbourly you know and my father blamed me but **if my dad had not got home that day he would have raped me** [my emphasis]."*

Daisy was anguished that her father had blamed her for the incident, and felt as if her parents were letting her down again. Even though Daisy had a *"bloodshot eye"* from the struggle, her father maintained that it had been her fault. This is in line with the rape myths that placed the blame on the "victim" or woman for putting herself in the situation (Wiehe & Richards, 1995).

A woman who has been "raped or sexually assaulted" can be stigmatised and this affects her world view (C/F 3.4). For example, Daisy felt different after the rape as all her friends prided themselves on their virginity and she was not a virgin.

> *"Oh so **I am not a virgin**, throughout my life that had always been there, that I am not a virgin, I had always felt you know to me it was a great, great – it was a sore point. It was a sense of I don't even know what to call it – **it was just terrible growing up not being a virgin**. All your life whenever people, as teenagers when your girlfriends spoke about you know virginity or whatever **you secretly knew that you were not a virgin** [my emphasis]."*

The rape was an invisible stigma as nobody was able to see that she was no longer a virgin (Weidner & Griffitt, 1983). She also labelled herself as "*different"* because she knew she was no longer a virgin. This affected her self-esteem and she believed made it easier for her to enter her first consensual sexual experience, an experience which she later regretted. Virginity symbolised the purity of the female body (Maluleke, 2012) and after the rape Daisy saw her body as 'soiled' or 'impure.'

> *"[Having sex with my boyfriend] filled with regret, regret that I had been so dumb to have sex, um! Anger ... also that feeling that I **had lived all my life thinking that all my life I did not know that my hymen was intact,** so all my life **I didn't know that technically I was a virgin** and that was like the **most important thing**. It was like losing something twice [my emphasis]."*

Daisy noted that at the time of the rape she knew that she was doing something wrong. This highlights that she already judged herself. So while physiologically she was still a 'virgin' because her hymen was intact, it is interesting to ask questions about whether she would have judged herself if she had known that she was technically still a virgin. Her uncle had still violated her, which would have still left her feeling 'impure'. However, Daisy was still angry

with herself for having had sex with her boyfriend whom she subsequently married. She noted that she was not *"in love with him"* but he gave her a *"sense of belonging".*

> *"Anyway I continued the sexual relationship, I didn't – **I wasn't in love with the person** but it probably just gave me a **sense of belonging** and I fell pregnant and at the age of 20 I got married because I was pregnant … [my emphasis]."*

This affected the course of her life. She had always felt isolated growing up. Hence it was important for her, at twenty years of age, not to be a single mother. From the beginning of her marriage she was not happy and she described her marriage as *"a complete disaster".*

> *"…I think the very week that we got married I already needed to move back home or wanted to move back home. But anyway I **stayed for more abuse for 9 years always feeling trapped thinking that I can't leave**…. [my emphasis]."*

Daisy spoke about feeling trapped as a child, when the abuse by her uncle was taking place, and she again felt trapped as an adult when she got married. She noted that her husband *"did not have the emotional capacity to deal with a cripple like me".* The use of pejorative words such as "cripple" furthered Daisy's internalised stigma and her feelings of inferiority. However, her physiological body was not crippled, but Daisy felt as though her phenomenological body was crippled. This affected her sense of self and her ability to exercise power as a human being.

The feelings of inferiority and not being good enough followed Daisy throughout her childhood, teenage years and early adulthood, and she spoke of herself as "*stupid, fat, ugly".* As an adult she was able to recognise and identify this:

> *"…I think that [the rape] really had such an impact on my life, probably as I grew up as a young adult **I didn't believe I was capable of doing anything** … and **different as in there is something wrong with me**… not being adequate **feeling inadequate** [my emphasis]."*

However, Daisy noted that she came from a *"dysfunctional family"* and she also expressed hatred for her uncle.

> *"….um! **I hated him** [her uncle]; I hated my father's brother all my life… **I was repulsed by him** [my emphasis]."*

Daisy's healing process started when she became a Christian at the age of forty. It was only then that she was able to forgive her uncle, and to start healing from her parents "*letting her down"* and the failure of her marriage. Daisy became a Christian before coming to the shelter and while in the shelter she strengthened her faith and continued her healing process.

5.2.2 Sandy

5.2.2.1 Brief Summary

Sandy was raped by her stepfather for a period of *"ten and a half years if not longer".* The sexual abuse started when she was thirteen and the first rape happened when she was sixteen. Sandy fell pregnant with her stepfather's child and her daughter was born when she was nineteen. When she fell pregnant the first time, her parents answered all the necessary questions about the pregnancy and moved her to a college, in order for her to finish her matric. The first time Sandy tried to commit suicide was when she was nineteen. Having already had one child, Sandy had a miscarriage at the age of twenty-one and, two years later, when she was twenty-three, she gave birth to a son, who was also her stepfather's child. When she was twenty-six she fell pregnant again by her stepfather; he took her to have an abortion. Sandy had tried to inform people about the abuse but nobody was willing to believe her, or to help her. Sandy's biological father, who had been in jail since she was six years old, was released when she was twenty-eight. After her father was released from jail he helped Sandy leave the abusive situation and laid charges against her stepfather. Sandy's stepfather was found guilty and sentenced to five years in jail; however, he was released on medical parole.

5.2.2.2 Detailed Narrative

Sandy's first experience of abuse was when her stepfather started *"playing with [her] breasts".* Sandy told her mother who acted as if it was ordinary, *"she said, 'No it's normal he is your father…".* Sandy did not consider it normal, especially as she grew older. When she was sixteen her stepfather drugged and raped her. Due to the drugs Sandy was not aware of what was happening until halfway through the rape. She attempted to get him to stop but he kept on with what he was doing.

> *"That was the first time he [Sandy's stepfather] literally did whatever he wanted to do to me. Halfway through* ***I said no, no, no, stop it, stop it! He just said, 'Don't worry'****… [my emphasis]."*

Sandy's brother had walked in while her stepfather was raping her; however, he was too scared to say anything due to being beaten regularly by their stepfather. After the rape the drugs made Sandy pass out and when she woke up she recounted what had happened to her mother who accused her of "*imagining it"*.

> *"I explained to my mother what had happened. She [Sandy's mother] said, 'No man,* ***I am sure you are imagining stuff'….*** *I am sore and we* ***can even go to the doctor to establish what happened****. And I showed my mother* ***my breasts*** *where his hand marks were the way he was,* ***it's bruised*** *and she [Sandy's mother]* ***never believed me****… [my emphasis]."*

Sandy had evidence of what her stepfather had done to her and she knew that a doctor would have been able to corroborate it. This reflects a contrast between Sandy's real, embodied evidence of the abuse versus her mother's attempt to explain it away as 'imagined'. Following this her stepfather started raping her about once a month until it became more frequent. In the end, he had sex with her whenever he felt the desire to. Sandy gave an overview of the effect the rape was having on her in the quote below and notes how she started "*losing hope"* due to her mother pretending that she was not aware of the abuse. This could largely have been due to the physical abuse her mother was also subjected to by the stepfather.

> *"…it was* ***like someone was stealing a little bit of you every time*** *– you don't know what is happening to you… it's by force – it's hurting me – I don't know what's going on. Then at 16 it happen frequently like every month and* ***still my mother did not believe me I started just giving up hope*** *because clearly I was not getting through to her [my emphasis]."*

The way Sandy reflects on the effects of the abuse shows how the physiological rape was eroding the phenomenological body and with it her sense of self, identity and personhood. At eighteen years of age Sandy fell pregnant with her first child and she reflected on how she was labelled "*the biggest loose girl you could find"* by her family. This reflects how her "body" was perceived by society as being sexually promiscuous and this was in direct contrast to what was actually taking place. While she was still young, and unfamiliar with *"abortion and child birth,"* and both her physical, and her phenomenological body, she still made the choice to keep the child. However, once her first child was born, it had a significant impact on her, and she stated that her *"life"* had *"stopped"*.

In spite of the fact that having a baby meant that her life "*stopped"* she was aware that she did not have "*a life*". She reflected that her stepfather had *"robbed [her] of [her] teens"* and prevented her from being a happy child. This reflects the recurring narrative of "theft," at different levels of embodiment, that of the stealing of time, youth, innocence, freedom, as well as the theft of her sense of self and identity.

Sandy was subject to what has been termed "forced pregnancy", as she fell pregnant due to rape, and not by her own choice (Mapombere, 2010/11). At the age of eighteen Sandy told

her mathematics teacher about the abuse when he questioned her about the drop in her grades. When he reported it the teacher almost lost his job, and was told by the school principal to stay out of things that did not concern him. When Sandy's doctor asked what was bothering her she told him, but he did not believe her. Sandy had tried to report the abuse to the police once but it was swept under the carpet as if it was *"just one of those things".* Over the period of the abuse pregnancy played a big role in her life as she was impregnated a total of four times. Resulting from the pregnancies were two live births, one miscarriage and one abortion.

> *"…**I was pregnant again** but this time **he** [Sandy's stepfather] **took me to have an abortion** – he paid for it he put in a name, a false name for me – I just had to do it and get done with it. In a sense I feel, you know – **I felt violated before but it felt like I was being stripped of everything, my dignity, my pride, my everything after my abortion…** [my emphasis]."*

For Sandy the abortion was the final act of violation. Her stepfather made the decision on her behalf as she was *"not mentally stable"* at the time of the abortion to make the decision herself. This is in line with the game theory whereby Sandy's stepfather was able to make decisions on her behalf (Goffman 1969). It is important to note that while her stepfather made all the arrangements for the abortion, Sandy still owned the experience by calling it *"my abortion".*

Sandy was affected by homelessness during the years of abuse by her stepfather. She was unable to leave the place where she was staying as she had two children and had nowhere to go.

> *"…where else was I going to go? My dad's in prison, **nobody believes me** – he's [Sandy's stepfather] a rich man he is influential… I was always threatened and if I do say something I get beaten up by my step-dad. … **even because I wasn't working obviously I wasn't able to take care of my two children – if I don't do this then you won't get money for your child's needs but yet we live in one house** [my emphasis]."*

If Sandy had left the place of the abuse she would have been homeless and unable to take care of her children. Her stepfather used the children against her. If she had not done what she had been told to do then supplies for her children would have been withheld.

During the time of the abuse Sandy tried to commit suicide three times due to her belief that suicide was her only way out of the abuse.

> *"I was already **so miserable I even tried to commit suicide** – a few times actually. The first time I **tried to hang myself I think I was 19,** that didn't go so well – the whole ceiling board fell out –*

> *they [Sandy's parents] were so angry with me – I got the beating of my life. The second time* ***I was busy with the gun – I got distracted so the bullet it went in the wall.*** *The third time I bought a* ***whole bag of pills I put them in a blender so that it is powder and I just started swallowing*** *and then I woke up I am in hospital – they drained me… [my emphasis]."*

Sandy's family did not help matters by labelling her "*a trouble maker"* and making her feel that she *"was the one who… ruined a happy family".* This illustrates how Sandy's family, because they didn't believe her and always considered her to be at fault, resulting in Sandy believing that she deserved the abuse and therefore could not leave it. .

Sandy was experiencing abuse at home to the extent that all her activities were restricted and her stepfather had complete control over her. He controlled where she went, insisting on accompanying her if she went out, and taking her to work once she started working. If Sandy came home late she used to get beaten. Due to this abuse Sandy lived her life in fear. Her stepfather used to control how she dressed; only allowing her to dress like a boy. It got to a point where he used to *"duct tape her breasts"* so that it looked as if she did not have breasts, adding to the illusion that she was a *"boy".*

Sandy's real father was released from jail when she was twenty-eight years old. Her father came to stay with them in an outside room until he could get his own place. He was able to assist her in getting out of the abusive situation and helped her to lay official charges against her stepfather. Sandy did not want her father to find out what was happening. She had internalised the stigma of the abuse and was *"ashamed and embarrassed"* as her stepfather had made her believe it was her fault (Taylor *et al.,* 1983), – that "*if [she] didn't have this small body it wouldn't have happened".*

Sandy's father had been aware that something had been happening and he felt guilty that he had not been there for his daughter. However, he was the first person who stepped in and helped her get out of the abuse. Sandy needed someone to listen to her and believe her. Sandy's father assisted her in building a legal case against her stepfather. The case went to court and her stepfather denied the charges but was found guilty once the paternity tests revealed that he was the father of Sandy's children. During the court case Sandy's mother had admitted to knowing about the abuse and had accused Sandy of *"breaking the family code"* as *"it's part of the family, in the family – what happens in the family stays in the family".* This was the first time Sandy's mother had admitted to knowing about the abuse and shows how strongly she valued the family code. This also reflects the role that Sandy's

step-father played in the family as the patriarch and head of the family. Sandy's mother chose to stay with her stepfather after this, even though he was also physically abusing her.

After the court case, Sandy began her healing process, whereby she did *"five years of anger management, three years of counselling"* and also sent her children for counselling. Sandy had to come to terms with the psychological implications of her new freedom, for instance, she could now do what she wanted, arrive home at a time of her choosing and decide how she dressed. Five years after the court case Sandy got married and had two more children. While she was pregnant with her last child she left the home in which she had lived with her husband. Sandy saw signs of abuse within her marriage and did not want to end up in the same position as her mother had been in. Sandy came to the shelter at this point as she had nowhere else to go. It was at the shelter that she was able to continue her healing process through Christianity. The shelter provided Sandy with a safe place where she was given the space to heal from the abuse that she had experienced for the greater part of her life. Sandy had indicated how her children were a blessing to her, and how she did not love her two older children less because of how they were conceived.

5.2.3 Lesedi

5.2.3.1 Brief Summary

Lesedi was raped by her boyfriend in her matric year at school. Lesedi did not report the rape as she was frightened of how her father would react, as he did not allow his daughters to have boyfriends. Lesedi's father was also very violent and had been active in resisting white domination during apartheid. Lesedi told her next boyfriend about the rape and eventually told a close friend. After she was married, Lesedi was abused by her husband, who raped her at knifepoint in front of their four-year-old daughter. Lesedi reported the rape to the police and opened a case. After the rape Lesedi moved into a shelter with her children because she did not feel safe at home. Lesedi, however, withdrew the charges after her husband convinced her that she needed his income to take care of the children. As a result of continued abuse within her marriage, Lesedi eventually left her husband, and was able to get a job which enabled her to support her children. She began her healing process through her faith and involvement in the church.

5.2.3.2 Detailed Narrative

Lesedi's boyfriend raped her the day before her matric English paper. Her boyfriend made use of the "sexual script" in which women are expected to say "no" to sexual encounters, thus providing the man with the opportunity to pursue her (C/F 3.4) (Wiehe & Richards, 1995). This resulted in men thinking that while a woman says "no" she essentially means "yes". Lesedi noted that her boyfriend would not take "no" for an answer and he even told her afterwards that next time it would be better.

> *"…And* ***he*** *[Lesedi's boyfriend]* ***was like don't go around telling people I forced myself on you***. *Because* ***if you had just done, you are my girlfriend*** *– I am your boyfriend – let's just do it the right way next time, we don't have to fight –* ***I*** *[Lesedi's boyfriend]* ***am so impressed that you are a virgin you know…****. [my emphasis]."*

Lesedi had three key reasons for not telling anyone about the rape. Firstly, she felt that people would blame her for making an issue of the rape as he was her boyfriend. *"I felt if I told people they would be like he is your boyfriend what is the big deal…"* Secondly, she was terrified of her father finding out that she had a boyfriend, stating *"I was scared more of my father than anything else".* Lastly, she did not want to tell her friends, as she was worried about disappointing them as she had broken the pact that they had made not to have *"sex with guys until [they were] twenty-one".*

The reasons given by Lesedi for not telling anyone about the rape, points to that fact that she was placing the blame on herself. Lesedi also emphasised that she was unsure about what to do, and that, as a result, *"[she] kept this to [herself] for years and years"* choosing to tell only one person about it.

In the holiday, after her matric exam, Lesedi met her next boyfriend. The rape was still relatively recent and she found physical contact uncomfortable. Lesedi eventually wrote this boyfriend a long letter telling him about the rape. During the second month that Lesedi was dating him they became sexually active and shortly after this she fell pregnant. Lesedi left this boyfriend, and noted that she did not have a valid reason, but she explained how she might have been *"bored with the fact that he had no drama, because [she] was used to having men with drama, [her] father for instance".* While in this relationship, she was friends with the man who was subsequently to become her husband.

About six years after the rape Lesedi bumped into her former boyfriend, who had raped her. She met him at a shop where he was shopping with his wife. After this she realised that she needed to tell someone other than the boyfriend she dated after the rape. Seeing the boyfriend who had raped her was the catalyst for doing so.

> *"…that is when **I decided I must tell someone** so I told my best friend who was my best friend at High School and is still my best friend. I told her [her best friend], remember that guy, remember – she [her friend] was like it was that day we were writing English **I knew there was something wrong with you**… [my emphasis]."*

Lesedi was able to tell her best friend as she felt secure that theirs was a trustworthy relationship and meant that her friend would not judge her. This was unlike the relationship that she had with her father, who, she stressed, was very violent. *"My dad was very violent."* Her father's violence had an impact on her life and meant that she was not able to talk freely about her rape until many years after the rape. After ending the relationship with the father of her first child, Lesedi started dating the man that she eventually married. Her marriage was abusive and she and her husband often fought.

One night Lesedi's husband came home drunk and raped her at knifepoint. Before the rape her husband told her that *"if you dare resist me I will cut you with this knife…".* At the time, Lesedi was not aware that it was rape, or that a "husband could rape his wife". The day after the rape she felt *"very sad and [she] was surprised as to why [she] was sad as [she] was used to him [Lesedi's husband] abusing [her]".* Lesedi went to see the social worker whom she had started seeing before the rape because of other instances of abuse in her marriage. It was only after the social worker explained everything that she realised that her husband had raped her.

The Prevention of Family Violence Act, 133 of 1993, classified rape by a husband as a criminal offence (Albertyn, 2011: 141). Subsequently Lesedi reported the rape and opened a case against her husband. Her four year old daughter was a witness to the rape. However, due to her husband convincing her that she needed his income to look after the children, she withdrew the charges.

> *"We [Lesedi and her husband] sort of got back together but we were living separately and the case was still on and in winter ya! **He spoke to me** cause he had already started at his new job – told me to please drop the case … **I was dropping the case** and they asked me the reasons why, is he forcing me – **the reason why is that he is supporting us financially and if he goes to jail my daughter and I would be left with nobody to support us** [my emphasis]."*

Lesedi was convinced at the time that she would not be able to cope financially without her husband. She also did not want her husband to go to jail as it would result in *"[her] daughter [having] that stigma that her father is in prison because he raped her mom".* As a result of dropping the charges, when the abuse by her husband continued, she was too scared to report him as she did not think anyone would believe her. The abuse continued after this, but her husband never raped her again.

As part of the abuse experienced by Lesedi, her husband used to kick her out of the house in the middle of the night. "*... He [Lesedi's husband] dragged me and dragged the kids and me out of the house…"* This conveys the sense that it was her husband who had control in the household and therefore without him Lesedi would be homeless. In one instance, her husband came home one night with a "*court order saying [she] was a danger to him so [she] should vacate the house".*

It was after the rape that Lesedi stayed in a shelter largely for reasons of safety. However, as noted above, during other periods of her marriage, she often found herself homeless due to her husband kicking her out of the house. Lesedi eventually left her husband but it was a difficult time as she had three children of her own to look after, as well as her late sister's child. Lesedi had one son from before her marriage and she had two children from her marriage.

It was her faith in God that helped her heal from the rape experience and Lesedi has started doing community work in order to help other women who have experienced similar abuse.

> *"... it seemed* ***the more I went to church the more I got built up*** *the more I started believing something else other than he [her husband] had been telling me [my emphasis]."*

Lesedi filed for divorce and managed to get a job in order to support her children. As she grew in her faith Lesedi was able to start believing in herself and the abilities she had. She started to realise that she did not need her husband as she was capable of looking after herself and her children. Lesedi continues to work and provide for her children.

Lesedi had two rape experiences, the first when she was raped by her boyfriend as a "teenager", and the second when she was raped by her husband as an adult. Messman & Long (1996) refer to this as "revictimisation" and it is a term used to describe a situation in which women experience a "sexual assault" first as a child, and then again as an adult.

5.2.4 Grace

5.2.4.1 Brief Summary

Grace was a Zimbabwean citizen who was raped by her older sister's boyfriend while living with her older sister in Zimbabwe. Once Grace had moved to South Africa to live with her mother she experienced an attempted rape and sexual assault by her stepfather. Grace's younger sister was also abused by their stepfather. Grace and her younger sister opened a case against their stepfather but the mother and stepfather had the case dropped. Subsequently Grace became pregnant with her boyfriend's child and moved out of the house to live with her boyfriend. After they both lost their jobs, and after the birth of their son, Grace stayed in the shelter until her boyfriend was able to find another job.

5.2.4.2 Detailed Narrative

Grace was raped by her older sister's boyfriend while she was still in high school. Grace was living with her older sister in Zimbabwe at the time of the rape while her mother was working in Johannesburg. Grace's mother used to come home every two months. Grace had been a virgin at the time of the rape and she told her older sister after her sister had seen the blood on the bed. Her sister did not believe her and accused her of lying. There was nobody at the house she could converse with.

> *"… and when, my sister [older sister] she came back she said what's that blood I told her exactly what happened.* ***She did not believe me, she said I was lying*** *– she saw the blood on top of the bed because* ***I was a virgin at that time*** *I was a virgin at that moment [my emphasis]."*

The issue of virginity came up in Grace's story as she placed importance on her virginity at the time of the rape. Grace also noted that she *"was alone"* as her mother was not there while *"[her older] sister was always seconding her boyfriend".* Because her older sister did not believe her, Grace was left feeling that *"[she] was unable to tell anyone…".* After the rape Grace felt the stigma of what had happened to her. She was alone in the period following the rape and she did not go out as she feared what other people would say about her as *"[she] thought they already knew what had happened to [her]".* Grace felt that her physiological body was changed by the rape and that people would be able to notice. This shows how Grace had internalised the rape stigma (Taylor *et al.,* 1983).

Grace did tell her mother the next time she came home. When she told her mother, her mother questioned her about why she had taken so long to tell her. Grace had felt that it was

not something that she could tell her mother over the phone. Grace's mother then asked her to keep quiet as she did not want to cause trouble in the community. Grace's mother was more concerned about what people would say than about the fact that her daughter had been raped.

> *"So when **I told my mother** what happened that person was like our neighbour understand the same man was our neighbour so **she said I must keep quiet** just **because she** [Grace's mother] **don't want to make bad neighbourhood** but I told my mother this man raped me but **she** [Grace's mother] **said it's too late** why didn't you tell me from the start – so I said you not staying with me and I could not pick up the phone to tell you understand I couldn't [my emphasis]."*

Grace moved down to Johannesburg to live with her mother when she was in grade eleven and grade twelve. Once Grace moved in with her mom, she experienced sexual abuse by her stepfather. Her stepfather also tried to rape her but Grace was able to *"kick him… and run away".* When the abuse started Grace began judging herself and felt that *"maybe it was meant to happen to [her] that every man should rape [her]".* Grace's mother sided with her stepfather and this affected the trust in their relationship. Grace's younger sister was also sexually assaulted by their stepfather and her younger sister tried to commit suicide as a result of the abuse. After this Grace and her younger sister laid charges against their stepfather. However, their mother and stepfather subsequently went to the police station and had the charges dropped, accusing Grace of having an affair with her stepfather and of inciting her sister. This is also an example of the game theory whereby Grace's parents were able to make decisions on her behalf (Goffman, 1969).

> *"What happened was I went to Hillbrow police station understand to lay charges with my younger sister – what happened is we went there and then the following day when we went there they said **your mother and father were here they dropped the charges**. They say you had an affair – your step father said you were having an affair with him [my emphasis]."*

Grace tried to speak up about both the rape and the sexual assault, but in both cases she was silenced. During this time Grace had a boyfriend, who was also a Zimbabwean, and she fell pregnant. Grace's mother used to ask her boyfriend if he was sure that it was his child in an attempt to make her boyfriend doubt their relationship. The circumstances at home made Grace feel suicidal. Grace had, however, told her boyfriend everything about the rape by her older sister's boyfriend and the attempted rape and sexual assault by her step-father, and her boyfriend supported her.

Grace could not cope with the conditions at home, and, as a result she *"ran away"* to stay with her boyfriend. After their child was born, Grace and her boyfriend both lost their jobs and had nowhere to stay. Grace refused to stay with her mother, even after her mother left her stepfather, and as a result she ended up staying in the shelter. She stayed in the shelter until her boyfriend managed to get a contract job and a room in town. Because he did not have a work permit he was unable to get a full-time job.

> *"I ended up in shelter just because, my boyfriend was working and I was working. But I left my job and he also left his job – we don't have proper papers to work here… so* ***I was homeless*** *and he was homeless… [my emphasis]."*

Grace started going to church more often and she found that the more she went to church the easier it was for her to forgive the people who had hurt her. However, Grace noted that *"… you can forgive easily but never forget".* Grace continued her healing while she was in the shelter as she grew in her faith. Grace clarified that, at the time of the interview, she was "*able to talk"* about what happened and she wanted to encourage other women *"to speak out".* The shelter gave Grace a safe place where she could think, and where she was able to process what had happened to her.

5.2.5 Lerato

5.2.5.1 Brief Summary

Lerato was raped by her boyfriend whom she had met at the age of fourteen. Lerato was too afraid to tell anyone that she had been raped, as she worried that her grandmother would find out that she had lost her virginity. However Lerato's grandmother did find out and made Lerato's boyfriend pay damages for taking her virginity. Lerato was also raped by her next boyfriend. However, this rape was different for her as *"he wanted a relationship…. Then [they] went out for about five years".* In her first rape her boyfriend had questioned whether or not she was a virgin as she had not bled very much. In the second rape, her boyfriend thought she was still a virgin as she bled a lot. After this, Lerato was raped again, this time by her sister's boyfriend. It was the third time she had been raped. She told her family about this rape but they did not believe her, and accused her of trying to steal her sister's boyfriend. Lerato's fourth and most recent rape took place not long before the research interview. She was raped by a taxi-boss during the time that she was living on the streets of Johannesburg before coming to the shelter.

5.2.5.2 Detailed Narrative

Lerato also experienced "revictimisation" (Messman & Long, 1996), because she had been raped firstly as a teenager and then again as an adult. With the first rape Lerato had a fear of losing her virginity, and this was largely due to the fact that her grandmother carried out virginity tests. However the more she said 'no', the less her boyfriend was willing to accept it.

> *"I was **trying to beg him** – please you know – I **tried to explain to him** [Lerato's boyfriend] that at home …. **They are checking us**… and he said it's not going show if you do it once… [my emphasis]."*

Lerato did not report the rape as she confirmed *"I was scared – I panicked – the honest truth I never thought I could report him or it was something to be reported".* This reflects that Lerato was not aware that she could report her boyfriend for having raped her. Lerato was worried that her grandmother would find out that she had lost her virginity. Lerato's grandmother did realise that there was something different about her and she did a virginity test. On discovering that Lerato was not a virgin her grandmother *"beat [her] and after that made [her] give the number for this guy".* The boyfriend was made to pay damages.

> *"… the guy [Lerato's boyfriend] was like angry with me, angry, angry you know – he said I wasn't the only girl he slept with who was not a virgin so you know so now **he has to pay for me being a virgin** [my emphasis]."*

Virginity testing highlights a cultural practice which allows the family, who feel they have ownership of the young woman, to request damages from anyone who takes her virginity (Vincent, 2006). At the time, Lerato was unable to tell her grandmother that she had been raped, *"she [Lerato's grandmother] beat me – she hit me so hard – I couldn't tell her that I was raped".*

We can see that Lerato had internalised the stereotyped view of what it meant to have a boyfriend, as a part of her had felt guilty that *"[she] was taking his stuff and [she] was thinking that it was proper because he was [her] boyfriend."* Lerato had tried to prevent the rape as she still wanted "*to keep the relationship going".* Lerato enjoyed the status of having a boyfriend and the jealousy of the other girls at school when he came to bring her lunch She enjoyed receiving the lunch that he brought to her as it was *"not just an ordinary lunch…. [she] got to brag about it".* So when her boyfriend raped her, Lerato not only lost her virginity, but also lost the status she felt she had at school.

Lerato was raped for the second time by her sister's boyfriend. This was the first rape that she told her family about.

> *"**I was raped by my sister's boyfriend** and when **I told everyone at home** that my sister's boyfriend raped me **they told me that I asked for it** – they called me names, they told me I wanted to take my sister's boyfriend [my emphasis]."*

The quote above shows how the woman can be blamed for her rape for a number of reasons. Although Lerato told her family about the rape, she did not report it. This was largely due to the fact that her family had not believed her, and she was aware that women are often treated as if they "*are the one that is wrong".*

Lerato was raped for the third time by her next boyfriend, and, although the experience was different for her, she still termed their first sexual experience as rape.

> *"… anyways **I got raped again by him** [Lerato's next boyfriend] – the thing is um! **With him it was a different case** because **he wanted a relationship**… [my emphasis]."*

This boyfriend was older than her and this gave her status among her friends.

Lerato had also felt the pain of rejection and homelessness. She was rejected by her family when she was in her twenties, and, after losing her job, found herself with nowhere to go. At first, she moved from family member to family member, but they always made her leave after a day or two. Then she tried to stay with friends but eventually, when she felt she had no more options, she would ask the security guards in buildings if she could spend the night there.

> *"I **stayed from securities**; I can even show you securities, so many buildings have I slept in just so that **I must be safe till morning** because a night is very scary you know anything can happen to you [my emphasis]."*

Lerato was living on the streets of Johannesburg before coming to the shelter. She indicated that she had stayed in another shelter previously but was asked to leave after visiting family on a day when she was supposed to be on duty. Living on the streets without food made her feel vulnerable, and when she asked for help from a taxi driver, who was, in fact, a taxi boss, she was eventually raped again. She was hungry and desperate at the time and had asked him for R5.00. He suggested that she go with him and he would drop her back in town on the return trip. However, the taxi boss did not return to town and instead he took her to a room where he raped her.

Lerato's decision not to tell anyone about the first rape was taken, not out of fear of what people would say, but out of fear of her grandmother. The second rape, the one by her sister's boyfriend, was the first rape she had told her family about, but they did not believe her. She did not feel the need to tell anyone about the third rape, the one by the older boyfriend; because she went on to have a relationship with him over the next five years. The fourth, and last, rape was by the taxi boss. In this instance, she was too scared to tell anyone as she felt that they would blame her. Lerato had experienced the consequences of the rape myths when she had told her family about the second rape and they had placed the blame on her (Burt, 1980). As a result, she was too scared to tell anyone that she had been raped a fourth time.

Some weeks after the fourth rape Lerato was admitted to hospital, due to persistent illness as a result of the rape.

> *"I went to the hospital – they couldn't understand what was wrong with me –* ***I didn't tell them*** *[the doctors / nurses]* ***I was raped*** *– I told some lady but she was not a nurse the one she was sleeping in the hospital – I told her I was raped, I never told the doctors, I don't know why. I really don't know why but I told her and she said why don't you report him, why don't you say what is wrong with you and I told her I don't know – I don't know, I feel like* ***I am scared like I will be charged*** *because you know when I was young I was* ***raped by my sister's boyfriend*** *and when* ***I told everyone at home*** *that my sister's boyfriend raped me –* ***they told me that I asked for it*** *– they called me names, they told me I wanted to take my sister's boyfriend" [My emphasis]*

The doctors were unable to diagnose Lerato's illness and she refused to tell them about the rape because of how they might judge her. Lerato still held a lot of anger towards the taxi boss but she had never reported the rape. Lerato has two main reasons for this. The first is that *"vengeance is God's not ours".* Lerato wanted God to deal with the taxi boss. She noted that she would not be able to forgive and forget until God had made him pay for what he had done. Lerato's second reason was that the legal system *"won't make him [the taxi boss] pay, he [would] end up in jail and [would] rape people in jail"* therefore *"doing more harm than good".* This shows that, besides the fear of being blamed for the rape, she also had a lack of faith in the legal system.

Her family was not willing to take her in, even after she got sick, and, to get off the street, she stayed in the shelter. The shelter supplied her physical needs and assisted her on an emotional level by giving her an opportunity to build her faith. The shelter provided her with accommodation and food, and helped with her emotional needs. Lerato, however, did not want anyone to know about her past and, in particular, the last rape. Our interview was the

first time, apart from the woman she met in hospital that she had told anyone about the last rape. It was the first time that she had told anyone what had really happened.

5.2.6 Candice

5.2.6.1 Brief Summary

Candice grew up very poor, and as a teenager lived in an orphanage. She had her first sexual experience at the age of sixteen. When she was eighteen she had a child with her first serious boyfriend but, because she was living on the streets, her child was removed from her by the authorities, Child Welfare. Candice was raped at the age of twenty-two while she was living on the streets of Cape Town and she fell pregnant with twins. She gave the twins up for adoption. She then experienced an attempted rape by a "*drinking buddy"* but managed to prevent the rape by stabbing him with a broken bottle. The man died in hospital three days later, and Candice was not charged, as she had acted in self-defence. In 2006 Candice was sexually assaulted a third time by someone she drank with. After this rape she moved to Johannesburg and came to the shelter as she did not have anywhere else to stay.

5.2.6.2 Detailed Narrative

Candice reflected back on how, at the age of seven or eight, she had to go to school without any shoes and how she had been hungry. As a teenager she had been abandoned by her parents and ended up in an orphanage. Being abandoned by her mother left Candice with a stigma, that "*if [her] mother felt something about [her, she] would have cared a lot more about [herself]".* This affected the rest of Candice's relationships because, having been in an orphanage and been rejected by her parents, she was desperately searching for love. Candice's first sexual experience was on her sixteenth birthday, when she had consensual sex with her boyfriend, who had afterwards kicked her out of the room. After this she went to live on the streets of Cape Town and as she noted *"a bench was [her] bed'* and she used to eat food "*from the bin".* Her first rape occurred when she was twenty-two years old by a man she referred to as "*her friend"*.

With the first rape Candice remembered how the man "*choked [her]"* and how he said "*thank you afterwards".* Candice had mixed feelings after the rape, she felt *"dirty, guilty"* and that "*it had been her fault*". However, she also had a sense that the sexual assault had been wrong *"[her] gut feeling [told] her that this is wrong"*.

> *"I just know when he touched my leg* ***I felt dirty I had to scrub, so I had to burn my legs with cigarettes****, still after I did not feel clean I felt worse then I started saying* ***maybe it was my fault*** *maybe it was what I was wearing I did not have decent clothes maybe he was attracted… [my emphasis]."*

As a result of the rape Candice fell pregnant with twins. "*…with sex I am forced and with me these children were forced to be in me."* Candice noted how the twins made her *"feel worse, more dirty".* She did not want the children inside of her, and she tried to force them out by wearing *"a tight belt".* Candice was staying in a shelter in Cape Town during the pregnancy and she felt the stigma of being pregnant. "*[She] did not want the outside world to ever see [her] in that state."* This situation has been termed "forced pregnancy" (Mapombere, 2010/11). The Cape Town shelter was a safe place for Candice was she was able to give birth to two healthy babies, whom she gave up for adoption. After the birth of the twins she went back to living on the streets of Cape Town. She did not have anyone she could talk to about the rape and she did not report the rape as she felt it was her fault.

> *"… with the first rape ya! I thought* ***it was my fault*** *because* ***I used to love minis and short dresses*** *as I have the legs to show… [my emphasis]."*

After the first rape, Candice *"had an issue of trust"*. She felt that everyone had let her down, starting with her parents who had abandoned her. Candice, subsequently, started to date men who she felt were able to provide for her and offer her protection. She wanted support and she was looking for structure and someone who could offer her things and protect her from another rape incident. Basically, Candice was searching *"for love".*

Candice used to believe that when a man hit her, he was only showing her that he loved her. So she used to provoke her partner so that he would hit her, thus proving just how much he loved her.

> *"Then I* ***met a man*** *a boyfriend of mine* ***he started abusing me****,* ***used to beat me badly and I thought it was because he loved me he was doing it.*** *When he clapped me I used to say inside is that the only thing he is going to do to me today maybe I should provoke him then I will get more.* ***I started wearing blue eyes and I thought that was love****. I was even happy to go and sit with my friends saying he gave me the blue eye cause then they would know that he loved me but they did not look at it like that but now growing up I know what love is that is why I am waiting on the Lord to give me real love [my emphasis]."*

Candice would seek abuse in her search for love. This shows how desperate she was to find love, and as a consequence, she had now become vulnerable to other forms of abuse.

> *"I was **going out with people who had power** and to go out with them **meant that I was always safe and looked after**, I did not lack anything – there were drugs provided, wine, whatever clothing… I **only went out with men who had power over other people** because it made me feel safe [my emphasis]."*

After this Candice experienced an attempted rape by a '*drinking buddy'.* She defended herself by stabbing him with a broken bottle, and the man died three days later. She was not arrested on what could have been a charge of culpable homicide as the police noted that she had stabbed the man in self-defence. After the incident Candice was left feeling that, for the first time, she "*had power".*

> *"…**people were scared of me** now and it **made me feel good, it made me feel I had power**… I felt in charge … and **nobody could tell me what to do** [my emphasis]."*

This was the first time Candice felt that she had some form of control. However, Candice noted that she was *"living a reckless life [she] was not looking after [herself]; [she] had no sense of belonging anywhere".* Candice noted that she had been nothing but a *"homeless drunk".*

Candice was sexually assaulted a third time in 2006, shortly before she came to Johannesburg. During her time on the streets Candice had had many boyfriends. Candice used to smoke dagga and drink wine in order to help her forget, *"… with alcohol you ease the pain, with drugs you wake up and feel the same".* When Candice did not have enough money to *'maintain the habit'* she used to go into *"prostitution" (sex work).*

Candice had felt unable to tell anyone about the abuse she had experienced. She faced diverse emotions based on the two rapes and one attempted rape, for example:

> *"… **men wanting me, men only wanting my body** – it's not nice it was like I am having this film in front of me and then I ask God to heal me **I want to get over this hurt this hurt this emptiness** that I am feeling in my heart I just want to start living because I am dead at the moment… [my emphasis]."*

The multiple incidents of sexual violence Candice had experienced made her start blaming herself for the abuse. She started questioning why men kept abusing her and felt as if she was inviting the abuse.

> *"**I felt angry with myself** because it **was my fault** I let it happen [my emphasis]."*

Candice was angry as the repeated abuse left her feeling that it must have been as a result of something that she had done. There was a common belief that only a certain kind of woman

would be raped, and that women who dressed in a particular way, or drank, were asking to be raped. Candice had internalised these rape myths (Burt, 1980). She was aware of this unsympathetic environment and of the way she would be treated if she went to the police and reported the sexual assaults. She also felt that, if she had reported any of the rapes to the police, they would not have believed her. She believed that the rape had somehow been her fault because of how she dressed and because of the fact that she was, at times, drunk and high on dagga. She felt that due to her lifestyle she was asking to be raped (Burt, 1980). This demonstrates that the way people responded to the women who had been raped affected whether or not they would tell anyone about the rape.

> *"No um! he um!* ***he was a friend and I couldn't*** *– also I was drinking with him and* ***nobody believes a person living outside on the street of being raped****, no and I thought* ***they won't believe me****, I am always wearing the same clothes, I drink, I am a drinker but now this time around I wasn't a drinker* ***I was smoking dagga I was always under the influence so who would believe me****… So how could I make a case against them, against him- cause* ***I was drugged they were going to keep me at the police station*** *– you making a case for something that people did to you but instead they will keep you because you are drunk but you know drinking and smoking dagga on the streets was my way of being safe and being part of the other people staying on the streets [my emphasis]."*

After the third sexual assault, Candice felt desperate and she began questioning why this was happening to her again. She turned to religion for guidance.

> *"And me* ***I was heartbroken I was talking to God*** *that day I said why. He [God] spoke I thought I was going mad that I was hearing voices but* ***he [God] said become a Christian*** *– I said oh! no! I can't and he [God] asked me why not and I said oooh! people will mock me and then God, he said* ***if people mock you flee the land*** *[my emphasis]."*

"He (God) brought me here" (Johannesburg). When Candice arrived in Johannesburg she came to the shelter as she had nowhere else to go. The shelter was able to help her with her physical needs and then moved on to assisting her with her emotional needs. For the first time Candice told someone about her experiences. Through the support she received she was able to re-define the way she viewed 'love' and came to understand that the sexual assaults had not been her fault. So while Candice had known that the sexual assaults were unlawful it was only after she started her healing process that she was able to come to terms with the complexities of her emotional situation.

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter presented the narratives that were obtained from the six respondents through the in-depth interviews. Each narrative commenced with a summary which was followed by a

detailed account of each woman's experiences. Some of the literature and the theory were included within this chapter as it was pertinent to specific elements of the respondent's narratives. The subsequent chapter will link the literature review and the theoretical framework to the narratives. In this way I hope to explain the respondent's experiences and relate them to the greater context of rape in South Africa.

Chapter 6: Analysis

"But to me I actually knew – he was walking down the road with me holding my hand and I knew that, what his plans were even though I was so little and I was fearful and at the same time I was ashamed as I believed everyone we passed in the road knew- I believed that they were looking at me as though they knew…. there was that sense of shame. They knew I was doing something wrong um! And then … he had sex with me" (Daisy).

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter gave an account of the participants' narratives and their rape experiences. This chapter outlines the details of the different themes contained within those narratives. The narratives will be analysed with reference to the literature and the theoretical framework, in order to show how the women's micro experiences were linked to a larger macro socio-economic cultural framework. The themes which will be used for the analysis are:

1. Rape by a known person,
2. Families' role in the woman's experience,
3. Ownership of women through patriarchy,
4. Fear of rape,
5. Women's pride in their virginity,
6. Stigma,
7. Rape myths or stereotypes,
8. Reporting or not reporting rape and "telling" someone about the rape,
9. Structure and agency,
10. Sexual revictimisation, and
11. Role of religion.

Each woman who took part in the research gave an account of her own experiences of rape. During the process of analysis an attempt will be made to retain the authenticity of the woman's experiences. Smith (1992), in chapter 3, noted that women share a similar standpoint; one example of what women share, is their "body as the site of the abuse". The standpoint in my paper has centred on the common experiences faced by a group of women, in this case, the research respondents. By recording the experiences of these women, as argued by Harding (1992), it raises their experiences from being invisible to becoming part of knowledge. My research is what Burr (1998) argues as being both "about and for women" and gives women a chance to tell "their story" as a means of empowerment. Through feminist theory it reflects how rape has become a societal issue and not just an issue faced by one woman (Mills, 1959).

6.2 Rape by a Known Person

Acquaintance rape is defined by French (2003: 298 – 299) as, "non-consensual sex between people who know one another". Within this research, the term "known person" was used to include rape by an acquaintance, family member, friend or intimate partner.

Rape by a known person was a shared theme in all the women's experiences, as all of the women were raped by a person known to them. The findings reveal that the known person was variously a family member, a "boyfriend," "drinking buddy", friend, sister's boyfriend and friend of the father's son. Three rapes and one attempted rape were by family members, three rapes were by "boyfriends," one rape and one attempted rape was by a drinking "buddy," one by a friend, two by their sister's boyfriend and one by a friend of her father's son. Only one respondent was raped by a stranger i.e. the "taxi boss", but for Lerato this incident was only one of the rapes that she endured. The other rapes were by people who were known to her, such as her "boyfriend" responsible for her first rape.

Vetten, Jewkes *et al.,* (2008) noted that a woman is likely to be raped in a home. This may be the woman's home or the home of the perpetrator. My research was able to confirm this, as all the participants, except for Candice and Daisy, had their first rape experiences in a home. Two of the participants, Sandy and Grace, were raped in their own home and two of the participants, Lerato and Lesedi, were raped in the rapist's home. Daisy was sexually abused in her home but her rape experience took place outside her home. In Candice's case, although she was raped on the streets, at the time, the streets were actually her "home".

"A bench was my bed" (Candice).

In the next sections I will focus on in-depth themes related to rape by a "known person". The information linked to the theme "rape by a known person," as a central theme of this research, filters through all the other themes.

6.3 Families' Role in the Woman's Rape Experience

For each research participant the family played a critical and particular role in their rape experiences. All the women who took part in the research grew up within a family structure except for Candice, who was placed in an orphanage when her parents abandoned her. Candice's abandonment made her desperate for love and made her vulnerable to abuse. Sandy's family played a crucial role as it was her stepfather who was abusing her and her mother who kept accusing her of lying.

"I explained to my mother about what happened she said no man I am sure you are imagining stuff" (Sandy).

My analysis showed that families tended to perceive the woman as being in some way a party to their own rape. This caused feelings of self-blame in the abused women. The first time Sandy was raped she told her mother, who acted as if she was making it up, and, when the abuse continued, her mother ignored it. The first time Sandy's mother admitted to knowing about the abuse was when the case went to court and she explained to the court that *"….it's part of the family, in the family – what happens in the family stays in the family and I broke the code for getting out of it*". Sandy's extended family also played a role by blaming Sandy for the problems in the family. Sandy started to blame herself and noted that *"if I didn't have this small body then it would not have happened"*. This was evidenced in the work of French (2003), where it is seen that women who are raped by a known person are prone to blaming themselves. This is also seen in cases of stranger rape. The issue of blame is discussed elsewhere in this chapter.

Sandy's stepfather used to restrict her movements and started making choices on her behalf. We see two instances of this, the first when he took her to have an abortion and the second, the way he made her dress like a boy.

> *"I can't wear dresses, I can't look like a girl – I must look more like a boy. It got to a stage when my breasts were duct taped so nobody can see that I have breasts" (Sandy).*

By making Sandy dress like a boy her stepfather was attempting to control her on all levels. The only member of the family who did not blame Sandy was her biological father who later helped her lay charges against her stepfather.

In Daisy's case, the abuse by her uncle took place when she was very young and therefore Daisy felt trapped by it. Her parents were aware of the abuse but did not ask her what had happened, and this meant that Daisy did not speak to them about the abuse. It is significant to mention that at the time of Daisy's "anal rape" this form of abuse was not classified as rape in South African legislation. At that stage, Daisy was not aware that the rape had been anal, and she only realised this when she had her first sexual experience and found her hymen was still intact and that she was still a virgin. Daisy was born in 1957, in a period when rape was not spoken about (Chasteen, 2001). It was only with the rise of feminism that rape became a topic that could be openly discussed. This would have made it even more difficult for Daisy to talk to her parents about the abuse she experienced from her uncle.

In Chapter 2, I referred to Bower (2003), who explains how poverty in the family makes children more vulnerable to abuse. This was confirmed in my research. Daisy's case is an example of this, and we can see how as a child, the economic status at home, did indeed make her more vulnerable. In the sub-economic household in which she grew up, her mother used to bath Daisy in the kitchen in a tub, regardless of who was present. This gave Daisy's uncle many chances to see her naked and also enabled her uncle to play with her *"pimples"*.

> *"I remember him like fondling my breasts; I never had breasts because I was seven. Fondling my pimples in this little, not little – big bath in the kitchen" (Daisy)*.

Candice was also affected by poverty. Due to a lack of money her parents abandoned her and she spent some time living in an orphanage before eventually going to live on the streets of Cape Town. This abandonment affected the course of Candice's life. Candice did not finish school and had a lack of self-esteem because she felt that if her own mother could abandon her then she would not amount to anything. Candice was uneducated and therefore unable to get a job. Living on the streets, Candice used to drink wine and smoke dagga. "Life on the streets" was the structure in which she lived.

> *"…drinking and smoking dagga on the streets was my way of being safe and being part of the other people staying on the streets…. I used to smoke dagga to ease the pain" (Candice).*

This quote reveals a contradiction as, on the one hand Candice smoked dagga and drank wine in order to fit in, and on the other hand, she says she did so in order to "ease the pain".

When Candice ran out of money she used to go into prostitution. Due to a lack of family stability, Candice had a distorted view of love, and searched for love in an inappropriate manner.

> *"I didn't know what love was …. and the quickest way to get me into bed is to tell me that you love me ooh! I will jump into bed now now" (Candice).*

The quote above shows how Candice viewed sex and love as the same thing and shows she was ready to have sex if a man told her that he loved her.

Jewkes and Abrahams (2002), cited in chapter 2, noted that men living in poverty used women as a way to "amuse" themselves. This was evident in Candice's situation. Living on the streets there wasn't much money for men to entertain themselves and alcohol, drugs and sex became a way of life. Candice was raped once by a friend, had an attempted rape by a

"drinking buddy" and was raped by a "drinking buddy" which is evidence for the claim that sex is a cheap form of entertainment in areas of poverty.

When Lerato spoke about her family she spoke mostly of her grandmother and her sister. Her grandmother created the structure in her life, setting down the rules and expecting her to obey them. Some of these rules related to the issue of "virginity testing". As an important cultural practice it was linked to family pride and the payment of damages and this will be discussed further in section 6.6. Lerato told her family about the second rape, the one by her sister's boyfriend; however, her family placed the blame on her, and accused her of trying to steal her sister's boyfriend.

> *"when I told everyone at home that my sister's boyfriend raped me – they told me that I asked for it – they called me names, they told me I wanted to take my sister's boyfriend" (Lerato).*

This had a significant impact on Lerato's life as she refused to talk about her other rapes due to a fear that she would be blamed. Jewkes and Abraham (2002), in Chapter 2 of this report, explain how poverty made women vulnerable, as they often found themselves in places that exposed them to possible abuse. Being jobless and homeless, Lerato was compelled to live on the streets of Johannesburg. Her family had refused to help her. This placed Lerato in a position of vulnerability as she was required to ask strangers for favours in order to survive from day to day. Lerato's final rape before coming to the shelter was by a "taxi boss" whom she had asked for assistance. This is the only occasion of stranger rape which features in my research.

> *"And in my position, in my situation I don't have money, I didn't have money – I was raped because I didn't have money, because I was trying to find money…" (Lerato)*

Lesedi grew up in a violent community, within what Robertson (1998), as cited in Chapter 2 of this report, would call a "culture of violence". Her father, raised in such an environment, was also violent. Lesedi's mother left when she was young and Lesedi was therefore raised by her father. Her father would not allow her to have boyfriends and he reacted violently if he saw her with a boy in the neighbourhood. On one occasion, Lesedi's father had attempted to drive into a boy he saw her talking to in the street. This meant than when Lesedi's boyfriend raped her, she was too frightened to tell anyone about the rape, due to a fear of her father's reaction.

> *"Yo! my father would kill you – if he knew you were seeing boys" (Lesedi).*

Lesedi knew that her father would have punished her boyfriend but she did not tell him about the rape, due to fear of what her father would do to her. When referring to her father, Lesedi used the word "drama king" to describe his characteristics, and the way he reacted to things. For Lesedi, this was important, as it affected the choices she made when deciding on the man she married. She was dating what she termed as a "nice guy" but she left him for no particular reason, and noted that *"maybe it was because he did not have enough drama"*. Lesedi then got into a relationship with a man, who had a lot of "drama," and who ended up abusing her and eventually raping her. This confirms what was claimed by Jewkes (2002), that children who are "abused" are prone to "tolerate aggressive behaviour".

Jewkes (2002) highlighted two reasons for intimate partner violence (IPV); firstly, the normative use of violence and secondly, the unequal position of women. These reasons are pertinent to Lesedi as she grew up in a violent home with a father who was very violent.

> *"Yo! my dad was very violent, he would hit you until he sees ya! You are almost passing out then he is going to stop" (Lesedi).*

This meant that for Lesedi violence became a norm, making it easier for her to accept the violence in her marriage. Secondly, Lesedi was unemployed and reliant on her husband for financial support for both herself and her children. This meant that she had an "unequal position" in the home (Jewkes, 2002). Both of these circumstances made Lesedi vulnerable to abuse, which, in her case, included rape. This abuse was not only confined to physical abuse, but as noted by Fox, Jackson *et al.*, (2007), and cited in chapter 2, section 2.4, most women who reported IPV, also reported other forms of abuse. In Lesedi's case the abuse by her husband was physical, sexual, emotional and financial. This was particularly evident in the way he would throw her out of the house, and, on one occasion, had even been granted a restraining order against her, with the result she had to leave home one night at 10 pm.

Grace's family also played a major role in the path her life took. Due to the economic situation and poverty in Zimbabwe, Grace's mother came to South Africa to find work. The macro structure of migration meant that Grace only saw her mother once every two months. Grace was left with her older sister in Zimbabwe and so did not have the protection of a family. After the rape by her older sister's boyfriend, Grace had nobody to talk to, as her older sister did not believe that the rape had occurred. By the time her mother came home it was too late to collect evidence. Despite Grace's mother's initial response of support, and

her distress that Grace had kept quiet about the rape for so long, it was ultimately more important for her mother to not *"make waves"* in the community. They lived in a close-knit community and her mother accused her of trying to make a "*bad neighbourhood*". This was a reflection on the relationship that Grace had with her mother, one in which her mother was very quick to judge her. Once she was living with her mother and stepfather in South Africa, Grace's stepfather started to abuse her sexually. When Grace tried to speak out about the abuse her mother sided with her stepfather. The structure of the family therefore prevented Grace from pursuing sexual assault charges against her stepfather.

As discussed in chapter 2, the study done by the MRC and CERSA (1999) showed that the government had realised that violence against women (VAW) was a problematic issue which needed to be addressed. However, the government's progressive response in policy had not transformed issues on the ground and therefore, it did not have a positive impact on the lives of South African women. My research shows one stark example of the way that government policy had not really permeated the structure of the family, in the way the family is able to hide the sexual abuse. In Sandy's case, when she fell pregnant, her parents themselves handled all the arrangements about the pregnancy on her behalf; this undermined Sandy's agency and choice. They also took Sandy out of her school and enrolled her in a college where she only needed to attend school twice a week.

In Grace's case, an attempt to hide the abuse within the family can be seen in the way her mother asked her to keep quiet about the rape and in the way her mother and stepfather were able to withdraw the sexual assault charges she had laid against her stepfather. Lerato's family created a hostile structure where she was unable to get the necessary support to stop the abuse that she experienced and this left her vulnerable to future abuse. For Lesedi violence in the family was a norm and deemed to be acceptable, hence Lesedi also accepted violence directed towards her, as can be seen in the course of her marriage. Daisy was abused by a family member and this shows how, even when a stand is made by the government, it is not always enough to keep children safe because of the way abuse was hidden in the family. In this section it was seen how family structures restricted the choices that the respondents could make as a way of ending the abuse and, by doing so, perpetuated the abuse for the respondents.

6.4 Ownership of Women through Patriarchy

Men, influenced by the concept of patriarchy, have at times attempted to control and assert ownership over women. In each participant's story there were various examples of this and we can see how the women, in turn, had a fear of men in authority, for example, a fear of the father figure. This was seen in Sandy's story in which her movements were restricted and she was eventually forced to dress like a boy. This runs parallel with patriarchy as a component of feminism and this is discussed in chapter 3. Patriarchy concerns the ownership of women by men; the examples given in the theory by Vetten (2000) are of ownership by the father and by the husband.

The father figure was not necessarily the biological father; the stepfather also wielded influence, and this was seen in Grace and Sandy's experiences. Sandy's stepfather had total control over the family. The family members were all frightened of him. If Sandy did anything to challenge his authority she was punished, and as a result of this, had several times been hospitalised with broken bones. Sandy's stepfather also maintained his control over her by threatening to withhold resources from her children. He controlled her movements, making sure that she was at home at specific times and only permitted her to go to places which he approved of. This is an example of the premise by Fortier (1975), that patriarchy is the "ownership" of women by men and that men rule over women and children. Jewkes, Sikweuiya, Morrell and Dunkle (2011), confirm that punishment, like the punishment Sandy received, was used to keep women in their place and uphold male domination in the family. Within the narratives another example of the ownership of women can be seen in the way the boyfriends of both Lesedi and Lerato felt entitled to behave as they wanted and that they could take advantage of this, as discussed further in this chapter.

Lesedi's experience of patriarchy came from the behaviour of her father and her husband, who both controlled the family through fear and through the threat of withdrawing financial resources. Lesedi was not aware that she could be raped by her husband, due to the belief that a "husband has complete access" and rights to his "wife's body" (Field, 1978). The night of the rape Lesedi's husband came home drunk and requested sex, when she said "no" he forced her to have sex with him at knifepoint. Once Lesedi knew it was rape she confronted her husband and he refused to admit that he had raped her.

> *"He [Lesedi's husband] just lost it, he just lost it, told me to pack my bags, bitch, who do you think you are. I ran into the bedroom because I was scared that he might hit me" (Lesedi).*

This shows the fear that Lesedi had for her husband; it was this fear that eventually caused her to leave her husband as she was scared that he would hurt her again. This goes hand-in-hand with the idea above that a "husband cannot rape his wife" (Field, 1978). This was changed through legislation in the Prevention of Family Violence Act, 133 of 1993, although it was not necessarily implemented.

> *"In my community it is very rare to find a woman saying her husband raped her and I know for a fact that this thing they happen, regularly, the husband would force themselves on the wife and it is something that has sort of become normal" (Lesedi).*

This is an example of how women choose to hide abuse and how the rape of a woman by her husband is considered a norm in some societies. Further examples of how patriarchy fostered abuse, and the fear of abuse, will be discussed below.

6.5 Fear of Rape

In chapter 2, it was noted that women who have been raped fear further rape, and that even a woman who has not been raped, fears being raped (Dosekun, 2011). Dosekun also states that women who have not been raped avoid places of possible danger, in order to prevent being raped. Fear of a repeat rape was evident in Lerato's experience. When Lerato was living on the streets of Johannesburg she asked the security officers in buildings if she could spend the night there in order to keep safe. Lerato was aware of the possibility of being raped, especially at night on the streets of Johannesburg. This was also an important issue in the context of the shelter, as the staff regularly explained how the area around the shelter was unsafe for the women. It was for this reason that the women were expected to be back at the shelter by seven o'clock in the evening. The staff in the shelter feared that the women ran a risk of being raped if they were still on the streets after seven o'clock in the evening.

After Candice's second rape she made a decision that the abuse must come to an end. Out of a sense of self-preservation, and as an attempt to avoid further abuse, Candice moved from Cape Town to Johannesburg. By leaving the area where the rapes and abuse took place Candice was hoping to protect herself from future sexual abuse. By coming to the shelter and leaving the abuse, all the respondents were trying to preserve themselves from future sexual abuse. The shelter was a safe place that would keep the participants safe from abuse. Lesedi arrived at the shelter after leaving her husband in order to prevent him from raping her again and Grace had refused to go back to the home where her abuse took place.

The instances which follow show how the fear, caused by the abuse, due to the patriarchal nature of the societies in which they lived, resulted in four of the respondents leaving their homes. Sandy, aware of the abuse in her marriage, left her home and came to the shelter in order to protect herself and her children. Daisy left her marriage due to the emotional abuse that she was subjected to. Lesedi left in order to protect herself from being raped again by her husband and Grace made a choice to go to a shelter rather than to go back home to her mother and abusive stepfather, thus to protecting herself from future abuse.

6.6 Women's Pride in their Virginity

Chapter 2 highlighted the importance of virginity and how girls are brought up to be proud of it and protect it. Maluleke (2012) notes how "virginity" has become something that can be "lost". Maluleke (2012) describes the cultural practice of "virginity testing" where the girl was expected to protect her virginity, both for her own sense of pride and also for the pride of the family. If a woman "lost" her virginity it was not only a disgrace for her but for her family as well.

Virginity played an important role in the participants' experiences and in some of the cases gave a structure to their lives. Virginity was something that the respondents attempted to protect and it acted as a constraint when they made their choices around sexual intercourse. Almost all the participants were virgins at the time of their first rape. Candice was the only participant who was not a virgin at the time of her first rape experience. Even then, it is possible that the validity of her consent was questionable. She had reported that she was unsure of what she was doing and although she had consented, the abuse started after sexual intercourse and her boyfriend had thrown her out of the house.

> *"…afterwards when he was finished he said get dressed and get out of here. He was rude to me afterwards…" (Candice).*

Maluleke (2012), as cited in chapter 2, explains how women are raised to be proud of their virginity and this was the case for the participants in the research. Lesedi, for example, avoided telling her friends that her boyfriend had raped her due to a pact they had made not to have sex until they were twenty-one years of age. This shows how virginity was prided both on an individual level as well as on a societal level.

Virginity was taught and valued both on a micro level within the family, and on a macro level, in wider social circles. Lerato was taught to take a pride in her virginity, and it was after Lerato's sister became pregnant at a young age, that her grandmother started doing virginity testing. Maluleke (2012) notes that virginity testing is a cultural practice that illustrates the social importance placed on virginity. It was a fear of her grandmother that prevented Lerato from saying that her boyfriend had raped her. Daisy, had been raped by her uncle at a young age, and felt different to her friends, who took great pride in their virginity. She felt "spoilt" because she thought she was not a virgin. This is discussed further in chapter 6.7 the ramifications of Sandy's rape experience extended much further beyond the loss of her virginity to the point where her entire adolescence was compromised by the actions of her stepfather. Grace felt different after her rape and feared that people would notice this. She felt as if she had lost some part of herself through the rape and subsequently felt very self-conscious.

Both Lesedi and Lerato had explained to their boyfriends that they were virgins and had tried to make their boyfriends understand the importance they placed on their virginity. As noted by Jewkes and Abraham (2002), girls where taught to be proud of their virginity but boys were not taught to respect a woman's right to say "no". This is consistent with the sexual scripts as explained in chapter 3. Sexual scripts are taught notions of sexual response. The script seen here is that a woman says "no" and this is a cue to the man that he needs to pursue her (Check & Malamuth, 1983). This was most evident in the participants' experiences through their interactions with men whom they called their boyfriends. Lesedi and Lerato were both raped by their boyfriends. Both these women had repeatedly said "no", but their boyfriends refused to accept this and went on to rape them. The boyfriends did not deem their acts to be rape, as they perceived sexual intercourse to be a requisite of a romantic relationship. Both Lesedi and Lerato blamed themselves for their rape; they felt responsible, because in both cases, the man who had carried out the rape was a boyfriend (Ahrens, 2006). This was consistent with the study done by Sikweyiya, Jewkes and Morell (2007: 51) which showed men only believed that it was rape "if the man had scratches to prove that she had fought him off".

Lerato had tried to warn her boyfriend about her grandmother who regularly tested her to ensure that she was still a virgin. Upon discovering that Lerato had lost her virginity Lerato's grandmother demanded that her boyfriend pay damages for taking her virginity.

> *"….So uh! It like for cleansing the family name you see it's like cleansing the family name and the fact that they don't even know if he is going to marry me or not or else at the same time they don't even know whether I am pregnant or not so you know that is what she [Lerato's grandmother] said" (Lerato).*

Hegazy and Al-Rukban, (2012), mentioned in chapter 2, confirm how the loss of a woman's virginity was perceived also as a loss for the entire family. Lerato was too scared to tell her grandmother that her boyfriend had raped her. Maluleke (2012) noted that women were ostracised for the loss of their virginity, even if their virginity was "taken" as a result of rape. In fact, Lerato's grandmother, when testing her virginity did not find evidence that she had been raped. The incidents mentioned above all feed into the theme of stigma which will now be discussed.

6.7 Stigma

Scrambler (2009) defines stigma as something that will cause a person to be judged by society. Goffman (1963) names three different types of stigma, that of the body, that of a person's character and that of the community or culture in which they live. The participants mainly felt two types of stigma; the first was the stigma that society imposed on them and the second, the stigma that they imposed on themselves through the act of labelling themselves (Weidner, & Griffitt, 1983). Daisy labelled herself as "different" because she thought that she was no longer a virgin. Weidner & Griffitt (1983) explained how rape created an invisible stigma, as it was something that could not be seen. Virginity was another example of an invisible stigma, as it was not possible to see that a woman was no longer a virgin. Daisy grew up knowing that she was not a virgin however nobody was aware that she had been raped. Daisy stigmatised and labelled herself because she thought that people knew. This affected Daisy's life and the subsequent decisions that she made. Daisy first felt this stigma when she was walking down the road with her uncle as a little girl and she had the feeling that everyone knew that something bad was going to happen to her.

> ***But to me I actually knew*** *– he was walking down the road with me holding my hand and* ***I knew that, what his plans were even though I was so little*** *and I was* ***fearful*** *and at the same time* ***I was ashamed*** *as* ***I believed everyone we passed in the road knew- I believed that they were looking at me as though they knew….*** *there was that* ***sense of shame.*** *They* ***knew I was doing something wrong*** *um! And then … he had sex with me [my emphasis]."*

This stigma made her feel "ugly and stupid" while she was an adolescent in school. It is important to-note that although Daisy was unable to talk to her parents about the abuse she felt strongly that what happened to her was not "right".

Candice was also stigmatised, and in her case the stigma was both internal and external. The external stigma was imposed by a society that viewed her lifestyle on the streets; the way she was often drunk and high on dagga. This stigma Candice felt left her with a very low sense of self-esteem. This manifested in the way that she saw the beatings that she received from one particular boyfriend as a sign of how much he loved her. The stigma she carried with her gave her a distorted sense of love and made it impossible for her to feel that she deserved better.

Having had a child at a very young age Sandy was labelled by society and her family as "the biggest loose girl ever". Check & Malamuth, (1983) as cited in chapter 3, explain how a girl who is sexually active is labelled by society as being "sexually promiscuous". This meant that while Sandy was not even at all interested in going out with boys she was labelled as a "sexually promiscuous teenager". Lerato was labelled as being sexually defiant, a liar and someone who wanted to steal her sister's boyfriend. Grace however was not labelled by society, instead she labelled herself.

"I thought maybe it was meant to happen for me that every man should rape me …" (Grace).

After her rape Grace felt that she was different than she was before and thought that maybe men were meant to rape her. Grace tried to accept her situation by convincing herself that maybe this was just the way life should be for her. These examples show how rape and the loss of virginity can lead to invisible stigmas, imposed upon the victims themselves. They label themselves and fear that they will be labelled also by their families and society if they should find out. So they would carry a double stigma, and we can see that this happened in Daisy's case when she was abused as a child.

As discussed in 6.6, Lesedi felt an internal stigma linked to the pact she had made with her friends that they would preserve their virginity. It was the fear of external stigma that made her drop the rape charges against her husband, taking into account the effect that her husband going to jail would have on her daughter.

"…a part of me also did not want to see him go to jail and have my daughter have that stigma that her father is in prison because he raped her mom" (Lesedi).

So Lesedi was aware of the power of stigma and was willing to hide the abuse or pretend it had not taken place, in order to protect her daughter from being labelled by society. Of particular note, perhaps as in the cases of the other women, Lerato's stigma was linked to the blame she felt for the rape and she had internalised the blame in the same way as she internalised the sense of stigma.

6.8 Rape Myths / Stereotypes

The rape myths and stereotypes are more prevalent for women who were raped by a "known person", for example, if a woman went to the house of the man who eventually raped her, than for those who were raped by a stranger. In chapter 3; a variety of rape myths or stereotypes are highlighted. Allen (2007) cited in chapter 2 explains how these myths perpetuated the fear of disclosing the rape experience to another person. The fear was of the police, the perpetrator, the family and society and how they would react once they knew about the rape. This was evident in Lerato's case. We see that after telling her family about her second rape, the one by her sister's boyfriend, she was subsequently blamed for the rape. This meant that she was too scared to tell anyone about the last rape by the taxi boss. Candice had kept quiet about her rape because she thought that nobody would believe her as she had been high or drunk at the time and because of the way she dressed.

"I always thought the way I looked the way I dressed maybe there was standing on my forehead 'rape me'… you making a case for something that people did to you but instead they will keep you because you are drunk …" (Candice).

Field (1978) reflected how it was easier for society to blame women for rape as it implied that other women could take measures to protect themselves from being raped. Burt (1980: 217) confirms how it was these prejudices towards women that created a "climate hostile towards rape victims".

After the first rape by her stepfather Sandy showed her mother the bruises and the marks that he had left on her breasts.

"And I showed my mother my breasts where his hand marks were the way he was, it's bruised and she [Sandy's mother] never believed me…" (Sandy).

As noted by Vetten, Jewkes *et al.*, the physical evidence of rape facilitates disclosure of it to another person. This is consistent with the myth that a man has only raped a woman if there

is physical evidence of it (Field, 1978). However, even when faced with the physical evidence, Sandy's mother refused to believe that Sandy had been raped by her stepfather. By the time the case went to court, after more than ten years of abuse, the only evidence that Sandy had of her abuse, was her children, who were conceived as a result of the rapes. Rape myths or stereotypes are further discussed in the next section and are also linked specifically to self-blame. The rape myths or stereotypes were seen to play a major part in the reporting or not reporting of rape, as well as in the telling of someone about the rape.

6.9 Reporting or Not Reporting Rape and "telling" Someone about the Rape

The reporting of rape refers to the reporting to the police, the telling refers to the telling of someone about the rape. Both of these are discussed in this section. Only three of the participants reported the rape or sexual assault to the police as noted in chapter 5. Allen (2007) highlighted the reasons that women choose to report a rape and the reasons that they choose not to report a rape. In the research narratives various reasons for not reporting the abuse were identified. The respondents made choices within a structure and this is detailed in the section on structure and agency below. There was a focus not only on reporting the rape to the authorities but also on disclosing the rape to others. It was shown that because the perpetrator of the rape was generally a "known person" the participants were less willing to report the rape.

Both not reporting and not telling someone about the rape was determined by the fact that women who have been raped by a "known person" battle to define their experience as rape and are willing to take on blame for the actions they perceived that they had taken (French, 2003). These actions included going to someone's house or living on the streets. Rickert *et al.,* (2005) confirms that women who were raped by a partner, for example a boyfriend, were very reluctant to tell someone about the rape. In the narratives, examples of this included how Lesedi was not willing to tell her father about the rape because the man was her boyfriend and she had gone willingly to his house. This shows how she shouldered some of the blame for what had happened because she was not only in a relationship with the man but had also made the decision to go to his house. Lerato had a similar experience when she was raped by her boyfriend. The fact that she had gone to his house willingly and had previously accepted gifts, such as lunch, from him, made her reluctant to tell anyone about the rape. We can see how Lerato attempted to control the relationship prior to the rape because she still wanted to receive gifts from her boyfriend.

> *"…I was refusing [to have sex] so we fought and I refused …. I also wanted to keep the friendship, the relationship uh! My point was I enjoyed the gifts that he used to buy me you know" (Lerato).*

There is a major contradiction in how Lerato felt, as she did not want to have sex, perhaps because she was afraid, but on the other hand she still wanted her boyfriend's gifts. This fits in with the transactional sex model, where a subtle agreement is made that gifts are given in exchange for sex (Selikow & Mbulaheni, 2013).

Check & Malamuth (1983) explain how women who put themselves in compromising situations were believed to be asking to be raped. This can be seen in Candice's story. Candice took on blame for what had happened to her. She was living on the streets of Cape Town, she did not change her clothes and she at the same time she felt that she was not properly covered. Being high on dagga or drunk on wine at the time of the rapes made her fear reporting it to the police, as she noted, they would be more likely to *"lock her up than to believe that she had been raped"*. Sandy blamed herself for her abuse and felt if it had not been for her *"small body"* it would not have happened. After the first rape by her step-father Sandy did tell her mother, possibly because in that instance, she could show physical evidence of it.

Daisy chose to tell her close friend at school about the rape, because, due to their relationship of trust, she knew that her friend would not judge her.

> *"…well at some stage I had told a best friend at High School – I mean I think I was in STD 7 that would have been the first time I told somebody. Either STD 7 or STD 8 we were really very close friends, we are still friends so I told her…" (Daisy).*

In French's (2003) research it is seen how the women initially blamed themselves for the abuse, but over a period of time they were able to decrease their self-blame. Through the process of healing and because of the support the participants received they were able to talk about the rape to the counsellor or pastor and understand that the rape was not their fault. This process also enabled them to forgive both themselves and the perpetrator for the trauma that they had faced. As noted below under the role of religion, Christianity was, in varying degrees, able to help the women to forgive the men that had hurt them. My research confirms how, through the healing process and the support that they received, the participants were able to stop blaming themselves for their rape and found that they were able to talk about it. This was evident in the case of Candice who used to blame herself for the rapes; however once she received counselling at the shelter she realised that the rapes were not her fault.

Candice's self-blame had played a part in preventing Candice from reporting the rape to the police.

> *"I was always under the influence so who would believe me and then again it was my fault maybe that's what I thought then but now I know it wasn't my fault – he had no right on my body" (Candice).*

This shows how Candice carried blame for the rape but, through counselling and support, how she was able to learn that "no man" had a right to rape her. This theme of blame will be discussed further under the role of religion (6.12) later in this chapter.

Allen (2007) explains how living in a supportive community helped women to report having been raped. Conversely, it was seen in my research how living in a non-supportive community prevented the participants from reporting the rape. This also impacted upon who the participants told about the abuse and when they told this person about the abuse. Many of the respondents chose not to report the rape due the responses they received when they first told someone. For example, Grace told her older sister about the rape and her older sister did not believe her. Grace then told her mother about the rape two months later, being the first time she had seen her mother since the rape, and her mother accused her of trying to make "*bad neighbourhood*". This shows how Grace wanted to talk about what had happened but, because she was not living in a supportive environment, she was forced to remain quiet. This refers to the fact that Grace's mother was more worried about what the neighbours would say than about her believing her daughter.

Candice, on the other hand, did not live in a supportive community; because on the streets, the code was very much "each person for themselves". Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) explain how women do not report a rape due to a fear of the police. Candice was too scared to report her rapes to the police and she had nobody that she could talk to about them. Daisy had wanted to talk about the rape by her uncle but she first needed her parents to give her the opportunity to do so by asking about it. She was still very young at the time of the rape and was not mature enough to bring the matter out into the open without prompting. With the later attempted rape by a son of a friend of her father, Daisy's father had walked in, and made her feel responsible for what had happened. These examples show how growing up in an unsupportive environment did not allow Daisy the freedom to discuss what had happened to her. Sandy grew up in hostile and abusive surroundings. She had attempted to tell people about the rape but nobody believed her or else they pretended that it was not happening. We

see how Sandy had tried to talk about the sexual abuse on two occasions. The first, was when she told her maths teacher. Her teacher believed her but when he tried to do something the school intervened and told him that it was none of his business. The second time was when Sandy told the doctor who thought that she was crazy.

> *"…that even the doctor was like whatever is bothering you my sweetie you really need to talk. And when I did talk to him he almost declared me mentally insane" (Sandy).*

Sandy also tried to tell others about the abuse but due to the standing of her stepfather in the community and the way in which her family had tried to cover up the abuse, it was easier for people to believe that she was "crazy" rather than to believe that she was telling the truth. Lempert (1996) explained how women who had been victims of abuse themselves, were able to help cover up abuse experienced by others. This was evident with Sandy's mother who, a victim of domestic violence herself, attempted to protect her social identity and standing in the community by covering up her daughter's abuse. The telling, and not telling, about the rape experience, can also be linked to structure and agency.

6.10 Structure and Agency

The structures seen in the narratives in chapter 5 included the family, patriarchy, cultural practices such as virginity testing, society as part of a culture of violence and the "tacit rules" of life on the streets. In some instances the respondents would use their agency but would not be able to challenge structures within which they lived. Through their agency the participants felt stigmatised but they were unable to report their abuse because of the structure that they lived within. Hunnicutt (2009) clarifies how structures could be either micro, as in the family or macro, as in the wider society. Giddens (1984) explains how while structure constrains individuals, the individuals are still able to make use of their agency within the structural context. Given that individuals had agency, this agency was however affected or limited by the structure in which they lived. In chapter 3 I have given of how women used their agency within an abusive environment and this agency could at times include "fantasies of suicide and fantasies of murder" (Lempert, 1996). This shows how the women did not ultimately use the full capacity of their agency, although the fantasies could be considered first steps towards them exerting their agency. Sandy's narrative confirmed this as we see how she acted against the structure of the family by trying to commit suicide. Sandy tried to commit suicide three times and each time she was unsuccessful.

Suicide was Sandy's attempt to leave an abusive situation which she felt physically unable to leave. Another example of agency for Sandy was how she managed to complete her information technology (IT) degree without her parents being aware of it. Once she had completed her degree she was able to get a better job and earn more money.

> *"I stayed in my job for 4 years and then I changed for a better job … actually I got the beating of my life for taking on a better job … I was an IT technician – he [Sandy's step-father] didn't know about my studies" (Sandy).*

It may be argued that once Sandy started earning more money she could have left the abusive situation. Ruiz (1998) explains how all decisions made by an individual need to be understood within the social context that the decisions were made. As a result of the abuse she had endured Sandy had a low self-esteem and this limited the options available to her. Sandy had experienced physical, psychological, financial and sexual abuse over a period of years and she needed someone to believe in her and show her that she could leave the abuse. However, by completing her degree and being able to keep it a secret, Sandy showed how she was able to have power despite the constraints of her family structure. Once her biological father came out of jail it was the first time that someone had believed in her and acknowledged that the abuse was taking place. The belief her father had in her gave Sandy the courage to leave the abusive situation and to lay charges against her stepfather. After leaving the abuse it took years of support and counselling for her to regain her self-esteem. Even though Sandy only left the abusive situation with her father's help she used her agency in deciding to lay charges against her stepfather. This also points to the importance that support plays in a woman's decision to disclose and report abuse.

The choice the women made to leave the abusive relationship reflected how they made use of their agency. Lesedi made a choice to lay charges of rape against her husband, and moved into a shelter. Her husband, subsequently, convinced her to drop the charges and go back to him Lesedi dropped the rape charges because she was convinced that she could not manage without her husband's salary. This brings in the element of poverty as a structure and it forced Lesedi to remain in an abusive relationship that she wished to leave. She did not even consider that she might have been able to find a job and in that way free herself from her reliance on her husband for support for herself and her children. After a period when things did not change Lesedi made the choice to leave her husband again, this time for good, and to get a divorce. Ritzer (1996) argued that a woman's agency would be limited by the amount

of resources that were available to her. This was confirmed in my research, seen particularly in the narratives of Sandy and Lesedi.

Grace followed the advice of those around her and did not report her first rape. However, after her stepfather started abusing both her and her younger sister, and particularly after her younger sister tried to kill herself as a result, Grace used her agency to go and lay charges against him. The family was the structure and Grace acted against this structure by speaking out about the abuse, even though subsequently, her mother and stepfather managed to have the charges dropped. When things did not get better at home, Grace used her agency again to leave home and move in with her boyfriend. When Grace and her boyfriend lost their jobs and found themselves homeless, Grace made the choice to move into the shelter rather than going home to live with her mother. Dangor, Alderton and Taylor (2000) note that shelters are places for women to go after they have made a decision to leave. Grace chose to go to the shelter rather than go back home where she had experienced the abuse.

Daisy grew up in a home where her mother was often ill. Daisy felt that her relationship with her mother was not one in which she could have spoken up about the abuse she suffered from her uncle. She grew up with the stigma of no longer being a virgin. Added to this she was searching for a place where she felt she belonged. She found it easier to have a sexual relationship with her first serious boyfriend thinking that she was not a virgin. Once she realised she was in fact still a virgin she was devastated, and felt like she lost her virginity a second time. In the mistaken belief that she was not a virgin Daisy made the choice to have sex with her boyfriend but if she had been aware that her hymen was still intact and that she was still a virgin she may have chosen not to have sex. She decided to continue with the sexual relationship even though she did not love her boyfriend as it gave her a sense of belonging. When Daisy fell pregnant she made a decision to marry her boyfriend and remained married to him for ten years.

> *"I wasn't in love with the person but it probably just gave me a sense of belonging and I fell pregnant and at the age of 20 I got married because I was pregnant at 20 and got married… I stayed for more abuse for 9 years always feeling trapped thinking that I can't leave. I can't leave as I won't be able to manage financially on my own with a child. And of course he used to tell me if you if you leave, you can leave any time you like I won't give you a cent ever" (Daisy).*

Daisy noted that her marriage was not a happy one and that she stayed largely due to feeling that she was unable to cope on her own. Finally she used her agency to leave. Once she had left her husband she managed to get a job in order to support herself and her daughter.

Lerato was brought up following very strict cultural traditions and, in accordance with these traditions, Lerato's grandmother used to carry out regular virginity testing. When Lerato was raped by her first boyfriend she was too scared to tell her grandmother about this. In this way she used her agency to make the decision not to tell about the rape. There are also other instances, such as when she was raped by the taxi boss, that we can see her using her agency in deciding not to tell people about her rape experience,

Candice lived within the structure of the tacit rules which govern street life. When a person lives on the street they develop certain coping mechanisms. In Candice's case, she used to drink wine and get high on dagga, because it was, in part, a way to fit in with the other people living on the streets with her. When she used to do work as a prostitute she went to an area outside the area in which she lived so that nobody would know her. It is seen that Candice made choices, but these choices were limited by the fact that she lived on the streets and had very limited resources available to her. It is important to take into account when her actions were choices, coerced choices or no-other-option choices. For example, her choice to go into prostitution was based on her need for money. If she had access to resources she may not have decided to sell herself in this way. There was however a contradiction for Candice here, as, on the one hand she went into prostitution in order to buy wine and dagga, *"when I could not maintain the habit I used to go to prostitution"* and, on the other hand, she used to feel loved by having sex, even if for a moment. This can be linked back to her search for love in an inappropriate manner as discussed in 6.3 above.

> *"…so I was looking for love in many ways and also that is how I went into prostitution because people accepted me and in that moment showed me love and I would get money for it and that is what I thought love was" (Candice).*

This reflects how Candice made choices based on the structure in which she lived. Candice made the choice to work as a prostitute, not only because she had no other way to make money, but also because she did not understand what love meant, and to her having sex meant the men were "showing her love". The participants were able to make choices but these choices were determined largely by the structures in which they lived, as well as by the constraints that these structures placed on them.

6.11 Sexual Revictimisation

Every woman interviewed experienced more than one sexual assault, namely rape, attempted rape or sexual molestation. Jewkes (2002) in chapter 2 explains how "women who were

abused as children" were more "vulnerable to future abuse". This has been termed "revictimisation". This was evident in all the experiences of the women who took part in the research. Most of the participants had their first sexual assault before the age of 20 and had at least one other sexual assault at a later point in their lives. Vetten, Jewkes *et al.,* (2008) note that a girl child is more likely to be raped by a "known person" and this has been confirmed by my research. Jewkes (2002) explains how victims of child sexual abuse (CSA) were prone to being abused in adulthood. This is in line with the "feminist theory of rape" which I mention in chapter 3 and explains how a girl child is raised to fear rape. Daisy is a notable example of this, as she was raped as a child and abused later in her life. This has been explained by women normalizing abuse and enduring abusive behaviour (Jewkes, 2002). It has also been documented how women who are abused as children are hyper-sensitive in normal situations, forcing then to normalise abnormal situations and, therefore, overlook signs of abuse (Messman-Moore & Long, 2003). This was seen with Lesedi, where she was not able to see the warning signs of abuse. This was also apparent in Lerato's experience where she was raped by her first boyfriend and then again later by a subsequent boyfriend.

Of the six women who took part in the research Sandy was the only one who was raped repeatedly by the same person, namely her stepfather. Candice was raped by a friend, a drinking buddy and another drinking buddy. Lerato was raped by a boyfriend, her sister's boyfriend, another boyfriend and last of all by the taxi boss. Lesedi was raped by a boyfriend and then again later by her husband. Daisy was raped by her uncle as a young child. There followed an attempted rape by her uncle and an attempted rape by the son of her father's friend. Grace was raped by her older sister's boyfriend and later sexually assaulted by her stepfather who had also attempted to rape her. The narratives supported how a woman who was raped as a child or adolescent" is more likely to be raped as an adult.

6.12 Role of Religion

The role of religion in rape has not been explored adequately in the literature. Dangor, Alderton and Taylor (2000), who I mention in chapter 3, explain how religion has been seen to create and reinforce patriarchal norms that keep women oppressed. This was seen in the way religion reinforces patriarchal societies by creating the belief that they are "sanctioned and ordained by God" (Rakoczy, 2004:30). Bowland, Biswas *et al.,* (2011) distinguished between religion as structures and rituals that people follow, and what has been termed,

spiritualism. Spiritualism is where an individual builds a relationship with a higher power. Hence, religion can be both a negative and positive force in women's lives. It has been seen how this relationship can have a positive impact on a person who has suffered a traumatic event (Bowland, Biswas *et al.*, 2011). Cargioli (2011) suggests that Christian healing helps with the healing of the spirit and with its reconnection to the body. He explains that complete healing from trauma can only come from the healing of the "body, mind and spirit" (Cargioli, 2011).

Christianity played a role in the participant's healing process once they had arrived at the shelter. Some of the participants came to the shelter shortly after their rape experience while others came after a longer time. As it was a Christian shelter, religious practice was a significant factor in the support offered. As explained in chapter 4, the shelter had its own church service on Sundays and it was one of the rules of the shelter that the women were expected to attend. The reason behind this was the need to expose the woman to the healing she could receive from the Holy Spirit. According to the CEO of the shelter, there was a belief that the women living in the shelter could change their lives through what has been termed as being 'born again". Being born again meant that the women developed a relationship with the Lord in which they could receive comfort and achieve personal growth.

Religion was emphasised by the staff in the shelter (c/f chapter 4) and this played an important role in the participants' experiences. All the participants in this research were Christian. A relationship with the Lord was an important part of the women's post-rape experience and their healing process. This was particularly seen in the women's ability to forgive those who had raped them. Christianity mandates the Holy Spirit to bring comfort and this helped the women to manage their various experiences of abuse. Candice turned to the Lord after her last rape and she felt that she was led by the Lord from Cape Town to Johannesburg. Her move to Johannesburg coincided with her conversion to Christianity. She felt the Lord led her to the shelter, and once in the shelter, through guidance, she grew in her relationship with the Lord. Candice learnt the value of a love, more grounded and substantial than the one she had been seeking in the past.

> *"…but now growing up I know what love is that is why I am waiting on the Lord to give me real love" (Candice).*

Lerato was a practicing Christian before coming to the shelter and she used to question the abusive experiences she endured as she felt that she had been a good person. She blamed God for not protecting her and felt that with the last rape she would only be able to forgive the man once God had obtained justice for her. Lerato had not wanted to report the rape by the taxi boss as in the Bible it is said that "vengeance is the Lord's". As noted above, the only person she had told about the last rape was the lady in the hospital with her; however she had told the Lord about the rape and asked Him to avenge the wrong that the man had done.

> *"Want to see God give vengeance want him ["taxi boss"] to pay... wish his skull is open in the road, pictured it, imagined it. Don't think I hate him but want him to pay. If I saw him pay, I could forgive and forget. Vengeance is God's not ours…." (Lerato).*

This shows a contradiction as on the one hand Lerato wanted to see the taxi boss pay for what he did to her but on the other hand she notes that she does not hate him.

For each of the participants, Christianity played an important role. Candice developed a relationship with the Lord before coming to the shelter and this relationship grew once she was living in the shelter. For Lesedi attending church and developing a relationship with the Lord helped build her self-esteem. After leaving her husband Lesedi started a community project in order to help and encourage other women. Daisy only managed to start her healing process when she became a Christian at the age of 40. When looking back Daisy could not understand why as a teenager she had thought she was *"fat and ugly".* Once her healing process began Daisy was able to overcome the stigma that she had carried for a large part of her life. Grace noted how by attending church she was able to forgive the men who had hurt her and was able to speak about her experiences, and in turn help other women. Lerato spoke about having been a good person and how she wanted God to give her vengeance for the last rape. Sandy was able to deal with the hurts from the years of abuse by "developing a relationship with the Lord". Religion also helped the respondents develop agency by empowering them and, according to the participants, it helped them lose the feeling of self-blame which they carried.

6.13 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the analysis of the narratives using the literature review (chapter 2) and the theoretical framework (chapter 3). The analysis was done by highlighting the key common themes that cut across the interviews with the different participants. The themes that were covered in this chapter included rape by a "known person", the role of the family in

the woman's experience, ownership of women through patriarchy, fear of rape, women's pride in their virginity, stigma, rape myths / stereotypes, reporting or not reporting rape and telling someone about the rape, structure and agency, sexual revictimisation, and the role of religion. These themes were looked at by combining what was found in the literature and the theoretical framework with evidence found in the participants' experiences. The participants' experiences were used to confirm and challenge what was found in the literature and the theoretical framework. The purpose of this was to explain the importance of the women's experiences as linked to a greater theoretical framework and to the overall experiences of rape by women both in South Africa and internationally. The analysis also took into account the unique context of South Africa.

The next chapter, the conclusion, will focus on a summary of the research with suggestions for future research. It will acknowledge the findings of this research and the implications they have for this area of research. This will be followed by an analysis of the limitations and strength of my research and the areas of shortcomings in my research. It will then give a reflexive piece on my overall experience as a researcher and how I was able to complete the research, noting the impact that the research had on me. It will take into account the coping strategies that I used and the overall experience of how the research affected me both as a researcher and as a survivor of rape. The subsequent chapter concluded by briefly looking at where each research respondent is at the end of the research process.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

"… it seemed the more I went to church the more I got built up the more I started believing something else other than he [her husband] had been telling me" (Lesedi)

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on a summary of the research with suggestions for future research. It will acknowledge the findings of this research and the implications they have for this area of research. This will be followed by an analysis of the limitations and strengths of this research. It will then briefly look at my overall experience as a researcher and how I was able to complete the research, noting the impact that the research had on me. I will share with the reader the coping strategies that I used and the overall experience of how the research affected me both as a researcher and as a survivor of rape. I conclude with a brief summary on where the research respondents are at the end of the research process, followed by a look at where I am at the end of this research.

The literature review (chapter 2) looked at the definitions of rape in South Africa, the rape statistics showing the extent of the problem of rape in the country. It looked at the social context of rape, the current research on rape in South Africa, reporting or not reporting rape, and the role of religion. The theoretical framework (chapter 3) developed the framework for the research; this section used more than one theory due to the diverse nature of the research narrative. The theory used was: feminist theory of rape, feminist standpoint theory, and patriarchy within feminism, stigma, rape myths or stereotypes, and structure and agency. The methods chapter (chapter 4) covered the method used for the collection and analysis of the research data as well as an overview of the research site and the research respondents. The research narratives (chapter 5) gave an introduction into the women's experiences as well as an in-depth overview of the participants' sexual assault experiences, the activities leading up to these experiences and the aftermath of the experience. The literature review and the theoretical framework were used as the basis for the analysis of the research narratives.

7.2 Summary of the Research

The aim of this research was to collect the in-depth experiences of women who had been raped by a "known person". Due to the sensitive nature of the research, the research was done at one particular shelter. This was to ensure that the respondents were given the necessary support, available at the shelter, due to the potentially harmful consequences of reliving such traumatic events. Rape by a "known person" was chosen as my focus given that the rate of rape by a "known person" is high and that a woman is more likely to be raped by a "known person" than a stranger (Etaugh & Bridges, 2006). As seen in the literature

review this was also an area that had not been as thoroughly researched as that of rape by a stranger.

The literature on the social context of rape found that the real experiences of women could not be understood simply through statistics where set questions were used. Moffett (2006) argued that in the post-apartheid era women had now become a sub-class which was being oppressed by men. This highlighted the oppression faced by women in South Africa. Rape has also been recognised as a societal issue within the country and not only as an individual issue (Mills, 1959; Jewkes & Abraham, 2002).

Dosekun, 2011, suggests that in South Africa, all women are affected by rape, as even those who have not been raped, fear rape. The challenges faced by women are recognised on a societal level within government policy. My research confirmed what the literature noted - that government policy has not significantly changed women's rape experiences and there is a need for more than just policy and paper to address the issue of rape. Of particular note is that even updated government legislation has not filtered down through the structure of the family to protect the women and children.

My research also confirms, as argued in the literature, that women who "experienced child sexual abuse (CSA) are more likely to experience abuse later in their lives" (Jewkes, 2002). My research examined virginity and the culture of virginity testing. Virginity was a vital part of the participants' experiences and it was found that respondents prided their virginity.

According to the literature there are various views that men hold regarding the rape of women and whether their actions can be classified as rape. Research done on how women define rape and sexual assault was also examined. My research, through the in-depth narratives of women who had been raped by a "known person", looked at how women defined rape. The literature review then moved on to examine the reporting and non-reporting of rape. It was also seen how the participants as Christians spoke to a higher being (God) about what they had experienced. This was looked at within the literature and it was confirmed that a relationship with a higher being helped individuals deal with traumatic experiences (Bowland, Biswas *et al.,* 2011).

The theoretical framework was largely based on the feminist theory of rape, feminist standpoint theory and patriarchy as an element of feminism. These are all important theories

as they are concerned with the changes in definitions of rape, the changes in the relationship between men and women and the need for knowledge that is for women and about women (Hartsock, 1998). Through my research I gave the respondents an opportunity to tell their story and an opportunity for their experiences to form part of a "knowledge" that is about women as well as for women. The respondents shared a common experience through the "woman's body as the site of the abuse" (Smith, 1992). This means that many other women who have been raped will be able to relate to the participants' narratives.

The next part of the theoretical framework focused on stigma, rape myths or stereotypes and structure and agency. These two theories are similar as they are both concerned with society and its interaction with the individual or rape survivor. These theories looked at attitudes held by society as well as the attitudes held by the individual, for example, a stigma that society gives an individual and a stigma or label that the individual gives themselves. We see how women used to label themselves as different due to rape and a loss of virginity and how both these stigmas are invisible because they cannot be seen by society.

The literature and theoretical framework were utilised in the analysis of the research narratives. The literature and theory was integrated into the research narratives in chapter 5. There was also a separate analysis chapter, chapter 6, which gave specific analyses of the research narratives. The analysis chapter was crucial to the whole research report as it aimed to integrate the literature, the theory and the research narratives.

7.3 Significant Findings of the Research

In my research it was found that the participants were all raped by a "known person". This confirmed the finding in the literature that a woman was prone to being raped by a "known person". My research was able to confirm that a woman who was raped as a child was more likely to be abused as an adult and the abuse could be sexual, physical, emotional or financial. A large part of my analysis was dedicated to the part that the family played in the abuse. It found that the stand taken on a government level against the abuse of women and children was not able to permeate through the structure of the family. It was also seen how the family could take part in the abuse by not protecting the girl child, by covering up and hiding the abuse. By not believing the participant when they disclosed the sexual abuse the family prevented the girl from obtaining the necessary support for the traumatic experience that they had gone through. In the narratives it was shown how sometimes the abuser was a

family member, for example, a stepfather or uncle. It was observed how the father figure (father or stepfather) attempted to control the women and the family through fear. The father figure also used punishments as a way of keeping the participants subordinate to them. One example of intimate partner violence (IPV) showed how women who experience abuse by their husband could experience more than one type of abuse. Abuse tended to be sexual, physical, emotional and financial. It was found that the participants feared rape and altered their environment in order to keep themselves safe.

Virginity played an important role in the respondents' narratives and it was seen how most of the respondents were virgins at the time of their first rape. Due to the loss of their virginity the respondents were seen to label themselves and internalised a stigma which was not visible to the rest of society. Largely due to rape stereotypes and the rape myths in society many of the respondents did not report their rape to the police. The responses that the respondents received when first telling someone about the rape also played a role in preventing them from reporting the rape. Due to the respondent being raped by a "known person" they often blamed themselves for what had happened to them and this also prevented them from reporting the rape. Not living in a supportive community played a role in their decision to report the rape, as well as whom they told about the rape and when.

It was seen that religion played a role in the respondents' post-rape recovery experience as they established a relationship with a "higher power". This relationship influenced their ability to forgive the perpetrator. It was seen in my research that the participants were constrained by structure but were still able to make use of their agency; however, this was limited by the structural constraints. All the respondents used their agency in their decisions to leave the abuse and come to the safety of the shelter. In some cases this even meant moving into the shelter from the streets.

7.4 Limitations and Strengths of My Research

The findings of my research were able to confirm what was found within the literature and showed the extent of the problem of rape and sexual assault in South Africa. This research is innovative given that the data I gathered from the participants could not have been obtained through statistical research.

The main limitation of this research was that only six research respondents were used in the data collection process. However, during the interviews, 15 hours of in-depth and usable data was obtained. Thus, my approach focused on fewer, but in-depth interviews, rather than more interviews with less depth. Structured interviews were also done with 4 staff members working at the shelter' including one with the CEO who runs the shelter. From these interviews 2 hours and 35 minutes of usable data were obtained. A possible further limitation of the research was that the research respondents all come from a low socio-economic background and from a black or coloured racial group. This meant that due to the number of respondents and the limited criteria of the chosen respondents, the findings might not be applicable to women from other racial and socio-economic groups. Even so, it is significant to note that most qualitative research, due to the small number of respondents, is not intended to be generalised to the wider population.

The other limitations of this research included the nature of the research subject, namely, the traumatic experience of women who have been raped. The findings were taken from the participants' viewpoint and due to the trauma, the experiences could have been exaggerated or important elements could have been forgotten. Also, I changed the direction of the interview or ended the interview when I could see the respondent was reacting negatively or that the interview was causing them emotional distress. This might have meant that I was unable to obtain certain information that could have been vital to the research. However, ethically, it was important to ensure that the respondent did not endure unnecessary emotional distress through the data collection process. This is also a strength of the research because it meant that all the information received came directly from the primary source, and this increased the validity of the information.

I also recognise that my own rape experience could be both a limitation and an advantage for the research. Though my own experience could have led to bias on my part, it was also a positive factor, and one which was consistent with "standpoint theory". Through my past experience I was more easily able to gain access to the research site and to gain the trust of the respondents.

The research site could also have placed various limitations on my research because, by using only one site, the number of participants who could take part was limited. The other limitation of the research site was that it was a Christian shelter which meant that the respondents were also Christian. This meant that religion played a critical role in the post-

rape experience for the participants. This could be seen as a limitation as not all women will have access to religion as part of their post-rape experience. Another limitation was that I, as the researcher, am a Christian, and as a result I might have been biased towards the idea of the healing power of religion. The shelter could also be viewed as being a positive site in which to conduct my research because it meant that the respondents were able to get the necessary support during the interview process.

7.5 Areas Where My Research could be Strengthened and Areas for Further Research

Through my research I have identified the following areas which could have enhanced my research if they were examined in more depth and where I feel there is a need for further research:

1. The stance taken by Government and the ability this has to penetrate the family, what are the barriers?
2. Why respondents would tell someone about their rape or report their rape, and what were their experiences of both telling and reporting abuse.
3. The interlinked issues that were raised regarding family, virginity and culture.
4. The relationship between virginity and teenage pregnancy and how young girls view virginity today.
5. The relationship between understanding the feelings of love and how women search for love.
6. The relationship between girls and boys during their adolescent years as linked to their sexuality and the way "sexual scripts" determine rules within a relationship.
7. Transactional sex and its links to sexual abuse and whether all women are aware that by accepting gifts the man is expecting sexual intercourse in return.
8. The ability of women who have been raped to integrate into society, taking into account the long term effects that a breakdown of trust, relationships and families has on society.
9. Other forms of abuse which are hidden in society.
10. Structure or breakdown of the family which has led to a spate of family rapes.
11. Views of men and how they understand rape by a "known person".
12. The role of religion in a woman's post-rape experience.

7.6 Overall Experience as The Researcher (reflexive piece)[11]

When I embarked on the journey of obtaining my Masters in Sociology I had one research topic in mind. I wanted to do my research on rape and was determined to not let anyone convince me otherwise. I was raped at the age of 21, at the time I was in the process of finalising my BA degree. During the process of my court case I developed an interest in this area of research and did my own research on the rape legislation and the process of amending the legislation. I was anally raped in 2005 so the perpetrators were charged with indecent assault as it was not considered as rape at that time. In later years the legislation was updated to incorporate anal rape as rape as well as incorporating other aspects that affect women in South Africa.

As part of my own rape experience I experienced the public hospitals and the justice system. Coming from a low socio-economic background meant that I did not have access to private hospital care after my rape. Also, as we saw in the respondents stories, my family support fluctuated and though I got support from my mother in the beginning, at some point she blamed me as she had made it known previously that she did not "like the guy" and I had not listened to her. Because my own family was not a close one I did not get support from other family members.

I started the journey towards my Masters' degree in December 2011 by submitting my motivation to do my research. This was accepted by the University of the Witwatersrand, Sociology Department. I registered in February 2012 with a research topic of "rape in South Africa". At this point in the process I was very enthusiastic and was ready to start the research without realising the enormity of what I was planning to do. I began the search for a site from which I could conduct my research and I registered for the Lifeline counselling course as part of my preparation for the interviews I would be doing with rape survivors.

Every step of this research had its own challenges and as I battled to find a site for my research I began to extend my horizons. This was when a friend mentioned the shelter which was eventually used for the research and I met with the CEO of the shelter who agreed to allow me to do my research from there. I thought I had overcome the biggest hurdle in my research, as now; I had a site from which to carry it out. My ethics application was approved in August 2012 giving me the green light to search for my research participants and begin the

[11] My rape story can be found as appendix 6

interview process. I was excited and started making plans to tell the women in the shelter about my own rape experience, about my research and to asking them to volunteer to participate in my research. I stood before a group of women on the day I told my story, women I had become familiar with during my visits to the shelter. I felt myself shaking, I started to talk and everyone went quiet and just listened to me. I realised that day how empowering it was, both for me and for the women listening, to be able to tell my story of my own rape experience.

After I had told my story and answered the women's questions I explained my research to them. The participants then came to me and agreed to be part of my research. Again, I was excited, as I had by now almost completed the Lifeline counselling course and thought I could do my interviews easily. I had experienced one rape and expected to find similar stories with the research respondents, where there was a "before the rape experience" and an "after the rape experience". I had my first interview with Candice and I remember sitting there in awe as she explained her experiences to me. I then became aware of the enormous task I had taken on. I wondered how was I was going to cope; to write about one rape experience had seemed possible, but to find that the participants had experienced so much more than that came as a shock to me.

I remember having the interview with Lerato where she first spoke about the rape by the taxi boss and how she sat there and sobbed. I felt her pain that day and was not sure how to deal with it. It was as if I picked up a sense of fear from that interview and I carried that with me for the next few days. I found myself looking over my shoulder and even the slightest noise scared me. It was at this time that I started with the extra support from Lifeline Johannesburg (Norwood) where I met with someone who helped me to debrief after the interviews. This was such an important part of the research process and one that I had not even been aware of before. I had been conducting interviews with the participants, and even though my role was as a listener, I found I was taking on some of their emotions and I needed to let these emotions go. As a rape survivor myself I started the interviews thinking I knew exactly what to expect, and, instead, I had been overwhelmed by what I found.

In the beginning I did not want to admit that I was not coping and that I needed help. Only once I had received the necessary support did I realise the importance of this support. When doing research on rape it is not only the respondent who relives the experiences and I found that, as the researcher I relived my own experience with them. This meant that at times I felt

the same emotions as they did. It caused me to judge my own experience as being less significant as I had only been raped once and the respondents had faced so much more. It was through counselling that I was able to realise that each experience was important for that person and had significance for that person. Each experience needed to be held as important because it had an impact on the person which was meaningful to them. The process of the research had an impact on me as a person and without the necessary support I would not have been able to complete the data collection process.

Being a rape survivor made it easier for me to approach the respondents and to gain their trust. By telling my story it was easier for the respondents to open up to me and for me to understand some of their experiences and therefore not to judge them. By creating an environment where the women could feel safe, the women were able to open up to me and I was able to gather very in-depth details of the women's experiences.

7.7 The Respondents at the End of the Research Process

I was able to follow up with the research respondents and, in conclusion, will briefly give feedback on each respondent's situation as it stands at the end of the research process. By the end of the research Daisy had left the shelter and moved back to Cape Town and was doing volunteer work at a drug rehab (NGO). Sandy was still staying in the shelter and had been employed as the new house mother. She was staying in a separate part of the shelter with her children and her biological father. Her biological father, who had been in jail and had helped Sandy lay charges against her stepfather, was employed as the driver for the shelter. Lerato left the shelter and managed to get a bursary that paid for her studies and accommodation. Grace left the shelter to live with her boyfriend and he managed to get "piece jobs" in order to be able to pay for their food and accommodation. Lesedi was still running her community project in order to help other women; she was still trying to get divorced and lived with her children. Lesedi had learnt to forgive and put her past behind her. She continued her healing process through talking to other women who had had similar experiences. However, she finds it hard to reconcile with the fact that rape and abuse against women is still occurring and in fact seems to be getting worse. Candice was still staying in the shelter and had been employed to do administration; she lives in the shelter with her child.

Corey Spengler: I am now active in the area of violence against women (VAW) and have told my rape story; I was interviewed by a popular magazine, Sarie, for the March 2014 issue, in

order to encourage other women to tell their stories. I was also interviewed by the SABC on the relationship between rape and HIV. I have a certificate and am a qualified Lifeline counsellor. I am also an active member of the Transforming Education about Rape and Sexual Abuse (TEARS) organisation and will be involved with their speaker's bureau. In the future I hope to write a book on my life experiences, rape being a central theme. I am also being encouraged by my supervisor and the department of sociology to complete my PhD (once I have recovered from my Masters). I am also continuing to work at the Gauteng Provincial Legislature.

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Appendix:

1. Ethics Clearance Certificate
2. Interview Guide
    a. Women
    b. Staff
3. Letter of consent to participate in the research
    a. Women- English
    b. Women- Zulu
    c. Staff
4. Letter of consent to record the interview
    a. Women
    b. staff
5. Assistance from Lifeline
    a. Researcher
    b. Research Respondents
    c. Lifeline counselling course certificate
6. My Rape Experience

Appendix 1: Ethics Clearance Certificate

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON MEDICAL)
H120724 Spengler

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER H120724**
PROJECT TITLE	Rape in South Africa What are the experiences of rape by a known person? A case study of women at a shelter for homeless and abused women and their children in Johannesburg
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Ms C S Spengler
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Humanities
DATE CONSIDERED	20 July 2012
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved Unconditionally
EXPIRY DATE	31 July 2014

DATE 14 August 2012

CHAIRPERSON _____
(Professor T Milani)

cc: Dr T A Selikow

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10005, 10th Floor, Senate House, University.

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

_____ 24 / 08 / 2012
Signature **Date**

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

Appendix 2 a. Women's Interview Guide

WOMENS INTERVIEW GUIDE

This research has chosen to make use of unstructured (open ended) interviews with the women as the best way to answer the proposed questions. A framework will be set up for the interviews with overall guiding questions which will assist in keeping the interviews on the topic. However due to the sensitive nature of the research it would be important for the women to be allowed to talk without set questions that could interrupt their train of thought. The interviewees would be told the topic of the interviews and the purpose of the interviews will be explained to them while it is their stories that will determine the nature of the interviews.

The topic of the interviews will be on the experiences of women who have been raped by a known person, the women will be told the topic and they can start their stories at any point and the interviewer will guide the interviews where necessary. Where background information is needed the interviewer will ask. This research will follow an 'unfolding research approach' as explained by Punch who describes this approach as not having a 'pre-figured design' which contains data that are not pre-structured.[12] This approach has been chosen as the women's stories will determine how the research unfolds and while there will be guidelines for the research it won't be overly structured.

THE GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR THE RESEARCH:

1. What was their experience of rape by a known person?
2. Who was the rapist to them?
3. How has the rape changed their lives?
4. What are their needs as survivors (victims) of sexual abuse?
5. What are their opinions on any intervention practices?
6. Any other question that may arise from their story as their story will guide the interview.

[12] Punch, K 2000, *Developing Effective Research Proposals*, California: Sage Pg. 15

Appendix 2 b. Staff Interview Guide

STAFF INTERVIEW GUIDE

Beyond interviewing the women living in the shelter it will be important to also interview the staff within the shelter to get an understanding of the context of the research site and the women that are living there. The interviews conducted with the staff in the shelter will be structured as the purpose of these interviews will be to answer specific questions regarding the context of the shelter as well as the area that the shelter is located and the women living there. These interviews will be done with a set list of questions to which answers are needed for a greater understanding of the research site. The number of these interviews will be determined by the information needed.

THE GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR THESE INTERVIEWS:

1. What is the surrounds around the shelter like and how does it affect the women in the shelter?
2. Where or how are the women referred to the shelter?
3. What are the general circumstances that the women in the shelter come from?
4. What support is offered to the women in the shelter based on their needs as survivors of sexual violence?
5. Any other questions that arise from the interviews with the women as survivors of rape by a known person or from the interview with the staff.
6. How do the women mainly hear about the shelter?
7. Is this always the race and socio-economic standing of the women in the shelter?
8. The role of religion, what do you see as the role of religion in these women's lives?
9. Why is there a register taken in Church on Sundays?
10. The overall role of religion in the Shelter?
11. How do the women respond to religion in the shelter?
12. How do women who are from other religious backgrounds respond to the Christianity in the shelter?
13. How long are the women allowed to stay in the shelter and how is this time period determined?
14. For what reasons can the women be asked to leave the shelter?
15. Once they leave the shelter are they allowed to come back?
16. Are women ever refused entry into the shelter? And why?

17. How do you determine a woman is ready to leave the shelter?
18. What is the main support for the shelter? And what is done when there are no funds available?
19. How many permanent staff are there working in the shelter and what are their roles?
20. How do most of the women pass their day in the shelter?
21. How many women can the shelter hold at any time and what is the average number of women within the shelter?

Appendix 3 a. Letter of Consent – Women: English

INFORMATION ON RESEARCH BEING DONE BY MS COREY SPENGLER
ULWAZI NGOCWANINGO OLWENZIWE NGU-MS COREY SPENGLER

Dear Participant I am a Masters Student doing my Master's Degree in Sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand by research on 'the experiences of rape by a known person.'
Voluntary clause / confidentiality

This information is given voluntarily for my research report to fulfil the criteria for a Master's Degree in Sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand on the topic: "the experiences of rape by a known person."

The aim of the study is to explore the experiences of rape on women in South Africa who are survivors of rape. The research will focus on survivors of rape by a known person (where these women are not available interviews will be done with survivors of rape) over the age of 21.

The shelter was chosen as the base for the research. You have self-selected yourself to participate in this research and are currently staying in the shelter and are a survivor of rape and over the age of 21. Your participation in this research will be through interviews.

Taking part in the research means that you will tell the story of your rape experience and how it changed your life. The interviews will focus on the following themes:

- The experiences of your rape by a known person,
- The perceptions of your needs as a survivor of sexual violence,
- The perceptions of the intervention practices in place,
- It will touch on the experiences you have had within the shelter and
- The effects of the rape on your life.

With your permission the researcher, Corey Spengler, will record the information from the interviews which will be done without noting down your name, which means that the information will be recorded without reference to the individual, which will ensure anonymity, while the information received will be kept in a locked safe. The supervisor of the research, Dr Terry-Ann Selikow will be the only other person who will have access to the notes taken for the research. A digital recorder will be used to record the interviews (please sign the separate consent form for the interview to be recorded). The interviews will last between 1 – 2 hours and it is requested that if possible you avail yourself for more than one interview so that the depth of your story can be captured.

The benefits of partaking in the research, is the chance for you to tell your story giving you a voice and to have your experiences assist other women going through the same or similar experiences. Your story could assist the shelter by them being aware of the support needed by survivors of rape in dealing with the changes that occur in your life. Support has been made available to you through one-on-one counselling at Open Disclosure and telephonically through Lifeline Johannesburg at the contact number (011) 728 1347.

You have the right to participate in the research if it is of your own free will, and you can also decide at any time to stop taking part in the research. You also have the right to withdrawn the information you have given at any time if you are no longer happy for it to be part of the research.

The information accumulated during the research process will be put together into a report, a copy of which will be kept by the researcher, the university and the shelter. The information will also be used for articles and conferences but it will never reveal the names of the respondents or the shelter.

If you want to obtain more information regarding the research you can contact the researcher Ms Corey Spengler on 072 338 5635 or the supervisor of the research Dr Terry-Ann Selikow (PhD) on 011 717 4448 / 082 468 0275.

LETTER OF CONSENT/INCWADI YOKUVUMA

I hereby give my consent to participate in the research process through interviews with Ms Corey Spengler.

Mina ngiyavuma ukuzimbandakanya kwinqubo yocwaningo ngezingxoxiswano noNkosazana Corey Spengler.

Name: Igama _____

Contact Number: Inombolo yocingo _____

Details of the woman being interviewed Imininingwane yolowo okukhulunywa naye:

Age: Iminyaka _____

Race: Ibala _____

Time since the rape: Sekunesikhathi esingakanani kwenzeka lokuhlukunyezwa _____

Age at time of the rape: _____

Signature as proof of consent: Sayina njengophawu lokuvumelana

_____

Date of interview: Usuku lokuqopha _____

Venue of interview: Indawo lapho ingoxiswano yenzelwe khona _____

Appendix 3 b. Letter of Consent – Women: Zulu

INFORMATION ON RESEARCH BEING DONE BY MS COREY SPENGLER
ULWAZI NGOCWANINGO OLWENZIWE NGU-MS COREY SPENGLER

Mhlanganyeli kulolucwaningo,ngingumfundi wezinga eliphezulu le Masters kwi Sosciology kwi Nyuvesi yase Witwatersrand kucwaningo oluqondene nokuhlukunyezwa ngumuntu osondelene naye. Ngezansi yisiqinisekiso sokuvumelana nokuthi konke lokhu kuzoba yimfihlo.

Lolulwazi ulunikeza ngokuzikhethela ukungilekelela kucwaningo lwami ezifundweni zobuchwepheshe ezingeni lwe Master's Degree kwi Sociology.engiyenza kwi Nyuvesi ye Witwatersrand ngaphansi kwesihloko esithi:"ubuhlungu bokuhlukunyezwa ngokocansi ngumuntu oseduze nawe kakhulu "

Injongo yalolucwaningo ukujula ngolwazi bobuhlungu obutholwa ngabesifazane eMzansi Afrika abedlule kulobubuhlung.Ucwaningo ke luzogxila Futhi kulabo abedlule kulobuhlungu beseminyakeni engaphezulu kweyishumi nanye-21.

The 'shelter' -lapho kunkasheliswa abahlukumezekileyo, yakhethwa ukuba yisisekelo salolucwaningo.Abesifazane abakhethiweyo ukulekelela ngolwazi babehlala khona kulelikhaya.labo ngabaZinduna kulelikhaya kanye nalabo abangaphezulu kweminyaka engu21.
Ukubamba iqhaza kulolucwaningo kusho ukukhuluma indaba yakho yokuhlukunyezwa kwakho kanye nokuthi lesisehlo sayishintsha kanjani impilo yakho.
Lolunqakisano lwemibuzo luzobhekisisa kokulandelayo:

- Ulwazi ngokuhlukunyezwa ngumuntu owaziwayo
- Ukuqonda ngezidingo zalabo abaphila nenxeba lokuhlukunyezwa
- Ukuqonda ngenqubo yongenelelo olukhona
- Izothinta nolwazi olutholakale ngaphakathi kwalelikhaya.
- Kanye nemiphumela yokuhlukunyezwa ngokocansi

Ngemvume yakho u Nkosazane Corey Spengler umcwaningi uzoqopha lolulwazi elususela kwingxoxiswano ezobe yenziwa kodwa ngaphandle kokunikeza imininingwane yamagama okungukuthi lengxoxiswano izoba yimfihlo.Induna yalolucwaningo u Doktela Terry-Ann Selikow nguyena kuphela ozoba nelungelo lwalemibhalo kanye nokuqoshiweyo.

Inzuzo yokuzimbandakanya kulolucwaningo yithuba lokuthi lemfihlo engeyakho wedwa uyinike izwi lokusiza nabanye abazithola bekwisimo esifana nesakho.Udaba lwakho luzokwelekelela abaphathi bakulelikhaya elisiza ngokubhacisa abahlukunyeziweyo –'shelter' ikakhulu baqondisise bafunde Nokwazi ukuthi basizwa kanjani abantu abazithola kulesisimo okusona. Izinsiza kanye nezinhlaka zosizo Zikhona ukukusiza la ungakhuluma wena kanye noyedwa kubasi balezinhlaka kwizinombolo ezithi(011) 728 1347.

Unelungelo lokuzimbandakanya kulolucwaningo uma kungokokuzikhethela wena,unalo Futhi ilungelo lokuthi uma ungasakuthokozeli lokhu uvele unyomuke noma uhoxe.Unganyomula Futhi nolwazi lolo obusulunikezile uma ungasafisi ukuqhubeka nosizo lolo.

Ulwazi oluqongelelwe kulesikhathi socwaningo luzohlanganiswa kukhiswe umbiko ozogcinwa nguye umcwaningi lona,iNyuvesi kanye nalendawo yokukhoselisa-ebizwa ngoSindiso. Lolulwazi luzosetshenziselwa izinkomfa(Conferences and Articles)kanye nemibhalo yaloluhlobo kepha amagama angeke avezwa,elakho kumbe elendawo la nikhosele khona.

Uma ufisa ukthola imininingwane yalolucwaningo ungathintana no Ms Corey Spengler kunombolo 072 338 5635 noma umphathi wakhe u Dokotela Terry-Ann Selikow (Phd-kwizifundo zocwaningo) ku 011 717 4448 / 082 468 0275.

LETTER OF CONSENT/INCWADI YOKUVUMA

I hereby give my consent to participate in the research process through interviews with Ms Corey Spengler.

Mina ngiyavuma ukuzimbandakanya kwinqubo yocwaningo ngezingxoxiswano noNkosazana Corey Spengler.

If you would like your information recorded please fill in your details below, please note that this isn't compulsory and that the information will be keep confidential and will not appear in the final report:

Uma uthanda ulwazi lwakho luqoshwe sicela ugcwalise okungezansi,khumbula ukuthi awuphoqiwe ngalokho kodwa siyethembisa ukugcina lolulwazi luyimfihlo.

Name:Igama _____

Contact Number:Inombolo yocingo _____

Details of the woman being interviewed Imininingwane yolowo okukhulunywa naye:

Age Iminyaka: _____

Race: Ibala:_____

Time since the rape: Sekunesikhathi esingakanani kwenzeka lokuhlukunyezwa:

_____

Date of the interview: Usuku lwengxoxiswano: _____

Signature as proof of consent: Sayina njengophawu lokuvumelana:

_____

Date of interview: Usuku lokuqopha_____

Venue of interview: Indawo lapho ingoxiswano yenzelwe khona: _____

Appendix 3 c. Letter of Consent – Staff

INFORMATION ON RESEARCH BEING DONE BY MS COREY SPENGLER
ULWAZI NGOCWANINGO OLWENZIWE NGU-MS COREY SPENGLER

Dear Participant I am a Masters Student doing my Master's Degree in Sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand by research on 'the experiences of rape by a known person.'
Voluntary clause / confidentiality

This information is given voluntarily for my research report to fulfil the criteria for a Master's Degree in Sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand on the topic: "the experiences of rape by a known person."

The aim of the study is to explore the experiences of rape on women in South Africa who are survivors of rape. The research will focus on survivors of rape by a known person (where these women are not available interviews will be done with survivors of rape) over the age of 21.

The shelter was chosen as the base for the research. You have been selected to partake in interviews in order to assist with background information to the shelter as well as to answer any questions regarding the running of the shelter. These interviews will be set up based on the need for information and clarity by the researcher: Ms Corey Spengler.

The women partaking in the interviews will answer questions based on the following themes:

- The experiences of their rape (by a known person),
- The perceptions of their needs as a survivor of sexual violence,
- The perceptions of the intervention practices in place,
- It will touch on the experiences they have had within the shelter and
- The effects of the rape on their life.

With your permission the researcher, Corey Spengler, will record the information from the interviews using your position within the shelter, with no reference to your name, which will ensure anonymity, while the information received will be kept in a locked safe. Anonymity will further be secured by the fact that the name of the shelter will not be mentioned in the final report. The supervisor of the research, Dr Terry-Ann Selikow will be the only other person who will have access to the notes taken for the research. A digital recorder will be used to record the interviews (please sign the separate consent form for the interview to be recorded). The interviews will last between 30 minutes to an hour depending on the information needed and more than one interview may be necessary.

You have the right to participate in the research if it is of your own free will, and you can also decide at any time to stop taking part in the research. You also have the right to withdrawn the information you have given at any time if you are no longer happy for it to be part of the research.

The information accumulated during the research process will be put together into a report, a copy of which will be kept by the researcher, the university and the shelter. The information will also be used for articles and conferences but it will never reveal the names of the respondents or the shelter.

If you want to get more information regarding the research you can contact the researcher Ms Corey Spengler on 072 338 5635 or the supervisor of the research Dr Terry-Ann Selikow (PhD) on 011 717 4448 / 082 468 0275.

LETTER OF CONSENT/INCWADI YOKUVUMA

I hereby give my consent to participate in the research process through interviews with Ms Corey Spengler.

Mina ngiyavuma ukuzimbandakanya kwinqubo yocwaningo ngezingxoxiswano noNkosazana Corey Spengler.

Name: Igama _____

Contact Number: Inombolo yocingo _____

Position in the shelter: _____

Signature as proof of consent: Sayina njengophawu lokuvumelana

_____

Date of interview: Usuku lokuqopha _____

Venue of interview: Indawo lapho ingoxiswano yenzelwe khona _____

Appendix 4 a. Audio Recording Consent Form - Women

Woman's Consent:

I AGREE to allow all of my participation in the research being done by Ms Corey Spengler through in-depth interviews to be recorded using an audio recording device.

I understand that this device is being used to accurately record what I say during my participation in this study and will later be transcribed and possibly used in the final research report.

_____	_____	_____
Date	**Participant Name**	**Participant Signature**

Appendix 4 b. Audio Recording Consent Form - Staff

Staff's Consent:

I AGREE to allow all of my participation in the research being done by Ms Corey Spengler through structured interviews to be recorded using an audio recording device.

I understand that this device is being used to accurately record what I say during my participation in this study and will later be transcribed and possibly used in the final research report.

_____	_____	_____
Date	**Participant Name**	**Participant Signature**

Appendix 5 a. Assistance from Lifeline – for Researcher

LETTER TO CONFIRM THAT MS COREY SPENGLER IS GETTING SUPPORT THROUGH LIFELINE (JHB)

Purpose of the research:

The researcher, **Ms Corey Spengler**, is doing her Masters in Sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand via dissertation. The topic of her research is on rape in South Africa with a current research question of: 'what are the experiences of rape by a known person?' The research will be conducted part time over two years starting in 2012 and ending at the end of 2013. The field work will commence once the research proposal and the ethics proposal have been submitted, and acceptance has been granted.

The research will be done through a shelter where women can be interviewed within a safe and sheltered environment. For this purpose the (name removed to keep confidentiality) shelter in Marshalltown Johannesburg was chosen as the base for the research. The shelter is a shelter for both women and their children, they take in women who are homeless as well as abused women. The researcher who is also a survivor of rape would need to put support structures in place to equip her during the research process. In order to achieve this, the researcher has being doing the Counselling Course through LifeLine (JHB) which started in February 2012. The purpose of doing the course was not so that the researcher could counsel the women interviewed, as under no circumstances will the researcher be doing this, but rather to equip her and ensure that she would not cause further harm to the women being interviewed.

The researcher has also been attending one-on-one counselling sessions as a prerequisite of partaking in the Counselling Course, these sessions can be extended to offer further assistance to the researcher during the research process.

CONFIRMATION GIVEN BY LIFELINE (JHB)

The Clinical and EWS Manager LifeLine Johannesburg, Ms Lorraine Mitchell has given permission for LifeLine Johannesburg to be used as a support structure for the researcher during the research (2012-2013).

I herby give my consent for LifeLine Johannesburg to be used as a support structure by Ms Corey Spengler during 2012 and 2013 in pursuit of a Masters degree in Sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand on a topic of rape in South Africa. I also confirm that Ms Corey Spengler is presently attending the Personal Growth, Interpersonal and Counselling Skills Course through LifeLine (JHB) which began in February 2012.

L Mitchell

23 April 2012

Ms Lorraine Mitchell
CLINICAL AND EWS MANAGER
LIFELINE JOHANNESBURG

Date

Appendix 5 b. Assistance from Lifeline – Research Respondents

LETTER OF CONSENT FOR THE USE OF LIFELINE (JHB) AS A REFERAL NETWORK

Purpose of the research:

The researcher, **Ms Corey Spengler**, is doing her Masters in Sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand via dissertation. The topic of her research is on rape in South Africa with a current research question of: 'what are the experiences of rape by a known person?' The research will be conducted part time over two years starting in 2012 and ending at the end of 2013. The field work will commence once the research proposal and the ethics proposal have been submitted, and acceptance has been granted.

The research will be done through a shelter where women can be interviewed within a safe and sheltered environment. For this purpose the (name removed to ensure confidentiality) shelter in Marshalltown Johannesburg was chosen as the base for the research is a shelter for both women and their children, they take in women who are homeless as well as abused women. The shelter already has various support structures in place for the women staying there, Lifeline (JHB) was approached however to act as an additional referral support structure to the women partaking in the interviews. Lifeline offers a 24 hour telephonic trauma counselling service which can be vital to women experiencing trauma during the evening when other help may not be available.

Their contact details are:

Johannesburg Centre
2 Henrietta St, corner The Avenue, NORWOOD
Telephone - Crisis (011) 728-1347
Administration - (011) 728-1331
Facsimile - (011) 728-3497
E-mail - lifeline@lifelinejhb.org.za

CONSENT GIVEN BY LIFELINE (JHB) TO ACT AS A REFERAL NETWORK

The Clinical and EWS Manager LifeLine Johannesburg, Ms Lorraine Mitchell has given permission for LifeLine Johannesburg to be used as a referral network during the

process of the research (2012-2013). LifeLine will also be able to assist with counselling support after the research, for any women that would still be in need of emotional assistance.

I herby give my consent for LifeLine Johannesburg to be used as a counselling referral network for the clients interviewed by Ms Corey Spengler during her research process, during 2012 and 2013, in pursuit of a Masters degree in Sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand on a topic of rape in South Africa.

L Mitchell

23 APRIL 2012

Ms Lorraine Mitchell
CLINICAL AND EWS MANAGER
LIFELINE JOHANNESBURG
011 728-1331

Date

Appendix 5 c. Lifeline Counselling Course Certificate



LifeLine

Johannesburg,
Alexandra & Soweto

welcomes

Corey Spengler

and acknowledges your achievement in meeting all the requirements to become a

LifeLine Counsellor

31st of October 2012

Acting Director
Janet King

Chairperson
James Mpele

Appendix 6. My Rape Experience

I, Corey Sarana Spengler, do hereby make oath and say:

I am a 21 year old female with birth date 1984-03-24 and residing at Plot 28 Cecelia Street, Elderado, Tarlton, Krugersdorp, tell: 072-338-5635 and a student at Wits University, Johannesburg, that- on Friday 2005- 04- 01

- I left Wits (alone) via the normal exit and walked towards Braamfontein Railway Station, on my normal route home at about 15:30 on this Friday afternoon.
- I met Joe Soap[13] (a friend) as I was walking past the petrol station before Braamfontein station and he offered me a lift and I accepted; he had often lifted me to a further station normally dropping me off at Westbury or Industria station as he worked in that area.
- He was driving his manager's vehicle and had a work colleague- friend with him who he introduced as Ben[14].
- I have known Joe for 6 or 7 years.
- They had a delivery to do (to Panorama Estate in Krugersdorp- Noordheuwel) and they were late so I went with them, as I knew the directions- it was my side of the world- not home but half way there.
- After the delivery Joe told me he had a friend that was picking them up after work and if I went back with them I'd get a lift home.
- When we got about a block away from their work they asked me to walk as they did not want their manager to see them giving lifts to a friend in his car.
- I walked around the block and then waited for them.
- Their friend was in a black smallish vehicle, he was introduced to me but I forgot his name.
- There were 3 people in the vehicle when they picked me up.
- This new friend needed to fetch his wife and as she was the jealous type he said he said he'll drop us somewhere and once he's taken his wife home he'd come back and fetch us.
- We went to this friend's house, as both Joe and Ben wanted something to drink and they picked up a six-pack of Amstel.
- He left us near Cresta' and we went to a pub called 'Stones'.
- I suggested we walk to Cresta- I had done a job their last December and wanted to go and say hi while I was there.
- After I had said hi, Joe bought me a pie and we walked around for a bit before going back to the 'pub'- Stones.
- We went back to the 'pub' – 'Stones' and Joe insisted on buying me a drink as he said it was my birthday drink so I had a Smirnoff Spin- the only alcoholic drink I slightly enjoy as non-alcoholic drinks are actually much nicer.
- They joked with me asking me what I wanted for my birthday- Ben said he'd get me a ring like one I'd seen earlier in Cresta Shopping Centre.

[13] A pseudonym was used.
[14] A pseudonym was used.

- They promised me certain things most I've forgotten, as it was not very important.
- I remember smsing my mom asking her not to be mad but I'd be late, I told her I was with Joe.
- I started to get worried when the friend never came back and it started to get dark.
- Joe phoned his friend but got through to his wife who said he was on his way but he never arrived.
- It seemed to get later and later, I began wondering how I was going to get home.
- Joe suggested we catch a taxi to JHB and that when there he'd call his Uncle and ask him to come and fetch us- he told me not to worry, but I could not help it.
- The idea was that they would both end up at my house with me and they would apologise to my mom for the fact that I was late. I said as long as we get to my house they could happily spend the night at my house.
- We walked slightly down the road and got a taxi to JHB, we got the back seat and exactly where the speakers were, the music was so loud and my head was now throbbing.
- Finally we were in central JHB.
- I used Joe's phone to call my mom and tell her I was okay, her words will haunt me for life as she told me to be careful and that I should be careful of what Joe can do to me.
- After speaking to her I thought she was over-reacting and that Joe would never hurt me.
- Joe asked me if I'd told her who I was with, I said yes and he knows my mom does not like or trust him but he assured me that I was safe with him.
- I remember asking him about somebody who went to school with me 'Mary[15]' she had accused him of rape and I asked him if he had done it and he assured me that he had not.
- He called his uncle who apparently said that we must go to the club, 'Tropicana' and wait for him to fetch us.
- We ended up at the nightclub 'Tropicana'- it was so noisy and I was so scared.
- Joe phoned his uncle again and told me that he was on his way.
- We seemed to be at the nightclub forever, Joe tried to get me to drink some more spin but after the three I'd already had I could not drink anymore.
- He eventually gave me a glass of sprite and spin mixed together- which I at some point knocked over.
- My head hurt so badly but when Joe offered me a small tablet I refused to take it as I did not recognise it as a pain killer and was suspicious, but how hard he tried to get me to take it. He even told me that it could only be a pain pill as what else could he get for 50c but I still refused.
- They both continued to drink beer; by now I had lost count of how many beers they had drunk.
- Also Joe took one of the tablets he offered me, and then he had half of the other one- to prove it was safe and tried to get me to take the other half but I still refused so Ben took the other half.
- I remember Ben getting me to dance with him and Joe finding us and saying we should go.

[15] A pseudonym was used.

- Joe's uncle did not seem to be coming, we left the club and Joe said we'd go to his uncle's hotel room.
- For some reason I thought nothing I was so tired and the sight of JHB at night also overwhelmed me.
- I suggested we catch a metre taxi, why not as Joe said money was not an issue but he seemed to dodge the idea.
- All this time I never thought to call anyone as I thought I'd get home eventually even though I was not sure how- so why bother someone at this time of night.
- We walked so much and my legs were sore- I began to feel I couldn't do this anymore.
- We seemed to go to the same hotel over and over again only to leave.
- Joe at some point was determined to get me something to eat; there was a little shop still open. He went inside I waited outside with Ben.
- At some point I smsed my mom saying 'I was in the middle of nowhere and I wished I was at home.'
- Joe bought me a sausage role (pie) of which I only ate half- Ben finished the rest.
- We eventually ended up at a hotel called the 'East London Hotel' or London Hotel for short.
- I again waited outside with Ben while Joe went to speak to the security guard.
- Eventually he called us- he had a key in his hand- he told me we were going to his uncle's hotel room where we were going to wait for him and when he got back he would take me home- he was meant to arrive in half an hour.
- We entered the hotel room; it was a small room with one double bed, a table and a chest of drawers. It also had a small bathroom with a toilet and a bath.
- I should have seen the signs that this was not his uncle's hotel room as there was none of his uncle's things there but I was so tired I just lay down on the bed.
- I remember thinking as I lay there that if I had to spend the night here I'd be able to go home in the morning, and that it was not such a big deal.
- Ben left the room, he going to get some more beers.
- I was left alone with Joe- and from that moment he stopped being the person I new and turned into someone else a complete stranger- a side of him I'd never met before that night.
- The first words he said to me once Ben had left the room were 'my friend is a gangster and he is going to rape you tonight unless…'
- (My mind began to reel; I thought o shit what now.)
- He continued '… unless you pretend we've had sex, I'll tell him that I've already had you and that he must leave you alone,' that I was his girl.
- I thought he was just trying to protect me so I co-operated anyway at that time it seemed the better option- I was so scared.
- Joe made me undress… he threw my underwear and clothes to the other side of the room.
- Joe took off all his clothes except for his underwear.
- I felt so uncomfortable here I was naked with a man who did not really seem to have my best interests at heart.
- He commented that this was the first time we'd been like this and how he had waited six years for this moment, he reminded me about a time I had visited in a tight pair of pants.

- He then climbed on top of me and he kissed me and he told me to suck his tongue and I told him that I didn't want to.
- He told me if I did not co-operate with him they were both going to have sex with me.
- Ben came back and locked the door behind him… Joe got me to pretend that we were having sex while Ben was watching.
- We were under the blanket, Joe was half next to me and half on top of me, and I had to kiss him- putting my tongue in his mouth and he asked me to suck his tongue.
- I tried to get him to stop by moving from underneath him.
- It was so gross; I also had to make sounds.
- I kept telling him I did not want to do this over and over again.
- Somewhere here he told me he wanted to have a child with my eyes and my smile, he also told me that when I died he wanted me to leave him my eyes. It was all so gross and I was so scared.
- Finally I sat up I'd had enough… there was only so much I could take… why should I have to do this… and as I said to Joe many times that night 'why was he doing this to me?'
- I was shocked and scared but at the same time I was hoping that I'd wake up in my own bed and this would all be a bad dream but unfortunately it was not and the worst was still to come.
- They both told me that I would just have to pleasure them i.e. make them cum… give them each a blowjob… and then they'd leave me alone.
- I started to give them one by one a blowjob but I was not making them cum I was so tense and I did not want to hurt them as I was by now so scared of what these two mad men would do to me.
- I was not even sure if I'd leave that room alive… so I had to play my cards really carefully.
- I even tried out a trick that someone had once told me, that if a person played with a man's balls it drives them crazy.
- Unfortunately in my scared state I was too rough and any pleasure Ben was getting ended and I was actually hurting him.
- They both told me that I must have done this before.
- Eventually I burst into tears, tears of frustration, fear, humiliation and many other emotions.
- I put on my underwear and sat in a corner in tears this was all too much for me how could this be happening to me.
- I had lost all trace of time I just felt trapped and I just wanted to be left alone.
- Joe (I even told him at some point that he must be schizophrenic (psycho) as he had two completely different personalities.) then asked me if I had ever been hurt before sexually that made me so reserved when it came to having sex.
- I then blurted out the story of my dad who as an alcoholic had abused my sister and me.
- Joe told me that if he ever saw my dad he'd kill him… I though huh it's worked I think they may leave me alone- but I was wrong… yet again.
- Joe (who did most if not all the talking in that room that night) then told me about someone else who had also been abused by her father, I thought for a moment that he understood… but

what he told me next made my blood run cold… he said 'this is the night that you get over this.'

- Somewhere along the lines he also told me that 'this is what adults do so get used to it,' a reference to me now being 21 and finally an adult so I according to him had no excuse. (I turned 21 on the 24 March 2005)
- I remember Joe telling me (at some point) that Ben was a great guy and basically that I should consider dating him. I was shocked as Joe had always been interested in me so why was he passing me on to his friend…. I only found out the next day when I went to his house and his wife answered the door.
- I was allowed to lie on the bed peacefully… I thought it's all over… they would not allow me to put my clothes back on as I would crease them and I could not leave the next morning in creased clothes so I lay there in my underwear.
- Ben lay on the bed next to me and Joe on the other side of me on the floor as there was not enough space on the bed for all three of us.
- I was restless but at the same time relieved…. Ben then asked me to play with his penis I refused, as I was tired and sick of their nonsense. The one moment I'm refusing the next they are both on top of me… I tried to fight but they were too strong…. Ben stuck his fingers in my mouth to stop me screaming…. I was so sore the next day mainly from trying to fight back.
- Joe told me if I screamed the manager would arrive and he would join them and then there would be three of them.
- I managed to throw one of them off… Joe and I sat up on the end of the bed I tried to bargain with them… I mentioned God, me being a virgin; I even said I'd have sex with them but not like this…. I even threatened to go to the police if they did anything to me but Joe told me I probably would anyway so he better make it worth it i.e. he better get the most out of me.
- Joe told me that Ben was a virgin and that he was not leaving that room with his virginity.
- I realised that I had to compromise or I was going to get the worst of it.
- At some point I mentioned having a condom in my wallet and Joe them told me that it meant that I wanted it as I was prepared, apparently it showed what type of girl I was.
- He even told me that I was hoping that someone would take my virginity and also that I'd told him that I liked rough sex. The biggest lie I've ever heard…. I never said that ever…
- I asked them not to take my virginity and they told me that if they could not enter my virgina it was not a problem as I still had my anus but penetrate me they would.
- At that moment I was not thinking straight but I chose my anus- I offered to give a blowjob again; I remember Ben was laying on the bed his penis in my mouth… I had my one hand helping me to give the blowjob and the other covering my virgina.
- I was so scared that Joe would enter my virgina. That was all I could think about…. I kept saying in my mind not the virgina.
- He made me put my finger up my virgina- he even smelled my fingers to make sure I'd done it…and then he accused me of having done it before.
- The next thing I know his fingers were up my virgina…. He told me he had used four, the pain was so bad, I began to cry, I remember him saying 'this is as far as my penis would have gone.'

- Then he began about how I was not a virgin… I told him that I could have lost my virginity in other ways i.e. sport or injuries and that a penis had never been up my virgina before.
- He then stuck his penis in my anus… that pain was so bad I wanted to scream- I did but softly. I begged Ben to make him stop… and he told Joe to stop and for some reason he did after a short while.
- Ben at some pint sucked on my stomach and made a bite or sucking mark on one of my breasts.
- The real pain came when Ben entered my anus…. His penis was about twice the size of Joe's (who had a small penis I even at some point told him that… also Joe was self-conscious and he did not want the light on while he was naked.)
- I kept asking Ben to get it over with as by now the pain was so bad; it seemed to be taking forever.
- I had already asked them not to cum inside me. I by now as so wet –my virgina I mean- that Ben used a small hand towel to wipe me down every few minutes.
- While he (Ben) was inside me it was almost as if time stood still, it never seemed to end.
- I asked him to hurry up as I wanted a bath… but he told me that he thought woman liked it when men take their time to cum.
- Finally it was over…. I was so overwhelmed, sore, humiliated but I for some reason knew that now they would leave me alone, it was finally over.
- Ben told Joe I had cum about three times, I could not believe him as how could I cum when I was in such blinding pain.
- I put my clothes back on; I even commented that they were now allowing me to keep my clothes on.
- I put my stuff together and went to sit by the door.
- Joe was not stupid he came and slept by the door, in this way blocking any form of escape.
- A bath was now the last thing on my mind… by now my hair was sticking to my head and I felt terrible.
- The first person I thought of was Mrs Monnink, my home economics teacher from high school as well as a close friend. I tried to send her a message asking for help but Joe stopped me, he even went as far as taking my battery out of my phone. I tried to get it back but he refused to give it to me.
- Ben went to sleep on the bed and I for some or other reason did not want Joe to go to sleep so I kept speaking to him about what I'm mostly not sure.
- At about 5am I asked if we could leave he refused, he told me that it would not have happened if it had not been for me.
- He told me if I went to the cops he'd give them the bit he taped on his cell phone of me in the beginning pretending to have sex with him, he also said he'd tell them about my dad.
- I asked about the fact that I'd said no, I don't want to do this and he said he'd just delete those parts i.e. edit them out.
- He also told me I should have taken the ecstasy-tablet he had offered me, as it would have made it easier. I thought I knew it; it was not a pain- killer as he said it was, I just knew.
- He also said he should have kept my panties as a keepsake.

- He also told me if I ever needed anything I should contact him and he'd be willing to help me.
- I remember calling him a 'bastard' he got so upset with him asking me if I knew what it meant to be a bastard, i.e. that he did not have a father I replied that he did not deserve to have a father. He got so angry I thought now I've done it, I had to apologise or he may have slapped me silly.
- Somewhere in our conversation he commented on the fact that I'd called him fat and that he had a small penis. Also that when I asked him to he stopped and left me alone i.e. that I got hurt mainly by trying to get Ben to sympathise with me.
- Suddenly the phone in the room rang, Joe answered, he told Ben that we had to go, it was after 6am now and they both hurried around the room getting ready, as we had to leave immediately.
- Ben was in the bathroom a while, I was getting anxious I wanted to get out of that room as quickly as possible.
- The room was a mess there were tissues everywhere as I had been crying so much I almost went through a whole toilet role.
- I asked Joe if we should not clean up but his words left me cold…. 'No! I paid a lot for this room….'
- He told me I could not leave looking like I was that I should pull myself together.
- I suppose I must have been able to do that at least while I was still with them….
- We walked out of the hotel, passed the security guards and for about the tenth time his words again left me cold as Joe told the security guard that 'he'd see him next week.'
- We walked to Park Station, which seemed to be surprisingly close; I told Joe that he could leave me there and that he did not have to come home with me.
- He handed me R7 to catch the train home. I was so glad to be rid of them, finally.
- I burst into tears; I was so distraught I felt my life was over. I miss-called Mrs Monnink who replied surprisingly quickly, I told her where I was and that I needed help she said she'd come and fetch me.
- While I waited for her another woman asked me what was wrong I told her I'd been raped and that there was nothing I could do as they had taped something that would get them off.
- All she said to me was 'don't let them get away with it.'
- It was this woman that gave me the courage to report the rape to the police.
- I phoned my mom and told her what happened and that Mrs Monnink was on her way to fetch me.
- Mrs Monnink arrived after what seemed like an eternality.
- She was shocked at the state that I was in- I looked and felt terrible.
- I asked her to take me to the hospital, the one in Krugersdorp, as it was closer to home.
- When I arrived at the hospital I was taken to the trauma section. The nurses were so nice to me, they asked me if I wanted to report the rape, I decided to do so and they phoned the police for me.
- A very nice young woman came down from the Krugersdorp police station.

- I had to get checked by the doctor, unfortunately there was only a 'black male' doctor available. It was so embarrassing getting undressed and lying on the bed so that the doctor could take the needed samples from me. Luckily a female nurse was present the whole time but at that moment I knew what they meant when they said that a woman was raped a second time by the system or whatever they wanted to call it.
- After taking the samples I spoke to the policewoman, she was really nice and wanted to arrest the two men on the same day if possible.
- The problem was that I did not know where either of them stayed and only had a slight idea of where they worked.
- I got a sms from Joe (that morning- 2nd April 2005) it said: "Hi hope u got home safe what is ur ad 2 send the gifts and how much money do u need." I was disgusted as how could he offer me money and think it would make everything go away.
- The policewoman asked me to reply and ask to meet him which I did but he did not reply until much later.
- We were waiting for the results of the aids test, the policewoman asked if we could come back later and in the meantime she wanted me to see if I could not find the workplace. I said I'd try. I could barely walk, my anus was bleeding and I was in so much pain.
- She got back up; they met at the KFC in between –Florida and Roodepoort.
- Mrs Monnink bought me some potatoes chips and a coke so I could take the medication I was given from the hospital.
- I got names mixed up and told her that they worked in Unified when I was actually thinking of Nuclear.
- Eventually we drove around Nuclear for over half an hour –the back-up police had even given up before I finally managed to find the place.
- We parked in the parking lot; the car Joe had been driving was there.
- The policewoman went inside and spoke their boss- Ben was at work and Joe was not.
- I had to identify Ben and she was given an address for Joe.
- We were waiting for back up when I told her that she could put him in the back and that we could go to find Joe.
- So in the car he came- he was handcuffed- the policewoman asked if he had done anything wrong and he said no, also she asked if he was aware of what he had done the night before and he said he was.
- Ben directed us to Joe's house, but before we got there he smsed me telling me he was in Alberton and that he'd contact me later. I was sure he was not going to be at home but instead he had been tipped off.
- When we got to his house a woman answered the door, the policewoman asked for Joe and who she was, she said she was his wife- I nearly passed out I was so shocked.
- She said he had been at home with her last night and that he was now at the shops.
- The policewoman asked her to phone him, which she did but he did not answer.
- Something she did made the policewoman suspicious and she then searched the house finding Joe hiding under the bed in their bedroom.

- I had to identify him, which I did. Back up then arrived and the two men were taken to the police van and we all went to the Sofia-town police station where I finished giving my statement.
- I know Joe as Joe Soap, and I've known him for about seven years. It was the first time I met Ben but I can point out both of them. I didn't give anyone consent to have sexual intercourse with me, virginally or anally. I didn't give anyone permission to touch me indecently.

I know and understand the contents of this statement, and I have no objection in taking the prescribed oath. I consider the prescribed oath binding on my conscience. I swear that this is the truth "so help me God."

Corey Sarana Spengler
I.D number- 840324 0207 08 2