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Understanding and preventing rape: perceptions of police officers in inner city Johannesburg.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Sexual violence occurs throughout the world. However, in many countries there has been little research conducted on it. Sexual violence has a profound impact on the physical and mental health of the victim, which can have both immediate and long-term consequences. Sexual violence may also profoundly affect the social well being of victims, as individuals may be stigmatised and ostracised by their families and society as a consequence (Amaar & de Wall, 1994).

A wide range of sexually violent acts can take place and these acts can occur in different settings and under different circumstances. Sexual violent acts include coerced sex in marriage and dating relationships, rape by strangers, systematic rape during armed conflict, sexual harassment (including demands for sexual favours in return for jobs or school grades), sexual abuse of children, forced prostitution and sexual trafficking, child marriage, and violent acts against the sexual integrity of women, including female genital mutilation and obligatory inspections for virginity (WHO, 2002).

Explaining sexual violence against women is complicated by the multiple forms it takes and the multiple contexts in which it occurs (WHO, 2002). Research suggests that the various risk factors that contribute to sexual violence have an additive effect. That is, the likelihood of sexual violence occurring is greater the more factors are present (WHO, 2002). However, more research is still needed to shed light on the problem of sexual violence and ways of addressing it. Among the various types of sexual violence that exist, the main focus of the present study is on rape. Rape can happen between people of the same sex as well as the opposite sex. It can also occur across different cultures, race groups and class divides. This study focuses only on rape that has been perpetrated by a male on a female victim. There has been much debate on whether to regard women who

have been raped as ‘survivors’ or as ‘victims’. To emphasise the offensive nature of rape on the females, this study will refer to individuals who have been raped as rape victims.

This chapter aims to introduce the study as well as the research aims, which are discussed next. The rationale of the study is then presented and the chapter will conclude with the structure of the report.

RESEARCH AIMS

The present study aims to explore perceptions of why rape continues to be such a major issue in South Africa from the perspective of police officers as service providers to rape victims and perpetrators. Rape has been a long standing problem in South Africa and this study aims to investigate some of the reasons why rape is so pervasive particularly in the Johannesburg area. The study will explore police officer’s perceptions of the nature of the problem of rape in inner city Johannesburg and ways of preventing it. This will include exploring the different types of rape cases that are common and the police personnel’s perceptions of the causes of these cases. The study will also explore the rape scenarios or risk groups that are commonly encountered by the police as well as formulating a profile of males that are likely to rape and whom their victims are likely to be. The study aims to draw together the experiences, understandings and knowledge of police personnel working with both victims and perpetrators of rape in order to contribute to knowledge in this area as well as to possibly formulate interventions that can address this issue. This can be achieved by critically exploring the current prevention strategies and their effectiveness, which may enlighten future planning and interventions.

RATIONALE

Rape is a major social, public health and human rights issue in South Africa (Buddie & Miller, 2001)**.** It has gained much attention because of its negative effects on victims. The rape victim may be emotionally damaged and may experience psychological problems

(Buddie & Miller, 2001). In addition, the consequences of rape may include unwanted pregnancies (which may result in unsafe abortions), pelvic inflammatory diseases, and sexually transmitted diseases, all of which may be devastating (Christofides, Jewkes, Webser, Penn-Kekana & Abrahams, 2005). Rape is experienced as an unexpected and intrusive violation, which at once impacts on all dimensions of the victim's existence, and ultimately disrupts to some degree ones manner of being in the world (Roos & Katz, 2003). The victim is left with what appears to be a continuous struggle to adjust back into society again. The rights to the dignity, privacy and integrity of every person are basic to the ethos of the constitution and to any defensible civilisation (Lawrence & Van Rensburg, 2006). Rape is therefore a very serious offence, as it involves a humiliating, degrading and brutal invasion of the privacy, dignity and person of the victim.

Incidents of rape in South Africa are particularly concerning due to its relationship with the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) (Kim, 2000). In recent years, researchers have witnessed a growing recognition of the links between violence again women and HIV. One immediate expression of this link relates to the transmission of HIV following rape (Kim, Martin & Denny, 2003). The act of rape may sometimes be brutal and the victim may experience tearing which increases the chances of HIV entering her body. Rape is also sometimes perpetrated by more than one perpetrator, which again increases the chances of the HI virus transmission (Wood, Jama, Jewkes, Nduna & Levin, 2002). Therefore the act of rape is not only physically and emotionally traumatic, but there is also a chance of acquiring the HI virus.

Rape affects millions of people each year worldwide (Kim, 2000). However, South Africa is reported to have one of the highest rates of sexual violence in the world (Adar & Stevens in Peterson, Bhana & McKay, 2005). South Africa also has the unhappy distinction of being known as the country with the highest incidence of rape worldwide (Ramsay, 1999). In 1995, the Human Rights Watch reports on domestic violence and rape, dubbed South Africa the rape capital in the world (Human Rights Watch, 1995).

Researchers have estimated that one in three girls and one in five boys are sexually abused in South Africa (Khan, 2002). Other studies in the Johannesburg area found that one in four South African men had committed rape before they turned eighteen (Peterson et al., 2005). Even more disturbing is that other studies have shown through surveys that most of the rapes occurred in the victims homes, with 60 percent of the rapists known to the victim and one in four rapists being a family member (Immigration & Refuge Board of Canada, 2002).

The high prevalence of rape in South Africa suggests a widespread social tolerance of crime and violence (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). In the early 1990s, Simpson (cited in Lewis, 1997) defined South African society as having a "culture of violence" due to the excessive levels of social, political, criminal and domestic violence in this country. Sexual violence has become so widespread that it is increasingly considered normative rather than deviant (Lewis, 1997). In the previous decade, some researchers went so as far as to describe the rates of rape as reaching epidemic proportions (Vogelman, 1990a). At this time, it was noted that levels of rape were so high that "women's fears of rape have begun to affect their basic day-to-day decisions and reduce their quality of life" (Vogelman, 1990a, p.96). Rape has therefore undoubtedly been a significant long-standing social problem in South Africa, and the probability of any woman being raped in this country is still very high (Crime Information Analysis Centre [CIAC], 2005).

Whilst it is generally recognised that South African women experience increasingly high levels of violence, official statistics indicating the extent of these crimes are often ambiguous, or grossly underestimate the actual occurrence (WHO, 2002). In 2000, the BBC stated that there are no definite statistics for violence against women in South Africa (Immigration & Refuge Board of Canada, 2002). One of the reasons for this was that South Africa employed a narrow definition of rape, which did not include sexual assault, incest, rape with objects, oral rape, etc. Other researchers have suggested that the current statistics on sexual violence only represent the iceberg of the

true magnitude of the problem (WHO, 2002). One of the reasons why it is so difficult to collect such data is that most of the rape cases do not reach the medical or legal sectors (Baumer, Felson & Messner, 2003). Reasons why victims choose not to report their cases include fear of not being protected enough after reporting and suffering possible reprisal from offenders. Victims are at times ambiguous about what constitutes a rape, and may not perceive certain types of rape as being criminal offences (Baumer et al., 2003). Fear of stigma and embarrassment has also been found to play a role in the non-reporting of rape incidents. Victims also hold the perception that they might not be believed and that the criminal justice system is largely ineffective in responding to or preventing rapes**.** And mostly victims don't report rape when they know the perpetrator (Baumer et al., 2003).

Like all other forms of violence against women, rape is connected to the broad socio-cultural milieu which is suffused with beliefs of male dominance, supremacy and aggression (Wood et al., 2002), Inequalities in male-female relationships as well as in the social, economic and political structures in South Africa ensure that women remain vulnerable to attack (Wood et al. 2002). That is, South African society to some degree promotes rape through their attitudes about social inequalities related to race and gender, as well as their attitudes towards victims and perpetrators. South African society is deeply ingrained with racial and sexiest stereotypes. This minimises the treatment or support for rape victims by society at large as well as by police personnel, and this is particularly true for Black women (Human Rights Watch, 1995).

It is important to note that the present study acknowledges that it is impossible to put forward a common set of causes or reasons for why rape occurs. It is nevertheless important to understand aspects of the aetiology of rape to reduce its incidence (Drieschner & Lange, 1999). A number of studies have focused on rape myths and others on general perceptions around what causes rape. These studies have been focused on a variety of populations. Most studies have focused on perpetrators whom already had been convicted and sentenced for their crimes. Other studies mainly focused on college males

and their likelihood of perpetrating sexual violence; specifically rape (Gidycz, Loh, Lobo, Rich, Lynn & Pashdag, 2007). However, there seems to be less research that focuses on the perceptions of those individuals who work mostly with rape victims and perpetrators. Through their involvement with both rapists and rape victims' police officers may be better able to formulate the risk factors to rape, the common characteristics of perpetrators and therefore the prevention strategies for rape. Johannesburg has high prevalence rates of rape; hence police personnel need to be adequately trained to be effective in handling these crimes. Effective training however, requires extensive knowledge and understanding of the problem. Hence, this study aims at understanding several issues around rape, and therefore assisting in formulating preventative strategies to combat it.

The present study aims to investigate police officers' perceptions of the causes of rape as well as their perceptions of how rape can be prevented. Police officers are considered an important group to focus on in this research in part because of the debates around the nature of their involvement in dealing with rape cases, as well as their ability to address the issue, successfully apprehend rapists and ensure convictions. The South African government has admitted the existence of shortcomings in the justice system concerning the issue of rape in its initial periodic report submitted under the International Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (Immigration & Refuge Board of Canada, 2002). These short-comings include issues such as poor investigation of rape cases, which leads to poor evidence gathering, which weakens cases against perpetrators. In 1998, a survey conducted in southern Johannesburg found that only one rapist was convicted for every 400 women raped in 1997 (Xinhua, 1998). Following interviews with 4 000 women, the survey found that for every 400 women raped, 272 had reported the crime to the police. Of these reports, 17 became cases to be investigated, one of the dockets was lost, five were referred to court and only one rapist was convicted (Xinhua, 1998).

In addition, police officers were chosen as the area of focus because they are often at the frontline of dealing with rape cases and may have valuable insights on the difficulties that are encountered in this process. Police officers may also have misguided perceptions about rape or have myths about rape that prevent rape from being adequately dealt with. These misconceptions would need to be addressed as they may be reflected to the rape victims and as a consequence they become reluctance to report their cases to the police. Issues such as secondary victimisation of the rape victims by police officers and stereotypes have been well documented. It is issues such as these that the research aims to identify and therefore recommend preventative strategies.

STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH REPORT

The undertaken study is presented in five chapters. The introductory chapter introduces the aims and rationale of the study. Chapter Two includes definitions of the important concepts, a discussion of the common rape cases as well as the prevalence rates of rape. Further more the section provides a discussion of police involvement with rape cases. A review of the literature on the theories of understanding rape is then provided. The theories under discussion include psychoanalytic theory, social learning theory, attribution theory, feminists' theory as well as an ecological model of understanding rape. Factors that are specific to the South African context to understanding rape are then explored. The chapter then concludes with a review of current rape intervention strategies. Chapter Three covers the methodological approach, including the sample, data collection techniques and procedures carried out in the study, and the method of data analysis. A brief section of the researcher's reflexivity of the research process then concludes the chapter. Chapter Four presents the analysis of the data gathered and the discussion of these findings. The data has been divided into themes and sub themes. These themes explore the prevalence rates of rape, common rape cases, causes of rape and a profile of men likely to perpetrate rape, vulnerability factors to being raped, and

conclude with prevention strategies. Chapter Five includes the conclusion of the study, a discussion of the limitations of the study, recommendations and possible future directions for research.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL DEFINITIONS AND LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will define the important concepts that this study focuses on and present a review of existing literature on rape. It begins with a broad definition of sexual violence. The chapter then provides a review and critique of previous definitions of rape. It goes on to discuss the current definition of rape as well as some of the specific types of rapes that are distinguished in the literature. Following this, the incidence and prevalence rates of rape are reviewed, and the nature and extent of police involvement with rape cases is explored. The focus of the chapter then shifts to the theories of understanding rape. A number of theories that explain rape are presented, including psychodynamic theory, social learning theory, attribution theory, feminist theory, and ecological approaches to understanding rape. A discussion of some of the factors specific to the South African context that contribute to the prevalence of rape in this country is then presented. The chapter concludes with a review of literature on rape prevention and intervention strategies.

DEFINING SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Sexual violence is defined 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, 2002, p. 149). Sexual violence can also take place through coercive strategies. Coercion can take a number of forms including physical force, psychological intimidation, blackmail or any other threats. It may also occur when the person aggressed is unable to give consent, for

instance while drunk, drugged, asleep or mentally incapable of understanding the situation (WHO, 2002).

The act of sexual violence is regarded as sexual assault. Sexual assault can take many forms but the previous laws in South Africa distinguished between rape and indecent assault. Rape was defined narrowly as penile penetration of the vagina (Scottish Law Commission, 2006). This implied that all other forms of sexual assaults fell into the category of indecent assault. Oral or anal rapes were classed as indecent assault and therefore attracted lesser sentences (Kapp, 2000). This has been amended recently and a new definition of rape is described as well as a new definition of indecent assault.

Indecent assault currently refers to any act that causes "direct or indirect contact between the anus or genital organs of one person or, in the case of a female, her breasts and any part of the body of another person or any object, including any part of the body of an animal" (Criminal Law (Sexual Offences) Amendment Bill, 2003, pg. 3). The definition also includes the exposure or display of the genital organs of one person to another person; and the exposure or display of any pornographic material to any person against his or her will or to a child, but does not include an act which causes penetration (Criminal Law (Sexual Offences) Amendment Bill, 2003).

From the above definition it is clear that sexual assaults vary along several dimensions, including the sexual behaviours specified, the criteria for establishing non-consent, and the individuals specified (Polascheck, Ward & Hudson, 1997). The new definition of rape in South African legislation and debates around this definition will be discussed in the section that follows.

DEFINING RAPE

There appears to be differences between rape victims' and society's interpretation of the definitions of rape. This is supported by many researchers who suggest that rape can be defined in various ways, and includes physical, legal, psychological, sociological and

subjective aspects (Lawrence & Van Rensburg, 2006). According to the previous South African legislation, a rape was said to occur "when a man has unlawful, intentional sexual intercourse without her consent" (South African Law Commission in Lewis, 1994, p. 5). To be unlawful the rapist had to be over the age of fourteen. Intent meant that the perpetrator must have wanted to commit a rape. Sexual intercourse was defined as the action of a man penetrating beyond the woman's vulva (entrance to the vagina) with his penis. He did not have to achieve orgasm or ejaculate (Vogelman, 1990b). If there was no penetration the perpetrator could be charged with attempted rape. Rape was defined in South African legislation as excluding non-consensual anal or oral sex and penetration by objects other than the penis (Lawrence & Van Rensburg, 2006). Acts of inserting other objects or forceful oral or anal sex or sodomy were defined as indecent assault.

This legal definition of rape was heavily criticised by feminists (Ross, 1993; Vogelman, 1990b). A major criticism of the definition was that it emphasised the sexual nature of rape, whilst marginalising its violent nature. The definition seemed to suggest that rape is on the spectrum of normal sex with the difference being that in cases of rape the sex occurred without a woman's consent. This was seen to ignore the rape victim's perception of the rape, which is often not a sexual experience, but a violent and life threatening attack (Ross, 1993). The division between rape and indecent assault complicated the definition further as indecent assault became the category that emphasised the violent nature of the sexual assault and was split off from rape, which remained sexualised. Dividing these two categories of sexual assault further suggested that rape is a sexual crime, whereas other crimes which are equally violent but do not involve penetration were considered a form of assault (Kapp, 2000). Ross (1993) therefore suggests that in order to encompass or capture the violent nature of rape, both rape and indecent assault should be placed under the definition of sexual assault.

Schwikkard (1993) also found this definition of rape to be problematic as it partially neglected or overlooked the rape victim's experience and perception of the event and focused on men's perception of rape. By contrast, it was also argued that classifying

rape as nothing but a crime of (male) violence runs the risk of overlooking the important connection between rape and cultural images of male and female sexuality (Selfe & Burke, 2001). It was therefore proposed to not look at rape as neither solely sexual (as rape involves acts of intercourse itself), nor as merely violent because the act may often amount to men exercising or imposing his "right" of sexual domination upon the victim (Selfe & Burke, 2001).

In the previous South African legislation, the term 'consent' was used as a determining factor of whether a woman was raped or not (Ross, 1993). This concept was criticised as it referred to the man's perception of consent and not the woman's actual consent. This therefore resulted in women's actions being scrutinised to gauge whether she did indeed give consent or not (Ross, 1993). The other issue with the term consent is that, up until recently, the courts had not been able to provide with a universal description of non-consent (Schwikkard, 1993). A woman had to prove that she did not give consent, which lead to aggressive questioning by defence lawyers about her sexual history and how she normally gives consent (Kapp, 2000). This may have significantly influenced the reporting of rape cases due to the fear of being victimised or having one's actions scrutinised.

Another complicating issue is the fact that an estimated 94 percent of sexual assaults never came to the attention of the criminal justice system (McGregor, Wiebe, Marion & Livingstone, 2000). A Canadian study examined data of 958 participants to determine why many sexual assaults cases are not reported in the period January 1, 1993 to December 31, 1997 (McGregor et al., 2000). It was found that the presence of physical injury, having a stranger as the perpetrator of the rape and having a higher socioeconomic status were significant variables associated with police involvement (McGregor et al., 2000). These results suggest that victims of rape usually report a rape if the perpetrator is unknown to them, and if there are physical injuries. However, this behaviour may reflect common misconceptions of what constitutes rape. These misconceptions suggest that there should be physical injuries for a rape to be legitimate and that if the rape is

perpetrated by an acquaintance or partner, their case would be disregarded (McGregor et al., 2000). This implies that women who may be from low socioeconomic conditions, who are therefore more likely to be dependent on their partners, are more vulnerable to rape. However, these women may not perceive this to be rape or report it.

Ross (1993) therefore suggests that the definition of rape should include the coercion of the victim by the rapist instead of placing the onus on the non-consent of the victim. Coercion therefore would take account of the power imbalances between the victim and perpetrator, whether economic, physical, emotional or organisational. Under this definition the behaviour of the perpetrator rightfully faces primary scrutiny instead of the behaviour of the victim.

After much reflection and scrutiny of the previous legal definition of rape, a new legislative definition was formulated. According to the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act of 2007, page 20, rape is defined as "a person who unlawfully and intentionally commits an act which causes penetration to any extent whatsoever by the genital organs of that person into or beyond the anus or genital organs of another person, or any act which causes penetration to any extent whatsoever by the genital organs of another person into or beyond the anus or genital organs of the person committing the act, is guilty of the offence of rape".

The act is considered unlawful if it is committed through coercive circumstance; under false pretences or by fraudulent means; or in respect of a person who is incapable in law of appreciating the nature of the act that causes penetration. In the current definition coercive circumstances, include any circumstances where there is a use of force against the complainant or another person or against the property of the complainant or that of any other person; a threat of harm against the complainant or another person or against the property of the complainant or that of any other person; or an abuse of power or authority to the extent that the person in respect of whom an act which causes penetration is committed is inhibited from indicating his or her resistance to such an act, or his or her unwillingness to participate in such an act (Criminal Law (Sexual Offences) Amendment

Bill, 2003, p. 3).

False pretences or fraudulent means, referred above include circumstances where a person in respect of whom an act which causes penetration is being committed, is led to believe that he or she is committing such an act with a particular person who is in fact a different person. Also, in respect of whom an act which causes penetration is being committed, is led to believe that such an act is something other than that act; or intentionally fails to disclose to the person in respect of whom an act which causes penetration is being committed, that he or she is infected by a life-threatening sexually transmissible infection in circumstances in which there is a significant risk of transmission of such infection to that person (Criminal Law (Sexual Offences) Amendment Bill, 2003, p. 3).

The circumstances in which a person is incapable in law of appreciating the nature of an act which causes penetration referred above includes circumstance where such a person is, at the time of the commission of such act asleep; unconscious; in an altered state of consciousness; under the influence of any medicine, drug, alcohol or other substance to the extent that the person's consciousness or judgment is adversely affected, a mentally impaired person; or person below the age of 12 years. A marital or other relationship, previous or existing, is not a defence to a charge of rape (Criminal Law (Sexual Offences) Amendment Bill, 2003, p. 4). The current legal definition of rape is clearly very broad and comprehensive. It extends and addresses some of the major shortfalls of the previous legislation on rape. Within the ambit of the previous definition, it was gender biased and therefore potentially unconstitutional (Lawrence & Van Rensburg, 2006). This has clearly been amended in the current legal definition. In the current study, rape refers to female rape by male perpetrators although rape of men by women and male on male rape is acknowledged.

The amended definition of rape has arguably broadened the understanding of rape. This therefore leaves the courts under duty to send a clear message to the accused in present cases to other potential rapists and to the community that the courts are

determined to protect the quality, dignity and freedom of all women and they will show no mercy to those who seek to invade those rights (Lawrence & Van Rensburg, 2006).

TYPES OF RAPE

This section discusses a number of different types of rape cases that are distinguished. The discussion starts with exploring the rape of vulnerable groups, namely children and the elderly. This is followed by an exploration of intimate partner rape. Male-to-male rape is then captured and a discussion of gang rape concludes this section.

Infant and Child Rape

Child abuse including child labour, rape, neglect and physical violence against children is increasingly being recognised as a global public health problem (WHO, 2002). To law enforcement agencies and the public, sexual assaults, and especially the assaults of young children, are a major concern (WHO, 2002). The surge in the rape of children and babies is shocking and cases such as these commonly receive attention in the media. Child rape is not a fringe activity that is conducted by a small number of psychologically disturbed individuals or paedophiles. Its enormous scale in South Africa suggests that there are important aspects of this society that may be legitimizing these acts, and if not legitimizing them, they at least provide space for these crimes to occur (Jewkes, Penn-Kekana & Rose-Junius, 2005).

According to Mutimbe (1999), a child is raped every five minutes in South Africa and one in every four children suffers some form of abuse. According to a report by the SAPS Crime statistics in 2008, 42% of reported rapes and attempted rapes, children are the victims (SAPS, 2008b). The World Report on Violence and Health identifies child rape as an important public health problem, as it is associated with increased risk of sexual and reproductive health problems, mental health problems increased health risk behaviours as well as behavioural problems (Jewkes et al., 2005). The preamble to the

Sexual Offences Amendment Bill recognises that the South African common law and statutory law failed to deal effectively and in a non-discriminatory manner with activities associated with sexual offences, thereby failing to provide adequate protection against sexual exploitation to complainants in such activities (Lawrence & Van Rensburg, 2006). The assault or rape of children is defined as statutory rape; that is, the rape of a minor or child who cannot legally give consent. According to the Children's Act, no. 38 of 2005, a child is a person under the age of 18 years (Children's Act, 2005).

Recently infant rape has become a major concern and there is growing support for the theory that infant rape is related to a myth that intercourse with very young virgin or infant will enable the perpetrator to rid himself of HIV/AIDS or other sexually transmitted infections (Pitcher & Bowley, 2002). Other researchers have suggested that these acts are very rare (Shilumani, 2004).Children and teenagers are two and a half times more likely to be raped than adults (Jackson, 1997). This is important to consider as the child's developmental age, cognitive and emotional inability to comprehend violence can prolong the time taken to recover (Jackson, 1997).

Rape is often an act of punishment, used to demonstrate power over girl children and manufacture control. Rape is also used as an instrument by which the rapist communicates his masculinity and powerfulness. That is, through rape men are able to reaffirm their manhood, sense of control and power over women and children (Jewkes et al., 2005).

Jewkes et al., (2005) further state that in understanding child rape, it is important to acknowledge the role of structural factors in contributing to children's vulnerability. For instance, South Africa in the last decade has been characterised by rapid urbanisation, change of social structures of villages and leading people to the new urban settlements. This has caused a lack of social networks in urban settlements. This leaves the children even more vulnerable to sexual assault and abuse. In addition, child rape cases are often perpetrated by a relative (Jewkes, Levin, Mbananga & Bradshaw, 2002). This has implications for the reporting of the case to the police. Given the poverty-stricken

circumstances that children live in, it is common for mothers to remain quiet as their children are abused by the breadwinner of the household. Also, many child rape cases are not reported due to stigma, fear of retaliation and anticipation of difficult experiences with the police, courts and health services (Bowley & Pitcher, 2002).

The need to establish a unit within the South African Police Services to prevent and combat crime against children was identified during 1986. The Child Protection Units (CPU) were therefore initiated. These units aimed at rendering sensitive, specialised services endearing to child victims of abuse and assault (SAPS, 2008a). These units were later transformed or extended into the Family Violence, Child Protection and Sexual Offences Unit (FCS). These units also offered specialised services for domestic violence such as intrafamilial crimes of victims of 18 years and older. The Child Protection section continued to assist abused children under the age of 18. The Sexual Offences section dealt with crimes of sexual violence. The rationale for extending these units was to provide more specialised services to the majority of the people. Recently however, the FCS units are reported to be non-functional. This has left a gap in the assessment and management of rape victims and the prosecution of perpetrators. This type of abuse requires extensive interventions as child rape has been found to be a more intrusive form of abuse in children's lives compared to other forms of abuse. This type of abuse affects children's emotional, psychological as well as sexual development (Bagley & King, 1990).

Rape of the Elderly

Abuse of the elderly was initially seen as a social welfare issue and subsequently a problem of aging (WHO, 2002). However, like other forms of family violence, abuse of the elderly has developed into a public health and criminal justice concern. In Western societies, the onset of old age is considered to coincide with retirement. In African perspectives, the specific age of retirement is not significant; it is the roles assigned to

people that are of value (WHO, 2002). Old age therefore is understood as the time where there is a physical decline and therefore the person can no longer carry out their family or work roles (WHO, 2002).

Although sexual abuse is well established as a major social and health problem with significant physical and psychological consequences for its victims under the age of 60, the literature has neglected addressing the impact of sexual abuse on persons over the age of 60 (Burgess & Morgenbesser, 2005). The prevalence rates of elder rape are therefore difficult to gather. This is because a majority of cases on rape of the elderly are not reported. There are two major barriers that have been identified that hinder reporting of elder sexual abuse. These include the victim's reluctance to report and disbelief (by police personnel and significant others) in elder sexual abuse. Caregivers, staff, and family may believe that the elderly person is fantasising, is in a cognitively disorganised state or is making up a story (Burgess & Morgenbesser, 2005). Burgess and Prentky (2000) also added that stereotypes are stronger when the rape victim is an elderly person, which can lead to disbelief and discrediting of the individual. Clinical studies however suggest that elder sexual abuse cases range between 2 to 7 percent of all reported sexual assaults (Burgess, Commons, Safarik, Looper & Ross, 2007).

Rape of the elderly population is a heinous crime. Like with other rape types, formulating a profile of the perpetrator is a challenging task. There is no single profile for the perpetrators of elderly rape. Some researchers have suggested that the perpetrators usually have had difficulties in early adolescent adjustment; that they may be from unstable parental relationships especially with their mothers (Groth, 1979). A number of groups of elderly rape perpetrators have been identified. Gerophiles are one group of rape perpetrators that often seek jobs in nursing homes. These perpetrators target the elderly that live and receive care in institutions. The second group of men who are likely to rape older persons include sexually aggressive elderly who themselves reside at the nursing home (Burgess, Dowdell, & Brown, 2000). This type of abuse may carry on for years unnoticed in many instances as sometimes the elderly do not have means to verbalise the

abuse or are too embarrassed to report. Strangers or known men may also rape non-resident elderly.

A study by Burgess et al (2007) of convicted sex offenders of elderly victims found that there were a number of different types of motivations for the rape of the elderly. They found that there were opportunistic offenders who are described as impulsive rapists with poor interpersonal relationships. The second group comprises of the pervasive anger group, who use maximum force and violence. The third group includes the sexualised individuals who are preoccupied with the gratification of their own sexual needs. The fourth and final group comprises of perpetrators who have vindictive motivation. These perpetrators tend to have intense anger against women, and they have the intent of demeaning, humiliating and degrading women (Burgess et al., 2000).

The motivation behind elderly rape is as complex as formulating the profile of the offenders. A number of theories have been hypothesised to explain the motivation behind these heinous crimes. Some theorists propose that rape of the elderly occurs due to sexual intentions by the perpetrator (Groth, 1978). That is the perpetrator is viewed as sexually defiant 'gerontophilia'. This theory however has not had empirical support to validate it (Groth, 1978). Some researchers have therefore postulated that elderly victims are targeted because they are most vulnerable and available (Safarik, Jarvis & Nussbaum, 2002). Researchers have found no single motive that drives rape behaviour. Rape in the elderly especially holds many challenges. The elderly victim may have cognitive deficits, which may make it difficult to get relevant information pertaining to the rape. Also the physical examination has been found to be challenging due to pelvic contractures (Burgess et al., 2000).

Elderly victims of rape may experience extreme humiliation, shock, denial and disbelief about the rape. The elderly are physically more fragile and injuries are likely to be more life threatening. Hence the recovery process in the elderly often tends to be longer (Burgess et al., 2000). Genital injury was found to be greater among the elderly

rapes than for younger victims, due to the post-menopausal status of the genital anatomy (Burgess et al., 2007).

Intimate Partner Rape

Initially intimate partner violence was perceived as a human rights issue, but it is currently also perceived as an important public health concern. Intimate partner violence is such a common practice that researchers have concluded that one of the most important vulnerability factors to violence is being married or cohabiting with a partner (WHO, 2002). Some writers have proposed that marriage is often used to legitimise a range of forms of sexual violence against women (WHO, 2002). Violence among partners may take several forms. Research indicates that in many countries a substantial proportion of women experience physical, emotional, financial and sexual abuse (WHO, 2002). Research further suggests that there are overlaps between these forms of abuse (WHO, 2002). In other words, women who are physically abused by their partners are more likely to be emotionally abused and/or vice versa. Sexual violence between partners may include forced intercourse and other forms of sexual coercion (Jewkes, Vundule, Maforah & Jordan, 2001)

The prevalence rates of rape in intimate partner relationships appear to be very high. Available data suggest that in some countries nearly one in four women experience sexual violence by an intimate partner (WHO, 2002). Small focussed studies in South Africa have found sexual violence perpetrated by intimate partners to be experienced by many women. For example, a study of 1395 women in antenatal clinics in Soweto, found that 9.7 percent disclosed having been raped by an intimate partner in the year prior to the study and 20.1 percent had experienced this at some stage in their lifetime (Dunkle, Jewkes, Brown, Gray, MacIntyre & Harlow, 2004). Another study in Khayelitsha found that 30 percent of females were raped the first time they had sexual intercourse (CIET, 1998). In this study, 8 out of 10 females that reported sexual violence in intimate

relationships were between the ages of 20 and 30 years old. Of those that reported having experienced these incidents, 89 percent believed that what was done to them was a crime and 59% of the perpetrators were spouses, lovers or boyfriends (CIET, 1998). Jewkes, Dunkle, Koss, Levin, Nduna, Jama and Sikweyiya (2006) conducted a study on rape perpetration by young South African men. Their study included 1370 males from 70 rural South African villages. Results indicated that 8.4 percent of these men had reported having been sexually violent towards their partner. These statistics show only the tip of the iceberg of the extent of abuse women suffer in their intimate relationships.

The relationship between the rape victim and perpetrator complicates a number of aspects of the rape problem. These include the issue of defining and understanding what rape is. That is, individual perceptions of rape may vary depending on the nature of the relationship between victim and perpetrator, the ages involved and conditions in which the act occurred (Lawrence & Van Rensburg, 2006). Sideris (2000) argues that women's definition of violence is informed by socially held beliefs, cultural values, religious practices and historical experiences. Long-term ethnographic research in South Africa has shown that the meanings of rape for partner and non-partner victim differ (Jewkes et al., 2006). Intimate partner rape is frequently reinterpreted by the victim as stemming from overwhelming affection (Jewkes et al., 2006).

The fact that women are often emotionally involved with their partners and economically depend on those who victimise them has major implications for the dynamics of abuse and approaches to dealing with it (WHO, 2002). A woman's response to abuse is often limited by the options available to her. Lack of retribution, lack of alternative means of economic support, concern for the children, emotional dependence, lack of social support and hope that he will change are factors that can complicate a woman's ability to report sexual violence against her partner (Watts, Keogh, Ndlovu & Kwaramba, 1998).

Some writers suggest another factor that makes intimate partner rape victims not report their abuse. They suggest that sexual violence by a husband or intimate partner is

often perceived to be less serious than stranger rape (Freese, Moya & Megias, 2004). The justice system therefore disregards the reporting of such crimes. Society may shun the reporting of this type of abuse by supporting beliefs that emphasise men's entitlement over their partners.

Male Rape

The phenomenon of sexual assault upon males has been largely overlooked by society. Gender stereotyping, taboos, misconceptions and reluctance to acknowledge the possibility of male-to-male rape especially outside of institutions, such as prisons, have contributed to the scarcity of investigative findings (Roos & Katz, 2003). Ignorance and disbelief about sexual assault among males have made it impossible for society to acknowledge male sexual violations. There are also a number of myths that perpetuate the ignorance around male rape. These myths may stem from the traditional view of masculinity, which dictates that men should be strong, assertive, sexually dominant and heterosexual (Herek, 1986).

Prevalence rates of male rape are very difficult to calculate. However, surveys reveal that the incidence of male rape is surprisingly common (Davies, 2002). In South Africa, statistics on male rape are difficult to obtain and do not appear to be recorded by police. This possibly reinforces the beliefs that male rape does not occur. A number of factors have been found to contribute to the small number of reported male rapes. These include the victim's reluctance to report male rape, the difficulty for researchers to conduct studies on male rape, stigmatisation of rape victims and the notion that victims are responsible for attracting the assault (Davies, 2000).

The previous laws on rape also contributed by not recognising male rape and therefore protecting the rapists from discovery (Ross & Katz, 2003). The current legal definition of rape includes all rape victims, irrespective of gender or area of bodily assault (Ross & Katz, 2003). However, male rape survivors remain hidden and estranged.

Male rape has largely been assumed to occur within institutions. However, a few studies have been published and they indicate that male rape is a serious problem both outside and inside of institutions (Garnet, Herek & Levy, 1990). Issues of non-reporting of male rape appear to be an important influence on statistics.

As with other forms of rape, the causes of male rape are complex. Male-on-male rape is a crime of violence rather than a crime of homosexuality, sexual desire or sexual gratification (Anderson, 1982). Some of the motivational components for male rape include conquest and control. The assault in this case serves as an expression of power and mastery on the part of the perpetrator. Also factors such as sadism and degradation of the victim play a role as motivators. That is, the aggression itself becomes eroticised and the perpetrator experiences excitement and gratification in the sexual abuse and degradation of the victim (Huckle, 1995).

Recent research has also shown that the effects of rape on adult males are often severe (Davies, 2002). Male rape like female rape is associated with multiple levels of trauma. These include behavioural, somatic and psychological reactions. Studies have shown that many rape survivors "self medicate" by consuming alcohol or other drugs in an attempt to relieve their suffering (Scarce, 1997). Male rape victims have also been found to report sustained damage to their subjective sense of masculinity as a consequence of the assault. The experience of male rape is characterised by a sense of continuity, as it does not end once the perpetrator leaves the victim alone. The experience ruptures the victim's pre-rape existence (Roos & Katz, 2003). Male rape victims tend to receive negative reactions from others, which result in multiple levels of victimisation (Davies, 2002). This further jeopardises their access to the justice system, health system as well as adjustment.

Gang Rape

Gang rape is rape of a person by two or more perpetrators (WHO, 2002). Locally, gang rape is highly prevalent. It is also known as "streamlining or "Isitimela", which is often

perpetrated against the girlfriend of one of the men by a group of friends (Wood, 2005). Little is known about rape involving multiple perpetrators in South Africa but the most striking aspect is its predatory nature (Vetten & Haffejee, 2005). Internationally, it is reported that one in 10 sexual assaults reported in the USA involves multiple perpetrators. Statistics South Africa's National Victims Crime survey estimated that 12 percent of rapes reported in their study involved two or more perpetrators (Hirschowitz, Worku & Orkin, 2000). Another study of 1401 rapes registered between 1996-1998, which was conducted in the Hillbrow, Lenasia South and Chris Hani Baragwaneth Hospitals in Johannesburg, found that 27 percent of the cases involved two or more perpetrators (Swart, Gilchrist, Butchart, Seedat & Martin, 2000). The proportion of gang rapes that are not reported to the police is unknown. However, current studies show that more than one third of the women who reports being raped in South Africa have been gang raped (Abrahams, Martin & Vetten, 2004).

Gang rape is a defiling and humiliating act, and is often a punishment (Wood, 2005). The attacks are also brazen and violent: women are confronted in public places, and the use of force increases with the number of perpetrators involved in the rape (Vetten & Haffejee, 2005). Gang rape is distinctive because although it often occurs in a situation in which no brutality or threat is necessary to subdue the victim, sadistic violence occurs on a large scale (Medea & Thompson, 1972). The use of excessive force and debasement vividly shows that rape is linked to other needs besides sexual gratification (Deming & Eppy, 1981). Gang rape therefore, crystallises the power issue that is at the nexus of rape. Writers suggest that gang rape may be used to put "unattainable" women in their place (Mokwena, 1991). A study of 122 men in the North West and Eastern Cape provinces found that gang rape is often a way of disciplining or humiliating a women known to them, often an ex-girlfriend of one of the gang for perceived transgressions such as sexual infidelities (Wood et al., 2002).

There is growing evidence, however, which suggests that differences in locations may result from different rationales for gang rape. For example, in the Western Cape it

has been found that participation in gang rape may function as means of initiating young men into gangs. Rape in these instances is therefore one of the range of illegal activities that organised gangs engage in (Merten, 1999).

Gang rape has also been found to be associated with heightened masculinity and masculine aggression (Vogelman, 1990b). Masculine entitlement appears to be evident in gang rape as some men were found to gang rape in response to women saying "no" to their sexual demands. Therefore, sexual aggression is a defining characteristic of manhood in the group and is related to the wish to be held in high esteem (WHO, 2002).

Gang rapes demonstrate the complexity of sexual offences as each offender has his or her own psychological constitution and accordingly has different thought processes and motives for committing the offences (Lawrence & Van Rensburg, 2006). They have different techniques of operating. For example, Vetten and Haffejee (2005) found that in 20 percent of gang rape cases, the perpetrators deceived women into voluntarily accompanying them to the site of the rape by pretending to know a friend or family member, or offering the victim employment or transport.

Gang rape is a form of sexual violence that carries substantial risk of HIV transmission, as sex is unprotected, multiple men are involved and women are usually injured (Wood et al., 2002). This further exacerbates the epidemic that South Africa and other many countries are struggling with. It is also an important consideration as statistics on rape have indicated that children and young adults are most likely to be raped in these types of incidents (Kim, 2000).

Another feature of gang rape is to force the victim's husband or boyfriend to watch the offence (Vogelman & Eagle, 1991). This serves as an illustration of the rapist's greater power relative to the other man, since this man is perceived as incapable of safeguarding and controlling "his woman". This type of rape serves to affirm the rapists' masculinity while destroying that of another man (Vogelman & Eagle, 1991).

The justice system's response to gang rape is under scrutiny. In the study by Vetten and Haffejee (2005) on gang rape in inner city Johannesburg, very low conviction

rates for gang rape were found to exist in this area. The study consisted of 591 cases of rape they found that 162 were gang rapes. Only 9 percent of the gang rapes cases went to court and only one resulted in a conviction by the court. This low conviction rate may affect rape survivors' attitude and trust in the system. This may further exacerbate the problem as people may choose not to report their cases, which will have implications on the survivors' health and well-being.

THE INCIDENCE AND PREVALENCE OF RAPE

This section will provide an overview of the extent of the rape problem in South Africa and globally. In South Africa, there have been several conflicting perspectives about existing rape statistics. Data on sexual violence comes from police records, clinical settings, non-governmental organisations and survey research (WHO, 2002). There have been claims that the rates of reported rapes are beginning to stabilise, but such reports are disputed by other statistics that show an increase in the number of rape cases (Jewkes, 2002a). South Africa has a particularly high prevalence of rape with 45 835 rapes of women of all ages reported to the police between 1 April 2003 to 31 March 2004 (SAPS, 2004). These statistics are at least three times higher than the prevalence rate of rape in the United States (Jewkes, et. al., 2006).

However, other statistics show that between 2003/ 2004 there were 52 733 (113,7 per 100 000) reported rape cases in South Africa, and almost half of these cases involved children (Cox, Andrade, Lungelow, Schloetelburg & Rode, 2007). During the period 2004/2005 55 155 (118, 3 per 100 000) women were raped (SAPS, 2007). Researchers however, hypothesise or suggest that these figures are likely to not reflect the true magnitude of the problem due to such reasons as underreporting of cases (Jewkes et al., 2002). The Johannesburg branch of People Opposing Women Abuse (POWA) estimates that one in twenty cases of rape is reported to the police (POWA in Jackson, 1997).

International statistics suggest that one in five women will be raped in their

lifetime (Frazier & Burnnet, 1994). A national survey in the USA, found that 14.8 percent of women over 17 years of age had reported having been raped in their lifetime, while 0.3 percent of the sample had reported having been raped in the previous year (WHO, 2002).

POWA estimates that a woman is raped every 26 seconds in South Africa and a child every 24 minutes (People Opposing Women Abuse [POWA], 2008). The organisation says that an estimated one in 4 girls will be raped in their lifetime (POWA, 2008). In one survey of 26 000 Johannesburg high school students interviewed, 50 percent responded that forced sex was not sexual violence (Jewkes et al., 2001). This may indicate that students' knowledge of what constitutes rape is poor. This may have detrimental implications on the rape prevalence rates as these students are likely to rape if they consider it to be normative rather than deviant. They are likely to engage in forced sex with their intimate partners, as they are likely to believe that women owe their partners sex. The study results also indicate that the girls who are likely to be victims do not consider forced sex as rape and hence do not seek the appropriate interventions, which may result in a number of problems including unwanted pregnancies, sexually transmitted infections and psychological trauma (Jewkes et al., 2001). In another study in a rural South African area, one third of the girls who had sexual intercourse said their first experience was rape or forced sex. This further indicates that the true magnitude of the rape problem may be undermined by our current statistics. Research also suggests that 15 percent of women are sexually assaulted by their intimate partners in South Africa (Kapp, 2000).

Child rape, which is one of the major concerns in South Africa, is highly prevalent. Smith (2005) maintains that 41 percent of South African rape victims are under the age of 12 and that gang rapes are responsible for three of every four child rape cases. The SAPS however say the true percentage of rape victims under 12 is just 12 percent, whilst the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation reports that only 3 percent rape victims are gang raped (Smith, 2005).

Some studies support the view that that rape victim's rates of reporting have increased. The National Crime Survey and the National Crime Victimisation Survey explored the likelihood of police notification in rape incidents (Baumer et al., 2003). Results showed that rates of incident reporting have increased since the early 70's. This study also suggests that currently women are just as likely to report to the police rapes by people they know, as they are to report rapes by strangers (Baumer et al., 2003). Other studies argue that the reporting of sexual assault has not increased over the years and that sexual assault continues to be one of the most underreported crimes (McGregor et al., 2000).

It is difficult to estimate the extent of rape, as there are many contradicting issues that blur the information or statistics of rape. The decision by the rape victims to not report rape complicates the impact of the rape itself. Many victims do not report violent victimisation to the police, and this may limit the extent to which they have access to important ameliorative recourses, especially victim support services that rely on police referrals for securing access to clients (Baumer et al., 2003).

POLICE INVOLVEMENT IN RAPE CASES

This section will discuss the role played by police personnel when a rape case is reported. The care of women and children who suffer sexual violence has many facets, and is related to law enforcement, the judicial system, social services, mental health and medicine (Tavara, 2006). Police officers are at the forefront of dealing with rape cases that are reported. They are the main channel for justice to be achieved for both victims and perpetrators. Police officers are faced with the responsibility of making sure that the rights of each individual (in this case both the rape victim as well as the rape perpetrator) are not violated. This dual responsibility therefore complicates their duties to some extent. This also leaves them subject to criticism as society expects the rights of perpetrators to be overruled by the rights of the victims.

Selfe and Burke (2001) propose that rape is one of the most (if not the most) serious non-fatal criminal offences, but raise the question as to why in many instances there exists a perception that it is not treated very seriously. The answer to this question can be found in feminist perspectives on patriarchal ideologies in society. According to the feminist approach, many agencies that are supposed to assist in cases of rape (i.e. medical, social, legal, law enforcement etc.) fail all women victims due to their essentially patriarchal nature, they fail to take seriously the extent, severity and impact of rape (Selfe & Burke, 2001).

Over recent years however, there have been considerable efforts directed towards improving police practices and procedures in relation to sexual offence victims. Measures include the issuing of national instructions, the modification of police standing orders, increased training, the formulation and implementation of guidelines governing the handling of sexual offence cases (South African Law Commission, 2002). Other strategies have included the development of an enhanced role for the Child Protection Units, and later the FCS units. The FCS units were specialised units that only dealt with issues of family violence, child protection and sexual offences. These units started operating in 1995 with the approval of the Provincial Commissioner in Gauteng. The first CPU to be transformed into an FCS unit was the Braamfontein unit in 1996, which was then followed by other units (SAPS, 2008a). However, these units were recently disbanded.

A common complaint of victims is that their needs often take second place to investigative and administrative priorities (South African Law Commission, 2002). According to Capegateway (2008), the procedures involved in rape cases are as follows. A rape victim may report a rape by going to the nearest police station to where the rape occurred; by contacting the police telephonically (in which case the police will fetch the victim when transport is available); or by calling an ambulance or an emergency number. The rape victim will then be asked to open a case at the charge office and may request to speak to a female police officer. A detailed description of the perpetrator is obtained to

initiate the arrest of the perpetrator and the victim may be asked to accompany the police to the scene of the crime (Capegateway, 2008). Police should ensure that rape survivors receive immediate medical attention (McQuoid-Mason, Dhai & Moodley, 2003).

A medical examination is then conducted by a district surgeon and forensic evidence is gathered. Forensic evidence may also be collected from the perpetrator if he has been identified and arrested. HIV counselling and testing is conducted with the victim's consent. Post Exposure Prophylaxis (PEP) is given to HIV negative victims if they have reported the rape within three days. HIV positive victims are referred to HIV clinics. After the medical examination, the victim will be asked to make a full statement of the details of the rape and an investigating officer is assigned to the case. If the perpetrator is arrested an identity parade is conducted (Capegateway, 2008).

Psychological and/or social work services may also be arranged for the victim to address the trauma and assess the victim's ability to testify in a court of law, if this is requested by the investigating officer. Under special circumstances, the rapist may be granted bail but the police must inform the victim and indicate the conditions of the bail (Capegateway, 2008). Investigations may take very long to go to court given the pressures on the judicial system in South Africa. In some cases, the investigator cannot find enough evidence and the prosecutor may decide not to prosecute (Capegateway, 2008).

Police officers have been criticised on their involvement and efficiency in dealing with rape cases, particularly with regards to the low conviction rate of perpetrators, which is sometimes associated with police records and procedures of evidence collection. Police data has been found to be incomplete and limited (WHO, 2002). As a result, studies suggest that the low rates of people reporting rapes may be related to these factors (Kapp, 2000). According to Jewkes (2000), far more needs to be done to improve conviction rates in South Africa, as only 14 percent of the perpetrators of rape are sentenced and these sentences are mainly because of the child rape convictions. For adult women, the conviction rate drops to 3 percent (Kapp, 2000). As a result, many women have lost faith

in the criminal justice system as these statistics imply that only child cases are taken seriously.

Many victims do not report violent victimisation to the police and this leads to a number of consequences that may disadvantage victims of rape. The choice to not report a rape limits the extent to which victims have access to important ameliorative resources especially victim support services that rely on police referrals. Not reporting also eliminates to some extent the possibility of the perpetrator being arrested for the attack (Baumer et al., 2003).

PEP is a treatment taken soon after a person has been exposed to an HIV positive person in order to prevent infection from occurring. This treatment is a four-week programme. And it is important to note that the sooner the PEP is commenced the better the chances are of protecting the health of the rape victim (McQuoid-Mason et al., 2003). It is also taken immediately after exposure or within 72 hours to ensure its effectiveness. The South African government has passed a law that guarantees all rape victims access to free PEP. It is crucial to note that the rape victim need not lay a charge of rape in order to receive PEP (Aidsbuzz, 2008). One of the major concerns with regard to PEP is in cases of child rape, which constitute almost half of the reported rape cases. Child rape survivors are mainly under the age of 12, and many HIV service points do not yet provide ART for children (Aidsbuzz, 2008).

There has been some evidence to suggest that in the past ten years there has been an increase in the number of rape cases reported because women are willing to go to the police (Kapp, 2000). However, other studies hold that many women still do not go to the police because of the suspected corruption within the police stations (Kapp, 2000).It appears that a lot of work needs to be done by the justice system in order to regain victims' trust in them. Various forms of corruption that may exist have been documented such as police officers being bribed to 'lose' dockets. This may lead to cases not being presented at court (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). According to these authors few cases appear in court (ranging between 50 percent and 5 percent in Soweto police stations) and

of these only between 7-13 percent result in conviction and custodial sentences (Masimanyane Women's Support Centre, 1999).

Other than corruption and dishonesty among police personnel, secondary victimisation of rape victims by police has also been documented. Researchers have found that many women only try to report incidents that fall within popular notions of 'rape' because of fear of not being believed (Stanton in Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). These fears have also been confirmed by police personnel who assert that women lie about their rape. The fact that police personnel assert that women lie about rape implies that the police officers may have preconceived concepts or stereotypes about what constitute a legitimate rape. This further implies that some rape victims may be interrogated and abused in their attempts to seek help from the justice system. Researchers suggest that society as well as police personnel appear to be less sympathetic to victims of rape who are perceived to have attracted the rapist (Grubb & Harrower, 2008).

THEORIES OF UNDERSTANDING RAPE

This section continues with a discussion of some of the theoretical perspectives related to understanding and explaining rape. Different theoretical orientations offer information on different aspects of the causes of rape and ways of addressing this problem. This section discusses: 1) Psychoanalytic theory 2) Social Learning theory, 3) Attribution theory and 4) Feminist theory as well as 5) Ecological theory. The chapter then explores some factors that are specific to the South African context that contribute to rape in this context. The chapter then concludes with a discussion of the current rape intervention strategies.

To understand the causes of sexual aggression it is essential to consider multiple factors (Lottes, 1988). The motivation for rape is complex. However, rape is intricately related to the concepts of sex and power (Pitcher & Bowley, 2002). This is important, as it has been mentioned previously that definitions of rape differ, and hence understandings

of the causes of rape are also varied. It must be added, however, that psychological theories have been criticised for their definitions of rape, as they tend to maintain the status quo: male dominance and sense of entitlement and female subordination and lack of a sense of entitlement. For example, it has been argued that psychiatric explanations in fact reinforce the very behaviour they are trying to explain (Bart & Obrien, 1985). For example, explanations that rape is "genetically determined", that men cannot help themselves and that women bring it on themselves, have all been critiqued for tacitly maintaining the status quo (Anderson, Mhatre, Naidoo, Mayet, Mgotsi, Penderis, Onishi, Myburg & Merhi, 2000).

Psychoanalytic Theory

The writings of Sigmund Freud are regarded as the foundation of psychoanalytic theory. Freud (1905/1953) perceived deviant sexual behaviour to be a direct reflection of a character disorder, with the origin being infantile sexual desires that continued into adulthood. Lanyon (1991) described subsequent psychoanalytic writers as having expanded and elaborated on Freud's position with these explanations typically involving both castration anxieties and oedipal conflicts. Other writers, such as Cohen, Garofalo, Boucher and Seghorn (1971) suggest that feelings of sexual or interpersonal adequacy and unacknowledged homosexual tendencies interact with the aggression directed at the victim as a substitute object for the mother, to produce a sexual assault. It is important to note however that although psychodynamic perspectives have been very influential with respect to thinking and debate about sexual offending they have attracted substantial criticism for having a lack of empirical support (Polascheck, Ward & Hudson, 1997).

Freudian theory assumes a largely predetermined relationship between sex and behaviour (Lanyon, 1991). The oedipal conflicts which children experience result in different consequences depending on their sex. For boys, the oedipal conflict leads to identification with their fathers and the internalisation of their fathers' attitudes, morals

and prohibitions (Lanyon, 1991). Psychodynamic theory suggests that a rapist could have one of a number of possible motives, including aggressive, sadistic or sexual. A rapist with an aggressive aim intends to defile, humiliate and harm his victim. This is hypothesised to stem from potential concerns and intense rage linked to sexual anxiety on the part of rapist (Lanyon, 1991). When the aim is sadistic the act is preplanned, ritualistic and frequently involves torture and sexual abuse in which aggression and sexuality become inseparable (Lanyon, 1991) When the aim is sexual, the psychodynamic approach suggests that the offence is rooted in either unacknowledged homosexual feelings, passive personality features or feelings of interpersonal inadequacy (Lanyon, 1991). This last point once again suggests than men who have issues with themselves may rape or destroy others in an attempt to be equal or to feel better about themselves.

North American research has frequently reported a link between adverse childhood experiences, particularly sexual abuse and parental intimate partner violence, with rape perpetration (Malamuth, Linz, Heavy, Barnes & Acker, 1985). Malamuth et al. (1985) argue that childhood trauma in some way influences developmental processes, which may include feelings of inadequacy, which are masked by anger, and an exaggerated need to control women sexually. They have also argued that masculine stress role contributes to ideas of hostility towards women and desires for sexual dominance, which are important antecedents of sexual aggression.

Broadly other psychodynamic interpretations of rape perceive rape differently and have termed it anger rape (Groth, 1978). The offender offends as a way to direct feeling of rage into the victim. The offence is not primarily a sexual act but one that occurs within a sexual context and where emotions of anger and control are exerted onto the victim. This understanding suggests that the object of the rage, the victim, represented an authority figure that needed to be controlled, hurt and degraded (Groth, 1978). The victim therefore becomes the substitute for the original source of the offender's rage. This theory concludes that the motivation of rape is the need for power and control and not sexual desire (Pollack, 1988).

Social Learning Theory

The application of social learning theory to rape has its roots in research which determined that repeated exposure to almost any stimulus tends to promote positive feelings toward it (Ellis, 1989). In addition, this theory considers the propensity to rape to be mediated by attitudinal variables (Ellis, 1989). It places considerable emphasis on how sexuality and violence can become conceptually fused or how viewing sexual violence provides a "response schema" or script for engaging in rape (Huesmann & Malamuth cited in Ellis, 1989, p. 35).

Social learning theory portrays rape as part of aggressive behaviour toward women learned through four interrelated processes (Ellis, 1989). The four processes are: 1) a sex-violence linkage effect, 2) a modelling effect, 3) a rape myth effect and 4) a desensitisation effect. These four processes hold that rape there is a strong association between sexuality and violence. Rape therefore occurs due to repeated exposure to rape scenes. This leads to men becoming accustomed to acts of violence towards women. The exposure also desensitises men to pain, fear and humiliation in acts of sexual aggression (Ellis, 1989). This theory therefore suggests that men may perceive rape as a norm, and hence develop no respect for women and their bodies. Pornography studies reveal that males who view pornography victimising women are more likely to behave aggressively towards women (Weber, 1992).

Scully's (1990) study of sexual violence views rape as a learned behaviour within a patriarchal culture. According to this study, rapists are more likely to believe in a double standard regarding gender roles, and they identify more with the traditional male roles. Social learning theory also suggests that men who subscribe strongly to traditional sex roles are more likely to behave more aggressively toward women. Social and cultural learning are responsible for rape. It is suggested that rape is common and since there is no outcry from society against it, rapists don't perceive it as wrong. Other writers have even

suggested that our societies to some extent are responsible for rapes (Jewkes et al., 2005). For example, many victims are victimised by society by being blamed for the offence and the justice system further fails with the appraisal of the perpetrators. This may lead perpetrators to perceive rape as a non-serious offence. In other words, through learning that being a rape perpetrator does not lead to major consequences, these offences are perpetuated.

Attribution Theory

Attribution theory provides a theoretical perspective for understanding people's perceptions and gives ideas as to why things happen (Frieze, 1979). It also provides explanations as to how behaviour and motivation are affected by the beliefs people hold about events (Kelly & Michele in Finchilescu, 1991). It is a theory based on "lay people's" understanding of human functioning (Finchilescu, 1991). Attributions are needed to make sense of the world, as people need to explain events in order to make sense of their lives and the world around them. Rape is an important issue facing South Africa and for this reason everyday people need to make sense of it, and to explain it.

Attribution theory is not a single and coherent theory but rather consists of a set of models that seek to provide causal explanations (Finchilescu, 1991). It is based on the premise that before a person can make a causal judgment he or she has to first perceive the event; a cognitive process of categorising information, making judgments and evaluations must take place (Wiener in Frieze, 1979).

Attribution concerning the cause of the rape has important implications for how others respond to the rape victim (Thornton, 1984). It takes into account the impact one's behaviour has on other people (Staats, 1975). This is important based on the impact the experience of rape has on the victim. If a victim receives less support or is being blamed for the rape, they are further victimised which may hinder the process of recovery. This may also make the victim reluctant to report their cases ass they believe they will be

blamed for the rape. For example, the belief that woman invite the attack has produced little sympathy in the past for adult rape victims. However, the very young or the very old are seen as less subject to this prejudice (White & Rollins, 1981). A study by Waterman and Foss-Goodman (in Thornton, 1984) found that respondents attributed significantly more blame to 15-year-old victims than their older or younger counterparts. This may have negative implications or consequences for their recovery and reporting. This may result in secondary victimisation of the victim through the negative reception by the police personnel.

Attribution theory is an interpersonal theory in which rape is regarded as an inter-group issue. Women are the victims and men are the perpetrators. In addition "women are raped because they are women" (Finchilescu, 1991, p. 224). Further more, the fact that the incidents in our communities are continuing to some degree confirms this theory.

Attributions are made by people to make sense of their behaviours and their surroundings. People attempt to explain behaviours as a way of protecting themselves from it and at times as a way of combating the behaviours. For example, there have been a lot of studies conducted on rape myths. These could be seen as people's need to explain the shocking prevalence of rape as well as the factors that everyday people attribute to causing rape. It is for example, puzzling and frustrating to hear about infant rape, people therefore attempt to understand it and make sense of it.

Feminist Theory

Feminist explanations of rape emphasise power imbalances in society related to gender differences as being a major factor in the prevalence of rape. Sexual violence against women is viewed as rooted in power inequalities related to hierarchal gender relations (Jewkes, 2002b). Gender is conceptualised as a system of social classification that influences access to power, status and material resources (Sanday, 1981). There have been several studies that have investigated gender differences regarding perceptions of

rape (Tavara, 2006). Some argue that the criminal justice system and its agents, such as the police, are patriarchal. That is, the state is male, and the law sees and treats women the way men see and treat women (Mackinnon, 1989).

Feminist theory is a broad theoretical perspective that is built from a number of different theorists. The types of feminist theories include liberal, socialist, radical anti-racist, psychoanalytic and post-modern feminist (Elliot & Mandell, 1995). Feminist theories also differ in their focus, which ranges from political, cultural, economic, racial, ethical and sexual dimensions. Feminists insist that a critical stance should be taken on gender relations that have been taken for granted. They present the social construction of gender relation as problematic and also challenge the idea that sexual differences about men and women are an unbiased and objective truth.

In western scholarly debate, there is a nearly universal acceptance of rape as a male trait typical of late time periods and cultures. This view is anchored in assumptions that male dominance is universal. Thornhill and Plamer (in Watson-Franke, 2002) go as far as to attribute a positive evolutionary value to male dominance and violence, and regard these as factors that contribute to reproductive success. However, feminist scholars have challenged the idea of rape as a natural given. Brown Miller, one of the pioneers of feminist theory, does not perceive rape as an act of nature and an evolutionary triumph but rather as an act of power and domination (Watson-Franke, 2002).

Feminist theory explains rape as an exercise of power due to the social control in patriarchal societies (Kelly, 1999). Most societies are patriarchal where females are regarded as being of less value and have less status than males. Feminist theory holds that rape is a direct result of female's political and economic powerlessness (Kelly, 1999). This is evident from Vogelman's (1990a) study, in which he argues that women are restricted in their movements, their behaviour and dress as they are dictated by attempts to elude the rape. In other words, feminist theories view rape to be primarily motivated by male dominance. Baron and Strauss (1987) postulate that rape and the fear of rape serves as a mechanism of social control in a system of male supremacy. This concept has largely

challenged etiological understandings of rape that are based on offender psychopathology. Feminist theories have affected the definition of sexual aggression, the way rape victims are viewed and treated and have identified aspects of the culture that are rape supportive (BrownMiller, 1975).

Early feminist authors argue that rape is used as part of an overall strategy of asserting dominance over and control of women, but also point to rape as a vehicle for self-communication by men about their powerfulness (Jewkes et al., 2005). Men may rape due to a need to gain power and build up their depleted self-concept (Vogelman, 1990b). This suggests that men may need to dominate or "destroy" others to deal with feelings of inadequacy or threats to their self-concept.

It is a commonly accepted understanding that rape is certainly in part caused by cultural factors and attitudes; such as gender stereotypes and other thought processes that link physical aggression and sexuality in the minds of males (Ellis, 1989). One study found that boys were socialised from an early age into traditional patriarchal notions of masculinities that promote and legitimise unequal gender relations (Peterson et al., 2005). These types of boys are more likely to feel entitled to sex with their partners and are therefore more likely to rape. Linked with the traditional notions of masculinity were the findings that girls or women were controlled through sexual violence and that patriarchal rape myths were used to rationalise and legitimise sexual violence (Peterson et al., 2005). Feminists argue that we live in societies where women hold the responsibility for men's aggression (Lebowitz & Roth, 1994). This is supported by the presence of victim blaming from communities and at times, service providers. The rape victim is commonly blamed for their rape, and various reasons are given. For example, in the previous legislative definition of rape in South Africa, the concept of "consent" was not clearly stated, hence women's actions were heavily scrutinised (Ross, 1993). In her study of wife rape, Burgen (1996) found that police officers often have sexist attitudes, such as the view that women are the property of their husbands. As a result, police officers often tend to engage in victim blaming by identifying with the male perpetrator

(Burgen, 1996). In a Gauteng study, over five out of ten men believed that women were responsible for causing sexual violence, and three out of ten men believed that the women had asked for it (Meier, 2002).

Social norms have been found to prescribe that boys or men should have sexual relations as a marker of their masculinity. This has been found to motivate and pressure those without partners to rape in order to comply with these norms (Peterson et al., 2005). Therefore, whether rape occurs due to the biological need to procreate, the societal pressure to prove one's masculinity or the perversion of traditional roles, men commit rape (Ehrenreich, 2000). Wood and Jewkes (1998) described how control of women was a key aspect of successful masculinity among many young men. Masculinity was constructed and evaluated in on-going acts of competition in relation to male peers, with sexual conquest being regarded as a sing of status, whether achieved by wooing, trickery or ultimately force. In a study conducted in the rural Eastern Cape, most men were found to pride themselves on their persuasive abilities and regarded the use of force to get sex as "unmanly" (Wood & Jewkes, 1998).

There are larger societal constructs that allow rape to continue in our communities. This study hopes to explore some of those constructs as perceived by the police officers. Culturally sanctioned gender roles foster power imbalances that facilitate women's risks for both sexual assault and STI's or HIV (Tavara, 2006). When gender-power imbalances place women in subordinate roles women can have few options for exercising personal control over their sexual relationships (Kalichman, Simbayi, Kaufman, Cain, Cherry, Jooste & Mathiti, 2005). Not only do cultural values influence one's perceptions of rape, but it also influence whether the act of rape is perceived as a crime. Various cultural beliefs held by women regarding rape then hinder their ability to report rape cases. Women believe that they can't say no to sex, and men believe they are entitled to it. These cultural patterns reflect and support rigid sex role stratification and the devaluation of what is culturally constructed as feminine (Lisak, 1991; Sanday, 1981). Kalichman et al. (2005) examined gender attitudes and sexual violence supportive beliefs,

and found that women frequently reported multiple sexual assault experiences. Both men and women in the study endorsed gender attitudes that represented traditional, submissive and passive roles of women, with nearly all men and women stating women should obey their husbands (Kalichman et al., 2005).

McKendrick and Hoffman (1990) argue that violence in South Africa has been demonstrated as legitimate in schools, politics, correctional institutions in court of law and at home. The home therefore replicates what is happening in society. From the feminist perspective, the relations of domination ad subordination at home may lead to violent acts such as spousal rape and physical violence. They also conclude that the experience of violence at home and society are unconsciously socialised and passed from one generation to another generation within families (McKendrick & Hoffman, 1990). The persistence of the violent culture leads to the creation of norms perpetuating violence. It therefore becomes socially approved to use force as a solution to problems or resistance.

Ecological Approaches

Social ecological approaches evolved largely on the basis of the inadequacies of individualistic perspectives of human development and the need to consider multiple factors at different ecological levels in the emergence and prevention of psychosocial problems (Dalton, Elias & Wandersman, 2001). An ecological context is the setting that influences an individual, including both the immediate contexts (family, peer, school or work contexts) as well as the physical, social, economic, cultural and political environment (Dalton et al., 2001). This simply implies that behaviour is best understood in the context in which it occurs, and occurs as a result of an interaction between the person and their environment. Ecological approaches evolved around the 1960's in community psychology where there was a need to move from individual or one-on-one interventions and became involved in broader communities and societies (Visser, 2007).

Urie Bronfenbrenner is one of the key authors of this theory. He described the environment in which development takes place. He held that development takes place in a series of nested systems fitting into each other. Each of these layers impact on each other in an interdependent way (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). He described five layers that are important in understanding individual behaviour. These include the micro- system, meso-system, exo-system and macro- system. He also describes the chronosystem, which includes changes over time that also impact on behaviour.

The ecological approach is based on the assumption that there is no single factor that can explain why some individuals behave violently towards others or why violence is more prevalent in some communities than in others (Visser, 2007). That is behaviour results from interactions between individuals and contexts they are exposed to (Visser, 2007). Rape is acknowledged to result from a complex interplay of individual, relationship, social, cultural and environmental factors. Understanding these levels is important, as it is one of the crucial steps in determining prevention strategies.

Micro- system constitutes of the immediate system of which the individual is a part (Visser, 2007). This includes all the people with whom the individual has direct interactions. Other understandings hold that at an individual level the model seeks to identify the biological and personal factors that may contribute to an individual's behaviour. This category therefore, focuses on characteristics of the individual that increase the likelihood of being a victim or perpetrator of violence. It includes factors such as aggression, impulsivity, substance abuse or use and prior history of aggression (WHO, 2002). Research on personality studies; have suggested that individuals who have aggressive tendencies are more likely to rape, as well as those who use substances (Burgess et al., 2007).

The second level (meso-system) explores how proximal social relationships such as relationships with peers, family and intimate partners increase one's risks for perpetuating a crime (WHO, 2002). For example, with relation to relationships with peers, research has shown that people are more likely to engage in negative activities

when those behaviours are encouraged and approved by their peers. In the same way family's and intimate partners have the potential to shape an individuals behaviour and range of experiences. For example, a young boy who is grown in a family where the female figures are abused might grow up believing that is the right way of behaving.

At a community level (exo-system) social relationships are embedded. In this system an individual does not have direct contact or influence over the system (Visser, 2007). These relationships include schools, workplaces and neighbourhoods and they seek to identify the characteristics of these settings that are associated with being victims or perpetrators of violence. For example, it is proposed that in areas where there is high levels of social isolation, residential mobility (where people do not stay for a long time in a particular dwelling, but move many times), heterogeneity (highly diverse population, with little of the social ''glue'' that binds communities together) and high population density there is likely to be more violence in these areas. Also factors such as substance abuse, high levels of unemployment are factors at a community level that may make a community vulnerable to crimes, including rape (WHO, 2002). For example, the population in Johannesburg is very large and diverse, and characterised by high levels of in-migration and residential mobility. This may contribute to social isolation and high rates of rape and other crimes.

The final level of the ecological model examines the larger societal factors that influence rates of violence (macro-system). Included here are those factors that create an acceptable climate for violence, those that reduce inhibitions against violence, and those that create and sustain gaps between different segments of society – or tensions between different groups or countries (Visser, 2007). These societal factors include cultural norms that support violence as an acceptable way to resolve conflicts and norms that entrench male dominance over women and children. Broadly these factors also include the health, educational, economic and social policies that maintain high levels of economic or social inequality between groups in society.

Placed within a developmental context, the ecological model also shows how violence may be caused by different factors at different stages of life, as well as by the interaction of these factors. More importantly, it demonstrates the influence of the wider environment and higher order systems on human behaviour (Visser, 2007). This once again illustrates the complexity of describing or explaining behaviours.

FACTORS SPECIFIC TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

South Africa has had its own unique socio-political history and various studies have suggested that the country's history may have influenced the rape problem. The history consists of political violence, state-sanctioned coercion and abuse, and human rights violations (Peterson et al., 2005). Violence against women and girls needs to be understood within the context of historical and material conditions in South Africa that have created a culture where certain forms of violence are viewed as acceptable ways of solving conflicts, gaining power and inflicting punishment (Simpson in Peterson et al, 2005).

The apartheid system was a complex and oppressive socio-political system based on racial engineering, which attempted to create ethically and racially based constellations of identities attached to geographical sub-states. The system was predicted upon violent control, which shaped the nature of social interaction (Lutya, 2001). The apartheid system separated Whites from Blacks and mixed race individuals. The Separate Amenities Act of 1948 created separate building entrances, schools and other amenities for Blacks and mixed race individuals. The apartheid system and its removal have also had indirect effect on the large number of rapes occurring in schools (Lutya, 2001). During the apartheid system, schools were sites of political uprising and violent places. Now that the system had been dismantled, the education system has struggled to refocus resources on actual education and qualified teachers. The reorganisation of the apartheid system has created a shortage of classrooms and teaching materials, high student-teacher

ratios, and no access to proper or safe sanitation. Reports show that many girls are raped in bathrooms and latrines in schools (Meier, 2002).

Further there has been an erosion of Black African masculinity leading to what has been referred to as "masculinity in crisis" (Vogelman, 1990a). The apartheid system threatened male power within the family at both a material and decision-making level. Black males at that time were emasculated by apartheid legislation, and it is suggested that these males may now feel a need to assert dominance and prove their adequacy (Vogelman, 1990b). The target for these men therefore becomes the vulnerable women who cannot object to anything that is done to them. Even if women do object their voices are not heard as many local cultures allow men to have the final word. It is these patriarchal circumstances that make it difficult for women to negotiate their sexuality.

We live in a patriarchal society, which Vogelman (1990a) describes as having a "rape culture". It is a culture where men dominate and have the final say in most important things. This kind of society makes men feel they have no boundaries when it comes to possessing or violating females and their bodies. Rape is therefore a mechanism of social control, and reflects men's entitlement. In South Africa, women are commonly viewed as being inferior to men, as possessions needing to be led and controlled (Pitcher & Bowley, 2002). The rape culture also includes the concept that society teaches men to engage in sexual conquest and to be competitive and aggressive, especially in the sphere of sexual relations (Vogelman, 1990a). It is essential however, to add that South Africa has a high prevalence of key rape risk factors, with many men experiencing trauma in childhood and a strong gang mentality (Jewkes in Kapp, 2000). These issues further legitimise the abuse of women in many societies.

Sexual violence is not limited to South Africa. However, one legacy of the apartheid era is that Soweto, along with the "deep South" informal townships of Johannesburg, became known as the "rape capital of the world" (Anderson & Mhatre, 2003, p. 5). This however, does not imply that only Black man rape, as rape cuts across all racial groups (Holzaman, 1996). The high prevalence of rape in this area may reflect

the violent culture that the apartheid era has left in this community.

In addition, it has been argued that the introduction of a new demographic dispensation in South Africa in 1994, which legitimated women's central and equal role in society, has eroded traditional notions of Black African masculinity. These developments have occurred without a concomitant emergence of a men's movement to help men cope with these changes. Thus, rape is understood as being an attempt by men to reassert their authority and "put women in their place" (Peterson et al., 2005, p.1235).

It is important to add that race in South Africa influences victim blame and affects how these victims cope with their trauma. Studies have shown that White victims are more likely to report their incidents than Black women. This is due to the stereotypes and myths that portray Black women as more permissive, promiscuous and sexualised than white women (George & Martinez, 2002).

Unemployment is very common in South Africa and it was preciously estimated that approximately 40 percent of the country's population is unemployed (Vogelman, 1990a). According to more recent material the levels of unemployment and poverty are still critically high (Naledi, 2006). In 2004, 41 percent of working age people were unemployed according to the expanded definition of unemployment, ad 26 percent according to the narrow definition (Labour Force Survey, 2004 in Naledi, 2006). Unemployment in this context is often associated with a sense of disempowerment and viewed as a personal failure (both by the individual and their family) rather than as a fault of the economic system (Vogelman, 1990b). Work dissatisfaction has been found to have behavioural consequences. If the work situation is frustrating for the individual, as the work doesn't feel 'appropriate' for the individuals' masculinity, frustration may build up as a result and this frustration may not necessarily be directed to the immediate source of frustration (Vogelman, 1990b). It is possible that this frustration may take the form of sexual violence.

Another important issue that is closely related to unemployment is that of substance abuse. It is a common understanding that people deal with frustrations in a

variety of ways, including substance use. Alcohol abuse in South Africa is common due to its availability and the social acceptance of its use (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). Several researchers have pointed to a link between crime and alcohol use (Gidycz et al., 2007). A study conducted by Jewkes et al., (2006) on rape perpetration by young rural, South African men found that rape especially gang rape was associated with heavy alcohol consumption and drugs. Alcohol has been found to play a disinhibiting role in certain types of sexual abuse. Alcohol consumption is both a risk factor for perpetrating and being a victim of rape (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002).

Research suggests that police members dealing with victims in South Africa often do not regard rape and domestic violence as crimes (Lewis, 1997). Police have also traditionally used inappropriate crisis intervention techniques that avoid arrest and seek to reconcile the assailant and the victim, rather than separating them (Lewis, 1997). Where the police and courts do respond, action is generally ineffective, and guided by vague and inconsistent policies (Jackson, 1997). The current study hopes to shed light on whether these views are shared by police officers working with rape cases. As well as to the types of difficulties they encounter in dealing with rape cases. In addition to the above, in the past police represented oppressors this therefore made it difficult for many people to trust the system (Meier, 2002). In addition, the apartheid laws gave priority to White women over Black women. Black women were victimised as they were perceived to be more promiscuous and were blamed for the crimes they were victims of. This therefore made it even more difficult for Black women to trust the system.

RAPE INTERVENTION STRATEGIES

Rape is a traumatic experience that many women in South Africa are confronted with. Support for the women who have been raped therefore needs to be part of the overall strategy to address rape**.**

Rape Policies and Laws

There have been many improvements on the face of laws and policies of rape. For example, the previous legal definition of rape had well been criticised for emphasising the sexual nature of rape and neglecting the violent aspect of it (Ross, 1993). The definition was also heavily criticised for being vague about some of the concepts such as consent and it was also gender biased. Amendments were therefore made to the initial laws, providing a broader definition of rape which is inclusive. It included a wider range of acts as well as being non-gender biased (Lawrence & Van Rensburg, 2006). South Africa's Constitution makes provision for the protection from "all forms of violence from either public or private sources (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2002). Efforts to ensure such protection include the introduction of a number of a number of acts. These acts include the Prevention of Violence Act, The Sexual Offences Act, The Domestic Violence Act, The Criminal Law Amendment Act and The Criminal Procedure Amendment Act (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2002). These are constantly revised in efforts to ensure they are efficient.

Criminal Justice System and Police

The criminal justice system is the most visible sector of the country with respect to rape. The performance of the criminal justice system in response to complaints of rape has been described as yardstick against which the seriousness of rape cases can be measured (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). In 1998, a three-province study found that overall 25 percent of women had reported the incident to the police (Kim 2000). A number of reasons were provided for the low reporting rates. These included issues around physical assess to the police, fear of retaliation by the perpetrator and fear of the legal process including experiencing rudeness and poor treatment from the police (CIET, 1998). Many

women do not report their rapes because they anticipate that ultimately their actions will not bring justice or will not lead to perpetrators being punished (Kim, 2000).

Support for rape victims from the criminal justice system and the police have therefore not been sufficient. Attempts to improve this include the recent implementation and initiation of Thuthuzela Care Centres by the National Prosecution Authority (NPA) Sexual Offences and Community Affairs Unit (SOCA), in partnership with various donors as a response to the urgent need for an integrated strategy for prevention, response and support for rape victims. Thuthuzela is a Xhosa word that means comfort. These care centres are one-stop facilities that have been introduced as a critical part of South Africa's anti-rape strategy, aiming to reduce secondary trauma for the victim, improve conviction rates and reduce the cycle time for finalising cases. This process ensures that service providers are available to a rape survivor in one location, rather than being shuttled around throughout the criminal justice system (Thuthuzela Care Centre, 2006).

The centres started in six places, operating in public hospitals in communities where the incidence of rape is particularly high. They are also linked to the sexual offences courts, a new and unique South African anti-rape intervention. As part of the strategy, a specialised Sexual Offences Court is staffed by a committed cadre of prosecutors, social workers, investigating officers, magistrates, health professionals and police, and located in close proximity to the Thuthuzela. The centres are currently been extended to many more areas. According to reports, the Thuthuzela model has already improved the process of reporting and prosecuting rape and other sexual offences, and reducing secondary trauma to survivors as the entire process takes place in a dignified and friendly environment (Thuthuzela Care Centre, 2006).

Medical Support

Rape convictions revolve around medico-legal evidence in many developing countries like South Africa (Kim et al., 2003). The infrastructure for collecting evidence however is

poorly developed with doctors unavailable, inadequately trained and unmotivated. This therefore is a critical area for improvement. In the past government district surgeons were responsible for examining and gathering medical evidence in cases of suspected rape, however this system was fraught with difficulties and has been severely criticised for providing sub-standard services. These ranged from problematic attitudes and poor evidence collection (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2000). The district surgeon's system was therefore abolished, leaving the responsibility for management of rape victims to the medical officers within the health care facility. However, this did not solve the problem as no efforts were made to ensure that individuals with well-trained expertise carried out the investigations. Junior doctors typically carryout these tasks and in many instances, this occurred without supervision (Kim et al., 2003). A pilot study found that the use of forensic nurses was highly effective in addressing the issue, but not many nurses have been trained thus far (Kim et al., 2003).

The possibility of HIV transmission during rape is a major concern for many rape victims in South Africa. Voluntary testing and counselling of rape survivors is available but post-exposure prophylaxis is not available in all the public sectors in some provinces (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). The first pioneering initiates for the provision of PEP began in 1998 and were finally implemented in 2002, where it was announced that PEP should be provided to victims of sexual assault in South African hospitals and clinics. The victims are to receive a two drug regimen using AZT and 3TC (Kim et al., 2003). However, this provision has been found to be incomplete because the majority of HIV transmission risk is located within cases of sexual coercion in circumstances that are never reported to the medical or legal sectors. Policies around the provision of the PEP for such instances may need to be considered (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002).

Psychosocial Support

Sexual assault and rape produce extreme distress and negative psychological reactions in victims. These reactions may range from a number of mental health and behavioural problems to suicide (WHO, 2002). Past research suggests that the victims are at increased risk for developing substance abuse and other psychopathologies (Resnick, Acierno, Amstadter, Self-Brown & Kilpatrick, 2007). Counselling and ongoing psychosocial support have also been regarded as an important component in helping victims of rape heal. Such services are often provided by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO), which are usually limited as they are urban centred and therefore do not reach the majority of the victims (Human Rights Watch, 1995). These NGO's often play an important advocacy role, communicating and making links between medical, police and judicial services (Kim, 2000), for example the Thuthuzela centres. In an attempt to extend access to these services in South Africa, a number of other initiatives have emerged such as the Stop Woman Abuse Helpline, as well as shelters (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002).

Media Support

The media has played an important part in the raising of awareness around issues of gender norms and women's rights. Television series' such as Soul City, which has a substantial viewership, were initiated with hopes to address some of these issues (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). There have been NGO funded mass media campaigns with posters and television commercials on rape. The media has however, been criticised in its coverage of some rape cases. The media could also play a big role in dissemination of knowledge amongst the public about the need to go immediately to the police after rape, not to bath, change clothes and so forth.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

There have been a number of changes or developments with the issue of rape in South Africa and internationally. Such changes are evident in the definition of rape. The previous legal definition of rape in South Africa received a number of criticisms which eventually led to its amendment. Rape takes many forms as was evident in the discussion and the rationale for these different rape forms are different. The extent of the rape problem is a concern across the world and a number of factors have been found to be implicated in contributing to the high prevalence rates for rape. Police involvement in these rape cases has been under scrutiny due to people's frustrations over the high incidence and prevalence of rape, fear for their safety and perceptions that the police officers are not intervening satisfactorily with the investigations of rape cases, the appraisal and convictions of rape perpetrators. This chapter has discussed some of the recent guidelines that are used to guide a rape case investigation by police personnel. The literature review pointed to the complexity of the issue of rape. It has attempted to demonstrate the extent to which researchers have focused on this issue. The review also demonstrated that rape is dynamic and multiple factors and theories need to be considered in attempting to understand it. Factors specific to the South African context were discussion by providing an over view of the country's historical as well as current situations in causing and perpetuating the rates of rape. The chapter concluded with presenting some of the current interventions for rape victims.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHOD

INTRODUCTION

The previous chapters have focused on the theoretical backdrop of this study and presented a review of relevant literature in the field. In this chapter, the methodology for the present study is described. This chapter comprises of the research questions, research design, the sample used, as well as the data collection and analysis methods. The chapter also includes a discussion of the ethical considerations that were followed in executing the research study. The researcher's reflexivity of the research process then concludes the chapter.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The present study aims to address the following research questions:

1) What do police officers working with rape cases perceive to be the factors that cause high prevalence rates of rape in Johannesburg?

2) What kinds of rape cases do police officers perceive to be most common?

3) What do police officers working with rape cases perceive to be the factors that cause rape in South Africa generally?

4) What do police officers working with rape cases perceive to be the barriers to a rape free society?

5) What do police officers perceive as effective strategies for addressing rape?

RESEARCH DESIGN

The interpretive research paradigm was selected for the study. This paradigm is well known for its accessibility and flexibility. It is also attractive as it seeks an "insider's

perspective" on the phenomenon of interest (Larkin, Watts & Clifton, 2006, p. 103). The interpretive paradigm also includes a highly intensive and detailed analysis of the accounts provided by a comparatively small population or group of participants. The interpretative paradigm takes into account the participants' worldview and experiences (Larkin et al., 2006).This therefore affords the researcher an opportunity to deal with the data in a more speculative fashion: to think about what it means for the participants to have made such claims. The claims therefore reflect the participant's subjective experiences to a situation. This permitted the researcher to take people's accounts as representative of their personal beliefs and attitudes. The interpretative perspective is therefore understood as a stance from which to approach qualitative data analysis, rather than a method (Larkin et al., 2006).

The study made use of qualitative data collection methods to gather and to analyse information. By definition qualitative research is any type of research that produces findings not arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification (Snape & Spencer, 2003). Obtaining qualitative information allowed the researcher to access the participants' unique and genuine experiences of their lives and of this particular phenomenon (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Qualitative research also allowed for a rich and deep understanding of individuals in a specific context and captures the meaning that the events have for the individuals (Neuman, 1997). Banister, Burman, Parker, Taylor and Tindall (1994) state that in qualitative research, participants personal accounts are highly valued and emergent issues within their accounts can be explored. Insight is therefore gained regarding meanings participants attach to their experiences.

Qualitative research has certain distinctive characteristics. Some of the characteristics include providing in-depth and interpretive understanding of the social world of the research participants. The samples are usually small in scale and are purposively selected on the basis of salient criteria. The data collection methods usually involve close contact between researcher and the research participants as shall become evident in the succeeding section (Snape & Spencer, 2003).

Qualitative research is also characterised by data that is detailed and extensive. The analysis of this data is open to emergent concepts and ideas. The data may also produce detailed descriptions and classification. It identifies patterns of association and explanations (Snape & Spencer, 2003)

PARTICIPANTS

A non-probability purposive sampling technique was utilised to obtain research participants to take part in the research study. Purposive sampling is an acceptable kind of sampling for special situations, and primarily uses the judgement or characteristics of an expert in selecting cases (Neuman, 1994). That is, the participants are chosen because they have particular features or characteristics that enable detailed exploration and understanding of the central themes that the researcher wishes to study. The characteristics may be socio-demographic or may relate to specific experiences or roles (Ritchie, Lewis & Elam, 2003). This research is a special case as only the perceptions of police officers are required. A purposive sample was adequate for the study as only those with the correct characteristics such as related experiences; commitment and accessibility were included (van Vuure & Maree, 1999). This group of participants selected is not intended to be a statistically representative sample but rather the characteristics of the population are used as the basis of selection. This feature makes non-probability sampling well suited to small-scale, in-depth studies (Ritchie et al., 2003).

The participants in the study consisted of police officers that provide services to rape victims and/or perpetrators. This population was used because they work closely with rape cases. It was anticipated that accessing perceptions of this group would assist in gaining a greater understanding of the problem of rape and the complexities involved in understanding the causes of rape and its prevention. The participants comprised of seven police officers. Both male and female participants from this group of service providers were included in roughly equal numbers. The police personnel could be of any race or

age. However, only police officers that had at least two years of experience in working with rape cases were recruited into the study. Police officers from EKhayaLethemba ("house of Hope" is a Special Victim Unit for Domestic and Sexual Offences), which comprises of police officers from Hillbrow Station were approached and introduced to the study. Police personnel from Central Johannesburg Police Station were also approached and asked to participate in the study. The demographic characteristics of the final group of participants are represented in Table 1 below.

TABLE 1. DEMOGRAPHIC DETAILS OF PARTICIPANTS

Name of participant	**Sex**	**Home Language**	**Duration with SAPS**	**Location**	**No. of rape Cases Handled (Estimation)**
Participant A	F	Zulu	5 years	Central Johannesburg	3000
Participant B	F	Zulu	4 years	Hillbrow	3000
Participant C	M	Northern Sotho	6 years	Central Johannesburg	1000
Participant D	M	Zulu	12 years	Hillbrow	+1000
Participant E	M	Zulu	2 years	Central Johannesburg	+1000
Participant F	F	Northern Sotho	6 years	Central Johannesburg	500
Participant G	F	Zulu	5 years	Hillbrow	+ 500

DATA COLLECTION METHODS

The approval of more senior SAPS personnel (Provincial Commissioner) was initially sought to conduct the study at the organisation (See Appendix A). On approval, the

superintendents of the relevant police stations were contacted to discuss the study and also to seek consent to approach individuals within their precincts to participate in the study. Relevant people were approached individually or in-group sessions in order to provide them with information about the nature and purpose of the study and to request the participation of interested individuals that met the sample criteria. The individuals were informed that participation in the study was entirely voluntary and that their identities would be kept confidential.

Interested officers were given the opportunity to go through the participant information sheet (See Appendix B) and given the opportunity to ask any questions they had. Once informed consent to participate in the study had been obtained (See Appendix C), the researcher proceeded with administrating the demographic questionnaire (See Appendix D). The researcher then proceeded with gaining consent to record the interview (See Appendix E). The interview was then conducted following the interview schedule (see Appendix F) based on participant's availability. The officers were informed that the Unit or Organisation would receive a summary report of the research findings at the end of the study.

The study collected data through the use of individual face-to-face interviews. Through this method participants were encouraged to give in-depth information on their experiences in working with rape cases and their perceptions on the issue (Neuman, 1994). Semi-structured questions were conducted so as to enable the researcher to probe for more information on unclear or interesting concepts that emerge in the interview (Neuman, 1994). This method of data collection also affords the researcher to explore some of the participant's deeper and conflictual feelings (Flick, 2002). This type of information gathering technique has been found to be less time consuming than questionnaires Grinnell (1993).This format (semi-structured interviews) provided a means to guide the interview through the required areas but also allowed for clarification and exploration of new interesting ideas related to the study. A schedule of questions was drawn up to address the research questions and aims (refer to Appendix F). These

questions served to elicit further information as well as exploration of interesting information relevant to the study.

The interviews were conducted at a time and place most convenient for the participants. They all took place in the participants' offices. The interviews were audio taped to ensure accuracy of transcription and analysis of the data collected. The same structure of questioning was used as a guide in all the interviews.

DATA ANALYSIS

The aim of data analysis in qualitative studies is to uncover patterns existing in the data, which can then be used to create themes that integrate the data (Neuman, 1994). For the purposes of this research the data gathered will be analysed using thematic content analysis. This method will enable the researcher to identify the recurring themes that may arise from the interviews. These themes will be organised into categories (Neuman, 1994). Thematic content analysis as defined by Banister et al. (1994) as a coherent way of organising or reading interview material in relation to specific research questions. Thematic content analysis is also one method of exploring the qualitative richness of the participants' experiences and perceptions. This method of analysis also aids in exploring the influencing themes. It is also based on the assumption that a relationship exists between participant's actual responses and their psychological and emotional states (Boyatzis, 1998).

This method involves sifting through the interview data to reduce and categorise the large amounts of information into more manageable and meaningful thematic units of interpretation. A list of the procedure or steps to be followed in carrying out this analysis follows. Thematic content analysis requires eight steps to be followed. These steps include: 1) deciding on the level of analysis; 2) deciding how many concepts to code for; 3) deciding whether to code for the existence or frequency of a concept; 4) deciding how to distinguish among concepts. 5) Developing rules for the coding of texts; 6) deciding

what to do with irrelevant information; 7) decisions on coding texts; and 8) analysing the results (Babbie & Mouton, 1998). Colaizzi, (1978) however proposed a shorter version of analysis. Colaizzi's (1978) method of thematic content analysis was utilised in the analysis of this study.

The analysis procedure as proposed by Colaizzi (1978) is as follows. The individual interviews are audio recorded and transcribed. The transcripts are then repeatedly read to allow the researcher to gain understandings and impressions of the participants' experiences. Phrases and statements that directly pertained to the investigation phenomena are extracted from each transcript. The relevant statements are then be organised into clusters of themes, allowing for the emergence of common as well as idiosyncratic themes. Interpretation of discrepancies and contradictions from the themes or respondents transcriptions then follow.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical considerations are very important as they acknowledge the participant's rights in taking part in a study. They also ensure that minimal or no harm is inflicted on the participants (Neuman, 1997). The researcher sought permission from the Gauteng Provincial Commissioner to conduct the research study at some of their units. The superintendents of the relevant institutions were contacted. Once the superintendents granted permission for the study, the researcher approached potential participants and invited them to participate in the study. They were given the participant information letter which explained the nature and purpose of the study. This letter clearly stated that participation in the study was voluntary. For those that indicated a willingness to be interviewed, the consent forms for participation and audio recording were explained in detail.

The researcher clearly explained to the participants that there were no advantages or disadvantages to those who chose to take part in the study or for those who chose not

to be part of the study. There were no individual benefits. The participants were made aware that they could withdraw from the study without any penalty. They were informed that they were not obliged to answer questions that they feel are personal or private or that they do not want to answer for any reason. Permission to use direct quotations from the interview was requested as part of the general consent process. The participants were made aware that the taped material from the interviews would be kept in a secure location that was only accessible to the researcher. They were informed that the researcher would use this material for processing and analysis, but that no identifying material would be used in reporting the results of the study. Confidentiality was guaranteed. The material does not have participants' names attached to it and participants were only identified alphabetically. Audiotapes will be destroyed on acceptance of the final research report.

Individuals or officers who met the criteria to be part of the study and were willing to be part of it were included in the sample. The participants were asked for permission to tape record the interview. Due to the fact that the research topic is quite sensitive it was assumed that it could evoke stress and negative emotions. Participants were therefore debriefed on their experience of the interview process. Any participant, who experienced distress from the interview that requires counselling, was referred either to in-house counselling services or to the Trauma Clinic in Braamfontein, which provides free counselling services. The organisation was informed of the study and the possibility of referrals prior to the commencement of the data collection process. None of the participants however found the interview distressing hence no referrals to either counselling services were required. The participants' stations would be given a summary feedback on the results at the end of the study.

RESEARCHER REFLEXIVITY

The study made use of semi-structured interviews as this enabled the researcher to be actively involved with the participants. This however, was a challenging task as the interview evoked a lot of anger and disappointment in the researcher as the participants

appeared to not take the issue of rape seriously. Most of them appeared to not view the research itself as important and hence only a small number of volunteers participated in the study. This was particularly frustrating for the researcher as she needed participants for her study but what was even more frustrating was the lack of enthusiasm as this may reflect the police personnel's attitude towards rape and rape victims. This lack of involvement or disengagement may be attributed on the other hand to burn out or to frustrating working conditions.

Some of the participants also appeared to engage in victim blaming, which was particularly disturbing for the researcher. This was very significant as the attitudes of the participants may be reflected in the involvement with the real victims and hence affects people's willingness to report their cases. However, some participants were very involved, concerned and dedicated to the victims of rape. The researcher could not help but to empathise with their working conditions that were reportedly hindering their service delivery. The data collection process was therefore, very insightful and interesting.

CONCLUSION

In summary, the study made use of the qualitative paradigm. Semi-structured face-to-face interviews were used to address the research questions. Seven participants from two of the major police stations in the Johannesburg area were interviewed. A number of ethical issues were considered before the interviews were initiated. Thematic content analysis was used to analyse the data. The results and discussion of the results will follow in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the findings of the study. This section has been divided into themes so as to address the research questions appropriately. The major themes of discussion include perceptions about the prevalence rates of rape, common rape cases, causes of rape and potential rapists profile, vulnerabilities to rape and prevention strategies. These main themes will be introduced and further divided into sub-themes. Direct quotations of the interview responses will be used. Relevant literature is also included to support the discussion of these themes.

RAPE PREVELANCE RATES

This section presents the participants' perceptions of rape prevalence rates in South Africa. The section aimed at gathering an understanding of how police personnel view the extent of the problem in South Africa and the seriousness of the issue. The section also explores the factors that contribute to the high incidences of rape in Johannesburg City. The section then concluded with a comparison of the prevalence rates in Johannesburg and South Africa as a whole.

Extent of the Problem in South Africa

South Africa reportedly has a particularly high prevalence of rape. The rates of rape are so high that they are estimated to be at least three times higher than the rates in United States (Jewkes et al., 2006). This suggests that even though rape is a concern for many

countries, the extent of the problem in South Africa far exceeds many other countries. Participant A clearly captured that the prevalence of rape is not only a concern for South Africa, but also a concern for the rest of the continent, as shown in the extract below.

> **Participant A (1)**: I don't think it's a major issue in South Africa alone; I think the whole continent its just that we will concentrate in South Africa because we are staying in South Africa and umm, for me ah, I won't know from that, why it should be but I think its different umm issues involved…

This participant did however add an element of helplessness and confusion about why the rates are so high. Whilst participant A shared the perception that rape is a major issue for South Africa, one participant disagreed.

> **Participant B (1)**: Issue??? I don't think it's a major issue. Rape is like any other crime.
>
> **Participant B (2)**: How is it major? When you look at the other crimes is it not at the same level? Is it not the same?

Participant B felt that the prevalence of rape was vastly overestimated. This is not surprising as the debate about the reliability of rape statistics is not a unique one (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). High profile debates about the statistics of rape are common. Consensus that there are high levels of rape in South Africa is readily reached, although the magnitude of the problem is still a debate (Jewkes & Abraham, 2002). The analysis of rape statistics from April 2007 to March 2008 in comparison to the other crimes in South Africa indicate that rape is among the most frequent crimes (SAPS, 2008b). Participant B appears to attempt to normalise rape by comparing it to the others crimes. Her responses suggest that rape should not be given special attention but should be dealt with like any other types of crimes. However, this perception may lead people to think of rape as not being a serious crime, which may contribute to the tolerance of rape in many

communities. This may further discourage rape survivors from reporting their cases as they may believe that their cases are not serious enough.

Significance of the High Prevalence Rates

This section highlights some of the reasons why participants felt rape should be considered an important issue in South Africa. Although the impact of rape on the victims differs, some participants found the impact on the victims to be a significant issue that warrants it to be considered a special crime. Participants found the recent trends of child rape cases to be a reason why rape is a significant issue in South Africa. Child rape has attracted attention as this may have major implications for the well being of children and affect their adulthood in later life (Peterson et al., 2005). Other factors that participants found rape to be of great significance is that rape is related to other social issues such as HIV, substance abuse and unemployment.

Impact on the victim

One of the themes that emerged in explaining why participants viewed rape as being a serious concern was the potential impact that rape could have on victims. Rape may be experienced by the victim as life threatening and hence traumatic and may therefore result in psychological, physical and social dysfunction (Selfe & Burke, 2001).

Participant G (1): Well, I think rape is a major issue because of the effects it has on the victims. Rape leaves the victim as a different person. It's as if something has been taken away from you and nothing can bring it back, you see. So it's unlike other crimes because other crimes are not ummm, are not as personal as rape.

Participant E (1): Well, mmm rape first interfere with the very inner most person. So it's a very serious concern because it destroys you right from deep inside. It's not like losing property; it's

like losing yourself to somebody involuntary that's why it such a serious concern.

Participant G (1) and E (1) captured the invasiveness and personal nature of rape on the victim. They emphasised the inevitability of the act on the victim, and viewed rape as a type of loss that is final. This may also reflect the difficulty of the rehabilitation process of rape victims, as they suggest a sense of loss of a part of self. These responses suggest a level of awareness that rape is a complex and unique issue. The effects of rape interfere and affect a number of areas of functioning of the victim. Rape interferes with the individuals self perception, it affects the victim's relationships with significant others and may impact on other important areas such as mental health and productivity in the work place (Davies, 2000). It is interesting that both participants focused on the personal loss rather than on the health concerns, trauma or other difficulties that the victim may experience.

It is interesting however that participant B (in B1 and B2 extracts below) did not perceive rape to be a major concern in South Africa. However, when considering the impact of the rape on the victim, she then perceived rape to be a special crime.

Participant B (1): Rape is like any other crime; it's just that the victim is traumatised that is why it becomes an issue. It's not like assault whereby a person can be taken to the hospital and get treated and with time it heals. I think you can say it's a unique crime.

The above quote seems to realise the traumatic nature of rape on the victim and hence differentiates it from other crimes. The trauma experienced seems to be the only factor that convinces this participant that rape is a serious crime. Having said this, the fact that she ends the quote by calling rape "a unique crime" may also emphasise her perception that rape is not a serious crime but rather merely a unique crime.

Rape of children

The perception of the seriousness of rape by the participants was increased when they considered incidents of child rape.

> **Participant G (1):** Also, rape is an important issue especially nowadays because perpetrators are into the habit of raping children. That brings concerns for our future children. You know sometimes you as a parent you wonder what if this or that happens to my child you know. So it's a problem because just imagine a child getting raped it will have an impact on their life. So I think that's why rape is such a …umm a concern.

The quote above emphasises the seriousness of rape by pointing to children as a vulnerable target group. The quote also demonstrates a sense of despair that is experience not only by parents but by police personnel as well. It also demonstrates a sense of hopelessness as well. For participants, rape should therefore be considered a serious crime because of its growing prevalence among children. Many children are raped in South Africa and this has devastating consequences for their reproductive health, it affects their developmental stages and psychological status (Jewkes, 2002a). However, participant G speaks about the impact on children in very vague terms in this extract. She does not point out to the actual response of the children to rape or how the rape would affect their lives. The emphasis placed on children may imply that adult cases may be perceived as less concerning.

Rape and other social issues

Rape was also perceived by participants to be a concern due to its relationships with other social issues. Rape was perceived as linked with issues such as unemployment, substance use, HIV and prostitution. These social issues were perceived to either contribute to the causes of rape, increased victims vulnerability to being raped, or made the problem of rape socially significant. The quotes below highlight how some of these social issues are

perceived to influence rape, and therefore made rape an issue that is even more concerning.

Participant C (1): I think it's because of the alcoholism, drug abuse, rate of unemployment, OK, unemployment issue and prostitution.

Participant E (8): **...**and also people who are looking for jobs they are easy targets…

Participant C (3): ...and now these young girls when they get here ne, and they don't find one or any job and then they turn to prostitution and then at the end of the day we are experiencing a problem here in our area in Johannesburg rather than everyone around us.

Participant D (1): Well, rape is a big issue because of the disease that is spreading around.

Although Participant C (1) did not elaborate on his quotes, he perceived alcohol use, drug use, unemployment rates and prostitution to be factors that make rape a major issue in South Africa. The participant may be implying that because of these issues, rape is more prevalent in South Africa. Participant E (8) points out that unemployment renders victims more vulnerable to rape. Participant C (3) demonstrates the complexity and interplay of unemployment and prostitution in contributing to rape. The participant highlighted the fact that unemployment forces women to engage in risky jobs for survival hence they turn to prostitution. The above-mentioned quotes suggest that police personnel have a fair understanding of rape. They acknowledge that rape does not happen in isolation but it is an interplay of multiple factors, which include other significant social issues (WHO, 2002).

Rape is either exacerbated by other social issues or other social issues exacerbate the prevalence of rape (WHO, 2002). For example, researchers have found that there is a relationship between alcohol or substance abuse and violence (Abby, Ross & McDuffie,

1995). Research on alcohol consumption suggests that connections between violence and drunkenness are socially learnt, and that substance use may act as a cultural excuse for antisocial behaviour (McDonald, 1994). Hence men are more likely to rape when they are drunk so that they are not held accountable for their actions (McDonald, 1994). Alcohol and other drugs have been found to be closely linked with violence generally and rape (Abby et al., 1995). For the perpetrators, alcohol and other drugs play a disinhibiting role in rape (Abby et al., 1995). For the victims, alcohol reduces the ability to read social cues and to protect oneself. Also, the consumption of alcohol may place women in locations where rapes may be more likely to occur, such as nightclubs (Crowell & Burges, 1996).

An important relationship to consider is the relationship between rape and HIV, as indicated by participant D (1). Rape has well been documented to be closely related with the HIV/AIDS pandemic (Kim, 2000). It is not surprising that one of the participants viewed rape as a major crime due to its relationship with HIV/AIDS. Rape was identified as a major problem by participant D (1) due to its contribution to the spread of HIV. Due to the high prevalence of rape and the high prevalence of HIV, a person's chances of being infected with HIV are increased when they are raped (Kim et al., 2003).

In South Africa, this has been recognised as a dual epidemic. In the year 2000, an estimated 40 percent of deaths in adults aged 15-49 were attributed to AIDS, making it the single highest cause of death in South Africa (Kim et al., 2003). This age group represents the population that is most likely to be raped. South African Police statistics for 1996-1999 indicate that for the crime of rape and attempted rape 40 percent of the victims were under the age of 18 (Crime Information Analysis Centre, 2000). These findings are significant because they indicate that young women, the demographic group already at highest risk of HIV infection in South Africa, simultaneously represent a group at high risk of rape (Human Sciences Research Council, 2002). The links between rape and HIV has lead to the implementation of provision of Post Exposure Prophylaxis to rape victims. However, it should also be noted that the extract by participant D (1) seems

to suggest that rape is only an issue because it spreads HIV. This may suggest that HIV is viewed as the main problem and not rape.

Contributing Factors to High Rates of Rape

This section discusses some of the factors that contribute to the high prevalence of rape in South Africa. The participants identified South Africa's political status and the justice system as the main factors contributing to the high rates of rape. A discussion of how these two factors contribute to the high rates of rape follows.

South Africa's political status

South Africa has a sad history of apartheid which enforced inequalities between people according to their skin colours. This regime was disbanded in 1994 and the new democratically elected party ruled. The transition from the previous era to the current ones seems to be a difficult process, as perceived by participant F in the extract below.

> **Participant F (1):** I suppose South Africa as a teenager to democracy some people don't understand the word democracy and then on not understanding the word democracy they suppose they can just do anything they feel like.

Participant F (1) perceived South Africa's political status to be a significant contributor to the high prevalence of rape. One of the consequences of the apartheid system is that violence has been the first line strategy for resolving conflicts (Simpson & Rauch, 1993). With the new laws people seem to not have left these ways of resolving conflicts. This participant appears to have a negative view on the discourse of human rights in South Africa. She also appears to view South Africa as a place of lawlessness. This may indicate the participant's sense of helplessness with the community, the sense that this is how it is and nothing can be one about it.

The role of the justice system

The justice system has received much criticism in their involvement with rape cases. One participant perceived the justice system to contribute to the high prevalent rates in South Africa. The justice system has been found to be quite lenient in punishing the perpetrators of rape (Kapp, 2000). Participant F suggests that rape if rape received a harsh sentencing such as the death penalty then rape may not be as prevalent as it is currently. This participant also suggests that people in South Africa have much more freedom to violate other people's rights with little punishment following such acts. This participant may also be suggesting that rape is not taken as a serious issue by the justice system.

> **Participant F (1):** I suppose it's a major issue in South Africa because you find that the death penalty has been dealt with, I mean dealt away with. So they know very well that on committing that crime a sentence can be 3 months or 2 months and then he comes back to the community and does the very same thing. Unlike in other countries because you find that in other countries they've still got the death penalty and you know very well that once you rape, or you commit this murder you either die or you are sentenced to life. So South Africa we are not that, how can I put it? We are not that firm in fact we are not sure of how to handle issues like rape you see? I suppose that's why it's a major issue in South Africa. Everyone does as he or she pleases.

The participant appears to be very disappointed with the role of the justice system, and as a consequence appears to suggest that the justice system was better in the past (in the apartheid era). Studies have shown that many women do not report their rape cases to the police because they anticipate that ultimately it will not lead to the perpetrator being punished (Kapp, 2000). This concern has been found to be valid, few rape cases reach court ranging between 5- 50 percent in Soweto police stations (CIET Africa, 1998). And of these cases only 7-13 percent result in conviction and custodial sentences (CIET Africa, 1998). This may suggest that perpetrators may be taking advantage of a very weak system. The participant also challenges the current system capability and

effectiveness in dealing with rapes, and she therefore recommends a much more firm system.

High Prevalence Rates in Johannesburg versus South Africa

Gauteng is the smallest of all nine provinces in South Africa (Gauteng Provincial Government, 2009). Despite its size, it is home to approximately 8 million people. Johannesburg is one of the largest cities in South Africa and in Gauteng (Gauteng Provincial Government, 2009). It is well known for its vibrant, complex and diverse atmosphere. It is the main area of focus of the study. The rape prevalence in this area is reported to be very high in comparison to other places (SAPS, 2008b). It constitutes the highest contributor to the South African rape statistics. All the participants agreed that there were differences between Johannesburg and the rest of Gauteng and the rest of South Africa, as shown in the quotes below.

> **Participant D (5):** but here in Jo'burg its worse.
>
> **Participant E (2):** Well I can say it's totally different in JHB, as JHB itself as a city is different; it has its own dynamics, its own dynamics that are totally different from any other area in Gauteng.

The participants gave a number of explanations for these differences. Focusing on rape incidents in the Johannesburg area specifically, the participants seem to have common perceptions about the high prevalence rates. The common understanding was that the high prevalence of rape in the Johannesburg area was related to the population size, its diversity and material or resources in city. Also factors around employment, distant relationships among communities and different cultures were perceived to have a significant influence in the prevalence rate.

Participant D (5): But here in Johannesburg its worse. Here the population is too high and a lot is happening in this city.

Participant A (2): Ya, I would say maybe Jo'burg gets more rape cases reason being here in JHB it's like a city, like a suburb uh. people eh you know the people here know their rights they know where to go that is why we get these cases to be reported compared to outside …….And I think a lot of people in JHB are from different provinces ya, so I think maybe that is why maybe here we have got a lot of cases as compared to other areas. People now have gone to schools and know awareness

One participant also viewed education level and awareness of rape as a contributor to the high incidence of rape in Johannesburg. The South African Demographic and Health Survey (Shilumani, 2004) found that women in certain provinces were more likely to report rape and this was linked to educational differences. Having no education is seen as a major barrier to contacting the police and women with post-school education were eight times more likely to report than uneducated women (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002).

Johannesburg is a centre of attraction for tourist as well as many people from other provinces in South Africa. Its vibrant nature, resources and diversity attract many people. The quotes below demonstrate some of the reasons why people come to Johannesburg and consequences or complications that are experienced on arrival.

Participant C (3): ….Everybody wants to be here, they want to see themselves here in Johannesburg because of this thing of unemployment. And now these young girls when they get here ne, and they don't find one or any job and then they turn into prostitution and then at the end of the day we are experiencing a problem here in our area in Johannesburg rather than everyone around us.

Participant F (2): First things first; Johannesburg itself is the centre of everything, you see? Everyone comes to Johannesburg to explore, to work and for different reasons you see. So

> Johannesburg as it is you find that it's exposed to all cultures and different people and you find that OK, the respect doesn't count at all in JHB areas. And then security ad safety it's a problem in JHB. You find that you are not even free when you are walking around JHB, anything can happen to you. As much as everyone is minding their own business in the streets to the point where even when you start screaming nobody even looks at you, you see

The participants suggest that people come to Johannesburg with very high expectations for a better life and employment. The reality is more difficult than expected and many people have difficulty finding jobs. This may be experienced as frustrating and hence people may engage in risky behaviours or jobs to make a living. Participant F (2) points to the diversity of cultures in Johannesburg, which seems to separate people. People are therefore viewed as individuals and not as communities due to the separateness or differences among people. Participant F (2) suggests that these separations result in or at least contribute to the high crime rates.

People come to Johannesburg seeking jobs and safety yet they are confronted by abuse. And because of the scarcity of employment they live in over crowded places as well as extreme poverty. This in turn increases the likelihood that women will engage in sex work or more subtle forms of transactional sex, for example trading sex for beers in bars (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). The men seeking employment on the other hand are faced with the frustrations of not being able to care for their families. Their sense of masculinity may therefore be challenged and hence may instil their sense of masculinity through force, through rape.

The role of 'false' cases

Another significant factor that was perceived to influence the high rape statistics in Johannesburg is that of 'false' cases. Several participants perceived the rape statistics in the Johannesburg area to be inflated due to a significant number of reported cases that

were false cases. These false cases were related to sex workers. There appears to be perception that sex workers usually report false rapes to get benefits such as PEP medication. This is a concerning perception as it suggests that if you are a sex worker you cannot be raped.

Participant A (1): …For us as SAPS it's a concern because most of the cases are false cases. So we won't get like an exact number of how many people are raped as others they don't report, others they don't see it as rape so it is a problem we are not yet settled on that….

Participant E (2): …so the types of rape that we get more specially and more specifically in the city there are I can say 95% of them are not real rapes but 5% are the most serious rapes…

Participant E (2): I think in Johannesburg mostly adult people that are raped it isn't true. In Johannesburg you find that the case like for example the sex workers they see that their clients have money then they want more even though she had given him a price, she wants extra and if the man doesn't pay them it is then that she will come and report a rape case. But you find that in other areas if they say there is a rape then there is a rape indeed. That's the only problem we are having concerning sex workers, but the young one's all of them are all genuine rapes

Participant A (1) raises a concern that the true magnitude of the problem is difficult to establish because of the false cases, non-reported cases and different understandings of what constitutes as rape. Participant E (2) suggests that a large percentage of rape cases are false cases, and only a small number are 'serious' rapes. The word serious may be interpreted in a two ways, it may be suggesting that the rape is serious in terms of the extent of the damage on the victim. The participant may also be using the word serious to indicate whether the rape is legitimate or not. Participant E (2) further raised an interesting point in the second quote as the quote seems to suggest that only child cases

are legitimate, and therefore adult cases should be scrutinised to ascertain whether they are genuine rapes or not. This raises questions of how empathic the police officers would be to an adult rape victim. This would therefore influence the reporting of rape cases, which further undermines the accuracy of rape statistics. The issue of false rape case reporting seems to be a stressful one for the police personnel. For this reason, they feel that the statistics are not accurately reflective of the extent of the problem. In fact participant E (3) below suggests that the statistics are a gross exaggeration of the extent of the problem.

> **Participant E (3):** But this thing of reporting to the police station that I am raped but the minute you investigate / follow up you find that there was no rape but its already there, recorded you see. So it is going to be recorded as false rape but on the record there is rape. Then some we do investigate them, they are withdrawn because there is no evidence of rape but already it is recorded at the police station as a rape. So that is why the statistics are unreasonable, if I have to put it like that. So we can only reveal the real statistic after investigation have revealed that yes there is really this number of rape out of this junk that has been reported.. So the statistics of rape are very much unreliable.

In the above extract, participant E argues that many cases are withdrawn or are false. The participant seems to suggest that rape may be within reasonable levels. This appears to be a dilemma as there have been many debates around rape statistics (Jewkes, 2002b).

Conclusion

Rape is generally perceived by the participants in the study to be above normal expectations in South Africa and its rates are even higher when compared with other countries. This was noted by the participants in the current study to be a significant problem due to the impact rape has on the victims. Also rape is closely related to other

social issues such as HIV and substance use, this further makes the high prevalence of rape in South Africa even more concerning. Contributory factors to the high prevalence rates of rape in South Africa included the country's political status as well as the role played by the justice system. The participant's viewed the new democratic government as misleading the people to think they are free to do as they will, including rape. The justice system has also been blamed for being lenient on the perpetrators of rape, which was perceived to increase rape prevalence rates.

The Johannesburg area in particular was described to have very high incidents of rape in comparison to the rest of Gauteng and other parts of South Africa. A number of reasons were given including Johannesburg's population size due to resources available, sex workers who were reported to report false cases and high levels of awareness in the city hence more people are able to report their cases. Issues that expose women to sexual violence such diversity in the city, poverty or lack of resources were viewed as contributing factors to the high prevalence rates in Johannesburg.

COMMON RAPE CASES

This section aimed at exploring the common rape cases that police personnel are usually confronted with. The participants reported a range of rape cases that are common in the Johannesburg area. Rape is a complex phenomenon and is even more complex as it takes a number of forms. It can happen to a variety of different victims ranging from infants to the elderly, it can happen in a lot of places and in different circumstances. The perpetrators of rape also form a wide group. The causes of rape are therefore very complex and are influenced by a lot of factors. The responses of the participants reflected an awareness of these different types of rape, as shown by this participant:

Participant B (5): We have statutory rape, rape by husband, of a woman by her husband I mean and then normal rape.

It is interesting that participant B (5) clarified and elaborated on what she meant by "rape by a husband, of a woman by a husband". This may reflect possible gender bias, as it may suggest that men are always the perpetrators of rape among married couples. The participant also uses the term "normal rape" for stranger rape. This is interesting as it suggests that the other examples are somehow different and may not really be considered as rape.

The participants from the study named a number of common rape cases that they work with. These cases include acquaintance, intimate partner and marital rape, sex worker rape, child rape and male rape. A discussion of each of these types follows.

Acquaintance, Intimate partner and Marital rape

One of the most common forms of sexual violence is that which is perpetrated by an intimate partner. This therefore leads to the conclusion that one of the most important risk factors for women is being married or cohabiting with a partner (WHO, 2002). The participants (6 out of the 7) agreed with this understanding, they noted acquaintance rape and partner/marital rape as both being common forms of rape. That is rape often occurs between people who know each other or are/have been in an intimate relationship.

Participant A (5): Ah, ya most cases that we get is ex-girlfriend and boyfriend, those are the most cases that we get.

Participant C (6): **…….** Ya, most of the rapes its something in couples here, married couple and the wife doesn't want to sleep with the husband and at the end of the day she comes to report it, that my husband raped me I wasn't interested but he forced me to do it. And most of them are husband and wife or what do we call them partners, boyfriend and girlfriend.

Participant D (6): Most of the cases they are about girlfriend boyfriend, there are very few where you find that the perpetrator and the

victim don't know each other. In most cases its cases that the perpetrator and victim have some kind of a relationship

Participant F (4): Like this date rape or husband to wife rape or even boyfriend to girlfriend rape.

Participant G (4): …then the boyfriend girlfriend rapes whereby you find that umm, one member is not too happy in the relationship or wants to leave the other one but the boyfriend forces to have sex so the victim then reports the crime. But with these cases you do find that the victims do come and withdraw because they feel sorry for their ex or something like that.

Participant G (4) suggests that rape is a form of punishment for breaking off an intimate relationship. This may point out to the use of force that men resort to when they feel powerless and helpless. This participant also highlights the difficulty of going through with a case if the perpetrator is known. This further demonstrates the difficulty victims of rape experience in reporting a known perpetrator. This may also confirm the low rates of reporting of abuse and rape among partners or related persons. In a study by Jewkes, Penn-Kekana, Ratsaka and Schrieber (1999), of the meaning of lobola to women in the general public, particularly rural women in the Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga and Northern Province. 79 percent of the participants understood in their culture if a man paid lobola for his wife it meant that he owned her and therefore they have to have sex whenever he wants. This demonstrates a sense of entitlement that men have over women and therefore how likely married couples or people in intimate relationships can be raped.

Another issue that exposes women to rape within their relationships is that of economic dependency. Women usually get into relationships with a heavy premium placed on economic resources. This therefore prescribes that their relationships become relationships of exchange (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). One would expect that due to the exchange relationships or economic dependency between the women and the perpetrators, a lot of the cases would go unreported. However, as participant (A) has highlighted previously, the population in Johannesburg is well informed about their

rights. Therefore reporting of a partner and then withdrawing the case may sometimes be used as a form of retaliation when women have few options to exercise power in relationships.

Sex Worker Rape

Participants mentioned rape of sex workers as one of the common types of cases they deal with. The common understanding from the participants with regards to the rape of sex workers is that the majority of the cases are false; the cases are not legitimate and not really rape. It is therefore not surprising that researchers have found that sex workers who have been victims of rape or other violent acts are reluctant to use police and health services (Du Mont & McGregor, 2004). Sex workers however, have been well documented as one of the most vulnerable groups to rape and other forms of violence (Du Mont & McGregor, 2004). Reporting of false rape by sex workers appears to be a common trend perceived by police officers dealing with rape cases in the Johannesburg area. This is a contentious issue, as the extent of false cases remains unclear. On the one hand, false cases have an impact on the statistics of rape, whilst on the other, it is not clear whether these are indeed false cases or whether they are merely perceived to be false cases.

Participant A (5): Ya, if it's not girlfriend and boyfriend its prostitutes who say their clients didn't pay and then go open up cases of rape. So because they are staying at Hillbrow and we've got sex workers that work in the area and are a lot so those are just most of the cases that we get.

Participant G (3): Ummm, mostly with these case its sex workers who report and they usually report after a… a problem or when they did not agree well with the buyer on the price so they come and report a rape. Sometimes you find that they are looking for the medication or treatment you know about the PEP

treatment, ya so you find that they had unprotected sex and now they are worried about HIV.

Participant C (5): What else, just normal cases but most of them it's the prostitutes I don't want to lie to you especially around here in Johannesburg. And then what else, ya that's it.

Participant E (4): Common things are the sex workers, few of them you find few its genuine rapes…..

In the above extracts, the participants seem to suggest that rape among sex workers does not occur as often as the statistics may reveal. The attitude among the participants to sex work rape victims seems to be a negative one, and one of disbelief and lack of interest. The definition of rape however has been broadened and includes such factors such as coercion and false pretences (Criminal Law (Sexual Offences) Amendment Bill, 2003) and looking closely at the definition the sex workers claims may be legitimate. For example in the quote of participant A (5) above, sex workers that are not paid for sex can be viewed as sex occurring under false pretences and may occur under circumstances of coercion.

Child Rape

One of the types of rape cases dealt with by participants was child rape. A number of research studies indicate that at least one third to two thirds of all victims of rape are aged between 15 or less (Hiese, Pitanguy & Germain, 1994). Studies indicate that influences on child rape include key aspects of the social context within which it occurs, such as the cultural norms surrounding gender roles, parent-child relationships, the nature of the social welfare system and the nature and extent of social protection and responsiveness of the criminal justice system (Jewkes et al., 2005). Some participants perceived child rape to be uncommon, as it demonstrated in the extract by participant C in the extract below:

Participant C (6): the umm kids rape is not that much here.

Whilst this extract indicates that rape is not perceived by this participant to be a common type of case, the extract also highlights that these types of cases are still occurring. Some of the participants did however perceive the rape of a child by a family member to be among the common types of reported cases:

Participant D (8): In some case you find that the perpetrator is one of the family members. It's the stepfather or cousin. So they usually, in most cases involve children and you find that it's a close family member who is the perpetrator. They are really rare that you find that it's a stranger.

It is interesting to note that rapes against children are perpetrated by people known and trusted. This is interesting as it may affect the reporting of the matter to the police. The participant also points out that child rapes are rarely perpetrated by strangers. This not only emphasises the vulnerability of children but also points to the fact that the motives for rape are complex. This however points out that child rapists are not necessarily paedophiles but are so-called normal men within our societies. One of the most interesting findings is with regards to rape of minors by their older boyfriends as shown in the extract by Participant G below.

Participant G (4): Also sometimes cases of minors who have boyfriends who are older than them and when their parents find out they report a crime but you know… these girls some say no I don't want him arrested he is my boyfriend so they are hard to deal with them.

A child according to the South African Law is any individual below the age of 18 years (Children's Act, 2006). Children however engage in sexual relationships at a much younger age and usually with men much older than them. This could be related to issues

of poverty and peer pressure (Shilumani, 2004). This becomes an issue when the parents of the child find out about this and seek justice against the perceived perpetrator.

Male Rape

The common conception has been that male rape does not exist. Male rape was also not included in the previous definition of rape, which could have strengthened the misconception that it does not happen. One of the participants reported indecent assault (male rape/sodomy) as one of the common cases. This has been perceived to be a neglected area but one participant perceived it to be significant enough.

> **Participant C (4)**: Indecent assault, they previously called it sodomy but umm people I guess because it's a rape against a male partner but they don't come out most of them. It comes up at the gay clubs or parties, because even them they do report it because of prostitution the gay people but ordinary person or straight person most of them they don't come out but it does occur.

The participant also pointed to some of the challenges experienced with male rapes such as non-reporting. Previous research has however found that this is very common among male rape victims and it is entrenched in the gender stereotyping taboos and misconceptions that male rape does not occur (Ross & Katz, 2003). This makes male rape victims reluctant to report their cases. Societies in general have also been found to hold assumptions that male rape does not happen and this is due to the traditional views of masculinity (Herek, 1986). The previous law also did not consider male-to-male sexual assaults as rape, although this has been amended (Ross & Katz, 2003). The police personnel also suggest that male prostitutes are usually the ones to report and heterosexual men who are raped usually do not report. This may suggest that rape among gay prostitutes is very common, and that heterosexual victims remain silent. This may be related to the stigma and secondary victimisation that is usually experienced within the

justice system. For example, the opening of a docket is done in a public area, within hearing range of other people in the station.

Conclusion

Rape may take many forms; it may happen between members of the same sex, the opposite sex, between strangers and acquaintances. The participants named rape cases involving partners, acquaintances and sex workers to be the most common cases that the police officers deal with. Partner rape has been documented to be one of the most common forms of sexual violence between partners. Researchers have gone as far as noting that being in a sexual relationship is one of the vulnerability factors to being raped (WHO, 2002). The participants in the current research seem to suggest this as well. Sex workers are among the highest vulnerable persons to be victims of rape. The participants in the study also found that sex workers formed a majority of the common cases they work with. It should be noted however that the participants perceive the majority of these cases to be false cases.

Child rape has received much attention from the media and it is documented to be one of the fastest growing concerns. The participants felt that child rape was not particularly prevalent in their area. It was however noted as one of the cases that they do work with occasionally. Male rape has recently been accepted within the legal definition of rape in South Africa and this may have influenced perception that it does not happen. The participants noted that male rape is seldom reported but does occur.

CAUSES OF RAPE

Among factors that that increase the risks of a man committing rape are those related to attitudes and beliefs as well as behaviour arising from situations and social conditions that provide opportunities and support the abuse (WHO, 2002). No single factor can be

held accountable to an act of rape but multiple factors intersect together, with other risk factors for perpetration of rape including those related to individual psychology to other external factors such as larger societal factors (Jewkes et al., 2005).

And as shall be evident it appears that the perceptions of what causes adult and child rape are different. This section has been divided to focus on two categories, the causes of adult rape and child rape causes. This section is closely related to who the perpetrators of rape are likely to be. That is in understanding the causes of rape there needs to be an understanding of who commits the crime. Hence as a discussion of the causes of rape continues, there will also be a discussion of persons who are likely to commit rape and the rationale behind the act.

Causes of Adult Rape

A number of factors appear to influence or contribute to an act of rape. These factors range from individual to social factors (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). At an individual level factors such as sex and power motives, attitude and gender schemas, social learning, psychopathology and personality traits, as well as alcohol use may contribute to an act of rape. At a societal level, factors such as sexual scripts and cultural beliefs may play a role in causing rape (Vicary, Klingaman & Harkness, 1995). The participants in the current study have also pointed to a number of factors that leads to an act of rape, and these also range from individual to societal issues.

Disempowered men

The theme of disempowerment amongst rape perpetrators emerged as one of the perceived causes of rape. This is an individual factor that represents the perpetrators self-concept. Men who are disempowered would have a poor self-concept, which can be disturbing as men are raised to be dominant and assertive (Herek, 1986). Men with a poor

self-concept may therefore find it difficult to socialise as they lack the confidence to do so.

> **Participant A (6):** oh, it's like different perpetrators with different victims….. umm who feel inferior to approach ladies, older man who raped because of being scolded like maybe people they say you are stupid or maybe you are not man enough so they feel lesser than men and they opt to rape.

The quote mentioned above suggests that the perpetrator may rape as an attempt to reassert themselves and their masculinity. Sexual aggression is regarded as a defining characteristic of manhood and therefore it is regarded in high esteem (WHO, 2002). Perpetrators may also rape to gain respect from other men, and this has been found to be common among gang rapists (Merten, 1999; WHO, 2002). Several authors have argued that violent practices are deployed by men against women in an attempt to maintain a particular self-image and social evaluations in the face of real or imagined threats, i.e. to prove that they are "real men and women are under their control" (Wood & Jewkes, 1998**).** The above-mentioned quote therefore suggests that men who are disempowered are likely to rape. The rationale behind this is to feel masculine, to feel in control and in power**.**

Influence of substance use

The relationship between substance use and violence has been found to be a complex one (Gidycz et al., 2007). Alcohol use was perceived to be an important factor in the common rape cases. This is confirmed by a common perception among the police officers that substance use (alcohol and drugs) contribute in the occurrence of rape. A significant number (5 out of the 7 participants) perceived alcohol especially to be a significant factor in causing the act of rape. This is a significant individual factor that heavily influences the perpetration and victimisation of rape. It is also a social issue as there is a general tolerance among societies of excessive alcohol and drug use.

Participant G (5): I think it's about taking advantage of women. For example in the cases where a woman has been drinking you know after drinking a lot can happen. So the perpetrators they just take advantage of you…

Participant D (9): In most cases you find that they go to the shebeen where you find that the man spends all his money for the lady and the next thing he wants to take her home. So in most cases they do it as payback or reward for all the money they have spent on the woman.

Participant E (5): … people that are taken from the shebeen. In the shebeen maybe you find that you were drinking together and the suspect thinks since you are drinking together, she is mine or something like that but mainly sometimes like in this case we do get the suspect because he wasn't aware that what he was doing was wrong. He believed that because we were drinking together everything is ok.

Evidence confirms that a person under the influence of alcohol and or other drugs is less capable of making wise choices about their safety. This statement however, does not connote that alcohol and drugs cause violence, they do however escalate a potentially violent situation (Gidycz et al., 2007). Studies have indicated that 85 percent of reported rapes involve alcohol or drug use (Selfe & Burke, 2001). Studies have also proved that women get more intoxicated than men because they don't burn alcohol as quickly as men do (Selfe & Burke, 2001). This therefore makes women who were drinking with men especially more vulnerable to being taken advantage of as described by the above quotes. These quotes suggest that some of the victims may be blamed for their rape, as they are perceived to have contributed to their victimisation by drinking. The quotes also emphasis an element that perpetrators assume an exchange relationship between themselves and their victims, as was reported by Jewkes et al. (2005). The participants appear to assume that because the victim has accepted the drink offers she will have sex with him in return. When this assumption is not realised, the perpetrator may use force.

The participants also point out that the victims are taken advantage of by the perpetrators because they are drunk. The perpetrators take advantage of alcohol influenced women especially those who walk alone from the drinking venues. Testa and Parks (1996) noted that the relationship between alcohol use and sexual victimisation may depend in part on the setting where the excessive drinking occurs. Places such as nightclubs and taverns are where sexual activity is viewed as desirable or expected and may therefore attract potential perpetrators who seek vulnerable victims (Gidycz et al., 2007).

It is interesting that the quotes above do not relate substance abuse to rape perpetration; it is only related to rape victimisation. Participant G (3) below further demonstrates that alcohol use is perceived to be related to rape victimisation rather than the perpetration of rape.

> **Participant G (3)**: Ya, also the issue of girls drinking a lot and you find that they are drunk and some perpetrators just takes advantage of that. So it's a difficult one because the girls sometimes don't even remember what happened and so it's a concern. People should drink responsibly.

The quote mentioned above seems to suggest that there is a limit to how much a woman can drink. The participant suggests that women should not get to a point of being drunk as they are more vulnerable. Research has also pointed that alcohol use among women lowers their inhibitions and therefore they are unable to effectively attend to the risk cues in the environment (Gidycz et al., 2007). Participant G (3) also raises a concern that some women because they are drunk they would not recall their victimisation. This implies that victims may fall pregnant or contract sexually transmitted infections without their knowledge.

Researchers have on the other hand documented that alcohol influence also plays a role on the perpetrators actions as well. Abbey et al., (1998), suggest that men tend to misperceive women's alcohol use as a sign that they are interested in sex or at least open

to sexual overtures. This may be confirmed by the quote D9 where the participant showed that socialising and sharing drinks with a man may result in rape. Having said this, the biological links between alcohol and violence are complex (WHO, 2002). Some researchers have suggested that alcohol may act as a cultural "break time" providing the opportunity for antisocial behaviour (WHO, 2002, p. 159). Thus men are more likely to engage in violet behaviour when they are drunk because they do not consider that they will be held accountable for their actions. One may therefore conclude that men who use substances are at an increased chance of committing crimes, including rape due to the alcohol's impact on their judgements. This however tends to remove their responsibility in their actions and blames the act on alcohol. It also appears unfair to males who drink but don't rape. Therefore rape may result among substance users who hold lesser views of women and who simply find vulnerable women to take advantage of as seen from the quotes.

Objectifying women

Sexual violence has previously been linked to gender inequalities that are prevalent among communities. There also appears a common consensus among the participants that power issues between males and females are a major factor in the cause of rape. Men's masculine identity includes control and sexual aggression in many instances. On the other hand, women are expected to be submissive and passive.

> **Participant F (5):** I suppose it is wanting to own someone. Men or women because rape can occur in both ways, a man or woman because I can rape a man and vice-versa. So wanting to own someone or males sometimes want to be respected. It all goes with respect.

Participant F (5) reflects on how rape is related to viewing women as objects that can be owned and therefore controlled. Women are perceived as objects at men's mercy and they are expected to comply with the needs of men. Men seem to have a sense of

entitlement towards woman, which leads to them forcing themselves on their victims (Lanie, Elliot, Martin & Kapadia, 1998). The patriarchal societies that men are usually raised from may be blamed for these perceptions. The perpetrators of rape are therefore men who are likely to hold strong patriarchal beliefs and believe in dominance over women.

Anger towards women

Some of the participants perceived rape to be an attempt to spread HIV infection. South Africa is a faced with the status of having the fastest growing HIV epidemic in the world (Kim et al., 2003). A large proportion of the adults and young adults are infected with the virus (Kim, 2000). This age group has been identified as being the main perpetrators of rape (Kim et al., 2003). This therefore suggests that all the victims of rape have a high chance of being infected with HIV.

> **Participant G (5):** Also I think, I think that sometimes its men who are HIV positive and they believe they were given by a woman so they rape as a way of revenge. They are angry.

According to this participant, men rape due to anger towards women for being diagnosed as HIV positive. These men fail to take responsibility for their actions in acquiring HIV hence they blame women. They therefore rape as an effort to spread the virus among women as they blame women for being infected. This suggests that HIV positive men who have not sufficiently dealt with their diagnosis are likely to rape, as an effort to infect more women.

Unemployment

One of the causes of rape identified by participants was the high levels of unemployment and the frustrations emerging from men being unemployed**.** Unemployment in South Africa is extremely high which may leave many men very frustrated and feeling helpless.

Rape may therefore be exercised as an attempt to reassert their power through distorted masculine sexuality (Vogelman & Eagle, 1991). Unemployment is a significant problem and stressor in South Africa. Most people therefore are living in poverty.

Participant C (7): And I think again if it's a stranger, a stranger-to-stranger rape I think it might be caused by abuse of drugs, or alcoholism, as I've mentioned before unemployment.

Researcher: So, especially with the unemployment what is it that makes them rape?

Participant C (8): People are like so frustrated actually.

These quotes suggests that men who are unemployed are more likely to perpetrate rape as efforts to deal with their frustrations. Traditionally men are perceived as the providers for their families; hence men being faced with the challenge of not being able to support their families and may be living under very stressful conditions.

There is limited information on the relationship between social status and socioeconomic status and rape perpetration. A 1998 study done in New York found that the ideals of masculinity were crafted to emphasise control over women, substance use and participation in crime in the face of poverty and unemployment (Jewkes et al. 2006). Other researchers have argued that the 'masculine role stress' contributes to ideas of hostility towards women and desires for sexual dominance, which are important antecedents of sexual aggression (Malamuth, 1996).

In conclusion of the adult rape causes, causes of adult rape seem to be related the perpetrators individual characteristics as well as social issues. Issues such as the perpetrators self concept, attitude towards women and substance use not only reflect individual choices but they further reflect social and ideological issues. For example the attitude that most men hold towards women is related to the patriarchal societies that men are from. It is interesting to note that adult causes of rape also implicate the victims; the

victims are at times identified as the cause of the rape. That is the adult's behaviour is sometimes questionable with regards to their role in their own victimisation.

Causes of Child Rape

The perceptions of the police officers of why rape occurs seem to differ for adult and children victims as noted above. For children, it appears that the participant's perceptions are not clear. Generally child rape appears to be an area that is not clear-cut and hence not well understood. Participants seem to understand child rape very differently to adult rape and this may be related to the fact that rape of children seems to be a distressing and confusing phenomenon for police personnel. Rape of adults on the other hand seems to be perceived as being more normal or at least expected and acceptable. That is rape of adults is perceived to be very close to 'normal' male behaviour (Jewkes et al., 2005). Child rape however seemed to be a different concept all together. The police personnel also seem to be quite helpless with this type of abuse of children.

> **Participant B (13):** …even on the system it doesn't really show why they do that, why they rape minors.

This quote emphasises the participant's confusion and sense of helplessness in understanding the causes of child rape.

Child rape and HIV myths

The relationship between child rapes and HIV myths has been well documented and is amongst the most disturbing phenomenon in the face of rape. It is therefore not surprising that child rape and its perceived relationship to curing HIV formed one of the themes in the study. One of the major themes that emerged in relation to the causes of child rape was the issue of myths around curing HIV. There has been sufficient media coverage in

child rape motivated by men trying to cure AIDS but evidence suggests that this is very rare (Shilumani, 2004). There appears to be confused views among the participants with regards to the influence of the HIV/AIDS curing myths on its contribution to causing child rape.

Participant A (12): Yha, when it started it was an issue of if men sleep with infants they will be cured of AIDS but that thing was rectified I'm not sure whether its still ignorance in those men but if its still in that they are still raping kids they don't believe that thing was not true…..

Participant B (13): ummm, you see previously they would say it heals HIV/AIDS when you sleep with a child but now I really don't know why they do that. Even on the system it doesn't really show why they do that, why they rape minors.

Participant F (7): this is the one that really makes me angry; what do you think causes perpetrators to commit infant or child rape. I don't know, before they used to say because it cures HIV but people were not really sure. Then but that thing has gone out now but the rape is still remaining.

Participant G (8): shu, that's a difficult one but some people say because people thought that it would cure HIV but we all know that is not true…

The above-mentioned quotes demonstrate the participants' confusion towards child rape. This is because according to the participants the myths have been challenged yet the rape still persists. This may reflect that although the myth is assumed to have been falsified, this may not be the case in reality. The message that child rape does not cure HIV may not be reaching the relevant population who perpetrate child rape. The fact that these rapes still continue may also reflect the poor knowledge and understanding of the HI virus in South Africa. It may also suggest that men who are HIV positive are likely to rape as an effort to rid themselves off the virus. It is important to note that HIV positive

men rape adults due to anger as they believe women infected them hence they need to spread the disease, but in relation to children they rape as efforts to rid themselves of the devastating virus. This suggests that perpetrators of rape may be HIV positive and due to the frustration of having no cure, they rape children as they perceive this to be efforts in curing themselves.

The myth about child rape curing HIV stems from cultural beliefs and it is reported to be very common in South Africa, although it originated in Central Africa (Madu & Peltzer, 2000). It is suspected that the myth is sustained by South Africa's political leadership which has failed to clearly acknowledge the causative link between HIV and AIDS (Pitcher & Bowley, 2002).

In attempts to understand the causes of rape further, the participants shifted their explanations of the causes of child rape to other factors for example the perpetrators' mental status.

Perpetrators mental state

Questions around the mental state of the perpetrator emerged as an important theme in participants' explanations of child rape, although there were different positions on this issue. Whilst some participants explain child rape as a consequence of mental handicap or some other disturbed psychological state, others perceived it as an act of violence, a sadistic act done with a sane mental state. As highlighted in extracts A (11), A (12), C (11) and G (8) below, those that described a disturbed mental state used terms to describe child rape perpetrators as "sick", "not well", "mentally disturbed" or highlighted that they were abnormal in some way, The extract by participant E (12) below reflects a contrasting perspective that emphasises that most perpetrators of child rape are not mentally disturbed.

Participant A (11): ,..and so again there are perpetrators that only enjoy sex with children so its those who are sick that they don't want an older person they only want children.

Participant A (12): ya, they are sick because they uhh, they are paedophiles. There has been research done on why this person does this and then those people say the person was arrested they found that he has been raping kids and when asked he says I get satisfied from kids and ah when they medically or psychologically they examine him they find that this person is not well.

Participant C (11): This one I don't know because I think that particular person is sick or something. Mentally disturbed somewhere, somehow. I don't know it's so I don't know, brutal to rape an infant or child. I don't know, I cannot answer this one but something is wrong with him, he can't think straight.

Participant E (8): I'm not sure about this one because even the father can rape their own child which I don't believe but it does. Most of them are mentally okay (the perpetrators), mostly I don't have many cases where they are not its just only one that I find that the person was mentally disturbed…..

Participant G (8): I don't know but I think they are just sick…No normal person can do that.

Interestingly, the perceived causes of adult rape are markedly different. It appears that many of the participants perceive the rape of adults to be perpetrated by sane people and only the mental states of child perpetrators are questionable. Rape of a child is a disturbing phenomenon and attempts to understand it appeared to be distressing for the participants. The participants found the concept of an adult enjoying sex with a child abnormal hence they questioned the perpetrators mental state. One participant has pointed to research that investigated matters of child rape and confirmed that the perpetrators mental state was questionable. This fact may somehow make child rape seem more acceptable as it places the blame on a mental state, which the perpetrator has no control over. Participant E however brings an important fact which is that not all child rapists are

mentally disturbed. This suggests that there are other reasons for child rape either than the perpetrators mental state.

Other participants suggested other psychological issues would cause a rape to happen. Participant E (9) hypothesises that the perpetrator may have self esteem issues.

> **Participant E (9):** ummm, mostly I think the perpetrator who commit rape on children have problems of inferiority complex, they are afraid to face the outside real world so a defenceless child is an easy, is a sitting duck to them so they take the opportunity. Basically that's what I think.

The participant suggests that the perpetrators have issues with themselves; they feel inferior to other men and feel inferior in society as a whole. The quote mentioned above also suggests that perpetrators target children because they are defenceless and available.

Perpetrators background

One of the other causes of child rape that emerged from participants was a history of child abuse in the background of the perpetrator. Evidence suggests that sexual violence is a learnt behaviour and that perpetrators may possibly have been abused sexually as children (WHO, 2002). Childhood environments that are physically violent, emotionally unsupportive and characterised by competition of scarce resources have been associated with rape perpetration as well (Jewkes et al., 2005). Participants suggested that a childhood history of neglect, family violence or abuse was a common reason for why child rape occurs, as shown in extracts by participants F (7) and A (12) below.

> **Participant F (7):** ….I think like the background of the perpetrator does matter, because you find like the perpetrator has had same kind of childhood, like they were sexually abused as well as children. Maybe they were like neglected by their mothers and is angry and so doing it because of anger or as a child they saw it happen to someone else witnessed something or there was violence in their homes and as they

grow up they grow up with it in the back of their minds. But it even goes back to what I said, its evil for that child doesn't even know what is sex or what is happening and then it gets raped. And even no man, a person like an adult raping a child….and that child is going to grow somehow destroyed because of you like somehow their growth is affected and you find like the poor child reverses at school, like regresses because of you and this type of rape is important.

Participant A (12): Maybe because they grew up this way themselves; maybe because he is having a history of abuse himself because there are men who have been abused as kids and they've never been helped counselled or anything.

The quotes mentioned above have pointed out several issues related to perpetrators background. Participant A (12) also points out to the important role of psychological interventions for people with childhood traumas, and the potential consequences of not receiving this support. This theme also positions perpetrators as victims themselves.

This theme points to who is likely to perpetrate rape. And this could be explained through social learning theory, which holds that repeated exposure to certain behaviour will result in tolerance and acceptance of that behaviour (Ellis, 1989). Research has suggested that sexual violence is a learnt behaviour in some men. Studies on sexually abused boys have shown that one in five continue later in life to molest other children themselves (WHO, 2002). Childhood environments that are physically violent, emotionally unsupportive and characterised by competition for scarce resources have been associated with sexual violence (WHO, 2002). This is particularly interesting in South Africa where many children are raised in extreme poverty, with lack of resources due to the high unemployment rates as well as poor parenting due to the high levels of teen pregnancies. Also South Africa is known to have a culture of violence where most conflicts are resolved through violence. Children are therefore not only exposed to abuse themselves but in many cases the abuse of a parent as well.

Research has shown that children from unstable home, abusive homes are likely to display violent behaviour (Wolfe, Wekerle, Reitzel-Jaffe & Lefevre, 1998). The psychoanalytic understanding would suggest that the traumas experienced in the childhood may be unresolved and therefore are carried out unconsciously at a later stage of the person's life (Wolfe et al., 1998). This is related to the unresolved feelings such as anger and betrayal. There is evidence that personal history or background of a person influences a number of things in a person's life. This relationship though is not a causal one but other factors contribute and influence one's actions. That is not all children from abusive homes, or that were sexually assaulted will assault others in future. Issues such as personal perception of the event, support and establishment of solid relationships do influence the final outcome of ones actions. The background issues may therefore be related to feelings of anger towards self and the other.

Sexual pleasure/ gratification

The motivations of child rape that emerged from participants appear to be complex and varied. Some participants perceived child rape to be an act of sexual gratification. Children therefore represent sexual objects and perpetrators are constructed as having no impulse control.

Participant B (13): I think they just do it for lust maybe they do it just to satisfy themselves, their manhood.

Participant B (14): No, the perpetrator just rapes any child, whether they are mentally sick or ill or not, even an old woman who walks with a stick they just rape. And with a child they just eisshhh, they just do it as long as you are a woman and they feel like having sex with a woman at that particular time and so they just do it. I think they just want to satisfy their manhood because if you look at the research done on rape there is no specific reason why they do that.

Participant D (12): I think it's like sometimes they do it because they feel like having sex then so it's not like something that just happens it's like something that they do think about and decide to do. So it happens and they can't control themselves and because the child is available they help themselves and they just do it.

The above quote of Participant D (12) seems to be confusing as it suggests that rape is spontaneous but starts off by saying that the perpetrators do think and therefore do have some form of a plan of seeking sexual gratification. South Africa has been well recognised as a culture that accepts and/or tolerates crime. It is interesting that one participant felt rape of children under the age of 8 months is unacceptable, implying that rape of any child or any other person for that matter may be acceptable, as seen in extract G (8) below.

Participant G (8): You see maybe its better on a child above 8 years but 8 months, no it's sick. Something is not okay there.

It is this very understanding that one may perceive rape a norm rather than deviant. Currently, the line of what is tolerated and what is not seems to be blurring. That is, the perceptions of some of the participants suggest that adult rape seems to be more acceptable, and for older children it still appears to be tolerable, but it's the infants or the very young children that should not be raped. This may reflect shifting perceptions of the age at which it is acceptable or tolerable for children to be seen to be sexual objects.

Lack of care for children

Inadequate childcare was another theme that emerged in explaining child rape. The provision of adequate childcare is a basic right of any child. In addition to having their physical needs met, children also need protection, supervision, love and support. Many children are left in the care of significant family members whilst their parents work. This has been found to be dangerous, as most children are raped in their homes by people

known to them (Jewkes, 2002a). Men that are left at home to care for children were identified by participants as a group that may perpetrate rape against children.

Participant A (12): …Also other cases you find that its people who are not working and they are left with kids and you find that they end up raping them.

Participant D (13): ..those who are left with male figures, who are usually close family members

Participant A12 seems to suggest that the children are raped purely because they are available and they are easy targets. Research also suggests that in many cases the abuse of children happened not because the abuser was attracted to children but just because at the moment the child was available (Jewkes et al., 2005). This suggests that the offenders of child rape may comprise of unemployed men who appear to take advantage of children whom they are supposed to care for. In South Africa it is not uncommon for people, even men to stay at home because of the high unemployment levels. This issue has broken the traditional views that men work and women stay at home with the children. Due to the poverty issues whoever finds work nowadays works regardless of sex or age. This seem to have placed a considerable number of children in danger as their mothers do not make enough money to afford services such as day cares hence they leave their children with their partners or neighbours who at times are males.

Participant D13 identified another important point, that is male offenders are often known to the children and are usually family members. Previous research has also found that child rapist are often known and trusted by the children (Jewkes et al., 2002). Also men are raised to be providers in most societies; unemployed men are therefore faced with a challenge of needing power and control (Wood, 2005). This may be associated with the men's poor concept of himself and therefore a need for control and power. The defenceless child may then become a victim of such a crime. Other informants have

proposed that children who are not well taken care of are raped by perpetrators because the perpetrators think they will not get caught; no one will notice (Wood, 2005)

Lack of social skills

One of the factors that influence the act of rape is a lack of social skills. Several participants indicated that poor social skills were the cause of child rape.

> **Participant A (11):** Umm its like for the men who cant talk to women their age and then they opt to go to the kids.
>
> **Participant A (13):** It goes back to say there are those who are afraid to women at their age because of being inferior.
>
> **Participant E (9):** ..they are afraid to face the outside real world so a defenceless child is an easy, is a sitting duck to them so they take the opportunity.

Men with little on no social skills are more likely to engage in odd or antisocial behaviour (Wolfe et al., 1998). They are therefore more likely to be outcasts and disrespected (Wolfe et al., 1998). These men may therefore reassert their existence and control over taking advantage of situations. They may also engage in groups that carry out violent acts among communities as an effort to feel power and control. Due to their lack of social skills they may not be able to read the social cues that are negative towards them; hence they engage in matters in a forceful manner.

Conclusion

The etiology of rape is complex and encompasses a number of factors. These factors range from personal and extend into the societal levels. For participants in the current study, the causes of rape for children mostly seem to be individually located within the perpetrators. Perceptions of the causes of rape for adults seem to be mostly viewed as

socially entrenched. Ideas related to social learning did not emerge in the participants' explanations of adult rape. Perceptions of the causes of adult rape seemed to draw on broader ecological approaches to understanding rape, that are more socially orientated such as unemployment, substance abuse, gender inequality and a patriarchal ideology. The causes of child rape were perceived to be related to HIV curing myths; the perpetrators background as well their mental states. Sexual gratification was amongst the reasons why men rape.

Society shapes people's lives, value systems and attitudes. In most societies men are raised in patriarchal ideals that view women as inferior to men. This has led to men holding perceptions that women are their belonging and they are entitled to have all the pleasures they seek from them. The feminist theories have challenged these beliefs and attitude and promoted gender equity. HIV positive men were seen to attribute blame for their infection on women and this was seen to result in anger and revenge related acts of rape.

VULNERABILITIES TO BEING RAPED

The previous section explored the participants' perceptions of the causes of rape and the likely perpetrators of rape. While all persons, regardless of age, race, sexual orientation, ability, socio-economic status, or geographic location may be sexually assaulted, some research has reported that there are groups which are at increased risk (Du Mont & McGregor, 2004). This section explores participants' ideas about rape vulnerability, as well as their perceptions of the factors that place some women in positions where they are more vulnerable to being raped. This section has once again been divided into two sections, namely, vulnerabilities to rape for adult women and vulnerabilities to rape for children. A comparison of the two sections will then follow.

Rape Knows no Boundaries

Some participants expressed the opinion that any person may be raped, as shown in extract F (6) and G (7) below.

> **Participant F (6):** Any one can get raped. That one I'm definitely sure about. I can be raped as a police officer, so anyone can be raped. It's difficult to say a certain person, a prostitute or what. Anyone can be raped. So I won't say there are specific types that are most likely to be raped.
>
> **Participant G (7):** …Any one can be raped if they happen to be at the wrong place and at the wrong time.

The above quotes emphasise the vulnerability of all women in South Africa. Vogelman (1990a) has documented women's vulnerability to rape and how their lifestyles are changed to avoid being sexual assaulted. Participants F (6) and G (7) point to a sense of helplessness that is felt, and perhaps widespread fears that women carry with them of being raped. The extract also suggests that women's differing positions or roles in society offer no protection. Likewise, there seem to be no places or times of the day where women can be assured of safety. Although some of the participants held that anyone could be raped, some factors that could increase one's vulnerability to being raped were identified.

Vulnerability Factors for Adults

Night travellers

Being in a situation where one has to travel alone at night emerged as of the important factors contributing to a woman's vulnerability to being raped. A large proportion of rapes are committed on women travelling to and from work, with abduction forming part of the modus operandi (Swart et al., 1999).

Participant A (10): …other ummm other you find that they come out late at work and they get raped. I mean sometimes we had a trend of taxi drivers that rape also women from work late and they are the last person on the taxi, ended up being raped by a taxi driver. So its rare that an adult gets raped during the day except the boyfriend girlfriend issues that I've mentioned.

Participant F (6): ….Anyone can be raped especially walking on the streets alone or at night sometimes you find that you have to work long hours. That's why it can happen to anyone, anywhere.

Participant G (7): …. The adults that travel at night alone, although sometimes it happens that you are not walking alone but when the perpetrator comes he grabs you alone and the others they run away so its not safe especially here in town and the townships. But I am not saying rapes do not happen in other places. People get raped in their own homes…

South Africa has high levels of unemployment. This may increase women's risk of being raped through the acceptance of any work conditions for survival. This is deeply related to issues of poverty, which increases the risk of rape through the daily tasks that women must engage in (WHO, 2002). The mode of transportation for poor people is limited which results in women having to walk, board on trains and taxis as was identified by participant A (10). These are some of the challenges that are faced by many women in South Africa for survival.

The statement by participant G (7) clearly implies that women live fearful lives, lives of uncertainty and lack of control as anything can happen to them anywhere. It also suggests that women must restrict themselves from travelling during late hours, as they are then vulnerable. The above statement also made reference to the locations where rapes are perceived as being most likely to occur. Participant G perceived rapes to occur

mostly in towns and townships but also acknowledged that they can happen in other places as well.

Alcohol consumption

Consumption of drugs and or alcohol has been found to influence the perpetration of sexual violence as well as the sexual victimisation of women. Alcohol has a strong relationship with violence. It has been found to hinder or make it more difficult for women to protect themselves by interpreting and effectively acting on warning signs. Also it places women where their chances of encountering potential perpetrators are greater (Crowell & Burgees, 1996).

Most of the participants perceived alcohol intake on the part of the victims played a major role rape cases, although the alcohol intake of perpetrators was not mentioned. Although alcohol intake in any location leaves women vulnerable to rape, the participants in this research perceived nightclubs or taverns to increase women's chances of being raped. This once again illustrates the restrictions that women's lives are confronted with.

Participant A (10): Ya, most of the adults that are raped its adults that go out to night clubs…

Participant B (10): What causes them (laughs) alcohol number one, women going out in the night and drinking beer in the shebeens of course, (interruption). Ya, alcohol, ladies going to the shebeens. Ya, I think those are the common factors.

Participant B (12): Adults, yho, the age differs like in the case of adults its whereby most of them it's those who are drinking liquor.

Participant D (10): Well, um, adults who are victims are usually adults who go out at night to these um, clubs or shebeens. They are most likely to be victims. They are drunk and it's late and so the perpetrator takes advantage of that.

Participant E (7): …those that drink alcohol especially in taverns or clubs at night.

Participant G (7): Mmm, the ones that drink, especially outside their homes, they are targets.

From the above extracts, it appears as though the choice to consume alcohol as women is a dangerous one. Alcohol is one of the most socially acceptable drugs (Gidycz et al. 2007), yet it seems to be gender biased. It appears that participants regard it as more acceptable for men to drink than for women. It seems the perceptions of vulnerability in this theme have an additive feature, where it is not drinking alone that renders one vulnerable but the location as well that increases the risk of being assaulted. It is important to note that the rape victims who had used substances seemed to receive less empathy. This suggests that victims may be blamed for their rapes. Victims who were raped under the influence of alcohol are therefore less likely to receive empathy and respect, as they are held accountable for their own victimisation. This may further lead to women not reporting their cases, as they may fear that they will receive criticism or a negative attitude from the police.

The above quotes also suggest that the perpetrators of rape may be men who are opportunists. This category represents men that rape because the circumstances allow them to do so. The man may not have planned the act but they end up doing so because they saw an opportunity and took advantage of it. Women who are drunk therefore become easy targets because they are defenceless.

The role of dress code

An additional factor that was perceived by the one of the participants to render women vulnerable to rape included dress codes. Dress codes reflect a personal preference or choice. However, for this participant, dress code was associated with greater vulnerability to being raped.

Participant C (9): …But sometimes people expose themselves. I do support this thing of attire as well like these cleavage things, these miniskirts you know. You must wear accordingly, according to your body but now since cleavage thing people are abusing it and its attracting men outside.

The above statement suggests that women are sometimes blamed for their assaults. It suggests that the dress code is the reason the rape perpetrator assault rape victim, hence the women should have dressed in a less provocative manner. Thus, the responsibility for controlling men's sexual desires is placed on the women. Failure by women to do so will result in victim blaming (Jewkes et al., 2005). This confirms Vogelman's (1990a) statement that rape incidents are so high that women have to alter or change their lifestyles to avoid attracting rapists. This is interesting, as most rape cases are not related to the dress codes of the victims.

Sex workers

While certain types of sex workers may be at heightened risk of sexual assault, such as those working in the streets the potential for sexual violence appears to be an inherent feature of the sex trade (Du Mont & McGregor, 2004). Violence against sex workers is rooted in socio-political contexts where women are devalued and oppressed (Lowman, 2000). Sex workers are at high risk for both physical and sexual violence especially in areas where sex work is illegal. Evidence suggests that 34 percent of those who have suffered sexual violence report to the police (Barnard, 1993). The participants in the study have noted that rape cases of sex workers are very common. Having said this, they also added that a majority of these cases are false. However, here they note that being a sex worker can make one vulnerable to being raped.

Participant A (9): Sex workers are amongst the group and another thing with sex workers they are human beings and they've got rights but in most cases its maybe its, maybe 5 out of 10 that you find its real cases because most of the time you find that

they agreed as it is their client they gave consent but when no money is paid they go open up cases of rape.

It is interesting from the above statement that sex workers are identified as the most vulnerable to being raped, yet when the rapes are reported half of them are not believed. This may reflect some of the stereotypes and beliefs that as a prostitute you have no control or rights over your sexuality, the client have his way. This may also reflect police personnel's lack of knowledge on the definition of rape, which has been broadened to include issues such as coercion and false pretences.

Participant C (9): I don't know here what would I say, because of like I don't know I've mentioned prostitutes.

Participant E (7): The sex workers and the young ones, children that are raped in their families.

Participant A (10): **…** It's difficult to say a certain person, a prostitute or what anyone can be raped.

Poverty has been one of the major factors in causing rape. The daily tasks that poor people involve in expose them to rape. For example walking long distances, fetching firewood and at times entering the sex trade renders them vulnerable (WHO, 2002). This is an interesting factor when one looks at the cultural as well as political factor that influence and influenced women's' economic status. Most women were not privileged enough to get proper schooling and therefore white-collar jobs. They therefore live in poverty and this therefore forces them to engage in sex work or more subtle forms of transactional sex (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). This therefore places women in danger of being raped and even physically assaulted.

One interesting aspect in the issue of sex workers rape is to understand who the perpetrators are likely to be. Men who consult sex workers are the ones who are likely to abuse sex workers. Sex workers are often disrespected and treated as less of women because of their choice of making a living for themselves. Society in general may

perceive sex workers as cheap. Gender inequalities are already prevalent and sex workers seem to receive the maximum ill-treatment. The fact that the sex workers are paid for their services further increases men's sense of entitlement over them. These men tend to overlook the sex workers' rights.

Job seekers

Women were seen by participants as vulnerable to being raped if they were seeking employment. Many women are faced with the challenge of unemployment and constant job hunting. This seems to have been identified by the perpetrators as a loophole for taking advantage of women. The media has covered a number of cases in which men have taken advantage of women seeking jobs by luring them into isolated places and raping them.

> **Participant E (8):** …And also people who are looking for jobs. They are easy targets, they can be led to these hmm unused or deserted buildings and that's where they are raped. Those are some of the adults that are targets.

Many women are desperate for a decent living through finding a career, and it is through this desperation that perpetrators take advantage of them. This group is also targeted by opportunity seekers, who can see that they are vulnerable and desperate.

Migration

Many people come to Johannesburg looking for different things, shelter, jobs and safety. One of the participants identified this as a risk factor as these immigrants are foreign to the city and therefore need a lot of assistance.

> **Participant E (8):** …those who are not used also to the environment you see, you can find that like also people from other places who come from far to JHB it appears that sometimes they can be easily identified and then umm, the perpetrators can see

> that this one doesn't know the place, is not from around and the perpetrators can approach him and offer to hep with this and that.

Immigrants seem to attract perpetrators through their curiosity and exploration of the Johannesburg area. The immigrants may not well be acquainted with the dangerous places around the city and may therefore be lured into dangerous places by opportunists, where they may be assaulted among other crimes.

> **Participant D (6):** Especially nowadays you find cases of foreigners who maybe come from Zimbabwe you find that the perpetrator and victim know each other from Zimbabwe and when they get here they don't really know people. So here they get close to each other and you find that the man may rape them as a result.

The above statement suggests that the challenges of being in a foreign place may result in rape. The perpetrator may play a role of supporting and protecting the migrant as they try to adjust to the new place. The perpetrator may expect to be rewarded for his kindness or may develop a sense of entitlement towards the victim.

Vulnerability Factors for Children

In South Africa, child sexual abuse is exacerbated by widespread poverty, migration, social and economic insecurity, and inadequate childcare arrangements (Tavara, 2006). Parental factors have also been implicated in the vulnerabilities of children, children of absent parents are more vulnerable to rape (Tavara, 2006). This section will explore factors that were perceived to increase children's vulnerabilities to rape. The factors ranged from family arrangements to social issues.

Parental supervision or care

All participants perceived parental care as the main factor that predisposes children to rape. The participants perceived unattended children to be at a high risk of being victims of rape.

Participant A (13): Children who are not being attended to, like you find the mother is at work and the children are looking after themselves. Like especially in Hilbrow in the flats you find that 10 people are sharing a flat. And there are adult males there younger children and the women are not there the children are left with males.

Participant C (12): …The neglected ones, unattended ones…

Participant E (9): Mostly are those with no guardians or guidance. …

Participant F (8): And in other families you find that the adult or parent and you find that they neglect their children. Those people are most likely to be raped because those perpetrators will see that these kids are not taken care of and so the children end up being victims just because their mother are not in the family.

Participant G (9): Children who umm, children who are not well attended to. You see now with these children having children it's a problem because they are not ready to have children so their children are not taken care of. You find that children are not given much attention you see.

These perceptions are in line with research that has proved that poor parental monitoring and parental neglect render children more vulnerable to engaging in violent and high-risk behaviour thereby increases their chances of perpetrating and /or becoming victims of rape (Peterson et al., 2005). Poor children may have less parental supervision, as their parents may not afford placing their children in protected places. Poverty forces women to work in places that may increase the chances of their children being raped (WHO, 2002).

Another issue that was brought up related to increased children vulnerability was children from broken marriages.

> **Participant E (10):** Children of hmm, broken marriages are very much vulnerable

Children from broken marriages were perceived to be vulnerable to being raped. This may be because children from broken marriages may have to live with a step-parent. Research has shown that children who live with a step-parent may be vulnerable to rape (Jewkes et al., 2002).

Supervision by male guardians

Although any woman can be a victim of rape, the chance of suffering sexual violence appears to be greater among young women, including young girls and adolescents, especially those who live with a stepfather (Tavara, 2006). Data from the police or health services show that the majority of aggressors are unknown to the victim. In contrast, population based surveys indicate that the aggressor is more often a family member, a friend of the family, a neighbour or a person known to the victim (Heise, Ellsberg, & Gottomoeller, 2002).

> **Participant D (13):** Children who are most likely to be victims are those who are left with male figures, who are usually close family members.

> **Participant E (9):** …You find that the mother wasn't there and only the father or cousin was there and therefore raped the child. And now boys are being raped a lot as well i have two or three cases where a son was raped.

Studies have shown that women are more likely to be raped by people known to them than strangers. For example, school teachers, parents and uncles have been highlighted among the highest perpetrators of child rape (Jewkes et al., 2002). This suggests that

children are mostly raped by people they trust and respect. As a consequence, this may influence the reporting of these cases.

Poverty stricken conditions

The connections between rape and poverty have been found to be complex (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). Children are more vulnerable to rape if they are living under impoverished conditions (Tavara, 2006).

> **Participant A (13):** Mmm, children who are less advantage because they know they are in need of things because they are served by them, they buy them things until they get to bed with them.
>
> **Participant C (12):** …The parents are not working and they are suffering and if somebody can tell that particular child and say that come and do this for me I'll give you R20 you see. But that is part of sexual abuse but I'll support my statement by still saying that they are just children. They don't know what they are doing or getting themselves in by wanting money.
>
> **Participant F (8):** …Sometimes you find that the mother's do not even support the family you will find that the perpetrator can come with a loaf of bread and forces them to sleep with them. So poverty also plays a role.
>
> **Participant G (9):** …Also you know life is very difficult these days and things are expensive you find cases where a women may let her child be raped by her husband or boyfriend just because the husband brings food and shelter you see, so it is tough.

This is particularly concerning in South Africa as a big proportion of the country's population is living under poor circumstances.

Children who mature quickly

Age has been found to be a one of the factors that predispose women to rape. That is the younger the female, the greater are her chances of being raped (Tavara, 2006). Research indicates that for the crime of rape and attempted rape, 40 percent of reported cases were among survivors under the age of 18. Reports from the Demographic and Health Survey indicate that most of the cases are of girls over the age of 9 (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). One participant suggested that a child's vulnerability increased at a specified age.

> **Participant A (13):** …And also children nowadays early as 8 years, children between 8 and 12 they are mostly victims because they are sexually active and some of these kids they are the ones who provoked these men. So sometimes you'll find out that this child provoked the man but even if the child did this man is old he should not have done it because she is a child. These kids they are grown u can find a 12 year old look like 18. A 12 year old and if she tells you her age it's like wow 12 years! I thought you were 18 or 20.

> **Participant A (13):** So even with the man the way they dress these days these kids, so men see a woman and doesn't see a child. …I'm not talking about a young, 3 year old… take a nappy and rape that man is not well upstairs. There's a problem but from 8 years school going child these days they are so much active.

The above statement suggests that children are sexualised. They are not viewed as children but as sexual objects. This is suggested by the innocence that is taken away from children just playing, who are being viewed as children looking for trouble. Children exploring their own bodies and trying different clothing are perceived as exposing themselves.

> **Participant B (18):** I think the curfew thing must come back you see these little kids ne, they roam around let's take for instance during the holidays they go out late, just lurking in the street doing

> nothing. When the sun sets, they don't even see they just sit at the corners and there comes a stranger, you see and they just grab them and they get raped.

The above statement by participant B suggests that sometimes children's actions are scrutinised and therefore blamed for their actions such as hanging around late.

Conclusion

There appears to be a number of factors that render women vulnerable to rape. Although rape has no boundaries and anybody can be raped as pointed out by the participants, there are factors that place some at more risk than others. For the adults, some of the participants perceived individual choices to render women at a higher risk for rape. This was evident in their views about women drinking in taverns or clubs and choices made by women around their dress code. This not only implies that women can protect themselves but also that those that are victimised can be blamed for the assaults. Other perceived vulnerability factors for adult women were more socially orientated, such as those related to poverty, unemployment and migration. In child cases, it seems as though factors such as poverty, parental supervision and the child's level of maturity are the main concerns. In some cases, it appeared that the child's behaviour is scrutinised and the child is therefore blamed to some degree for the event. The vulnerability factors identified that are supported by research evidence seem to have an additive effect, that is one factor alone may not be sufficient for one to be raped but that multiple factors place a person at increased risk. In conclusion, the overall perception appears to be that children are the most vulnerable as their risk factors are mostly not perceived to be under their control. However, adults are perceived to be able to control some of the circumstances that are seen to place them in positions of vulnerability. Children may therefore be more likely to receive support from the police personnel than adults.

RAPE PREVENTION STRATEGIES

The study also aimed at exploring rape prevention strategies. This therefore required an exploration of the current strategies, their effectiveness as well the participants' recommendations for future strategies. This section discusses the findings under these topics. It is important to note that there appears to be a lack of consensus from the participants on what is done currently to prevent rape, effectiveness of the strategies and needs for future interventions. Each strategy is suggested by only one or two of the participants. This may possibly suggest an inability to put forward a holistic understanding of rape. It may also suggest or reflect a sense of fragmentation in the police services, and this may have major implications on the managing of rape cases.

Current Strategies

A number of researchers have suggested that people have lost faith in the law enforcement sector in preventing rape in their communities. A number of studies also suggest that rape is not taken seriously by the justice system (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). Two participants agreed with the general perception that nothing substantial has been done about rape, as is shown in extracts F (9) and C (13) below.

Participant F (9): Well, I'm a police officer ne, but I will be honest with you. I don't think anything has been done with this issue because the only thing that we do is we wait for a rape to occur and we start working but there are no precautions that are taken to prevent the rape. We only concentrate when it has happened already. We don't like hold workshops where you find that as a police officer is my duty to do that. But the resources are not there like they don't understand what we are saying; they are just not doing anything about it.

Participant C (13): I don't think so, so far I don't think something has been done actually. The awareness campaigns are there but its

not something big, like nothing big has been done here in South Africa as a whole, nothing has been done. Something must be done.

Participant F (9) perceives law enforcement sector and perhaps to be failing rape victims. This not only confirms society's perceptions of the police department but also emphasises the frustration among personnel within the department itself. Whilst staff may be dedicated to serving the public, they may not have the resources to do so. Participant F also seems to suggest that prevention strategies should take priority rather than crisis intervention after the rape has happened. Participant C (13) also does not think much has been done to prevent rape and suggests that awareness campaigns on a larger scale are needed.

By contrast, other participants perceived the law enforcement sector to be working hard to fight rape. According to these participants, several efforts have been made to combat rape, as can be seen in the extracts below. Such efforts include campaigns on gender attitudes and anti-violence against women campaigns. Participant G (11) highlights that various awareness campaigns have targeted children in schools. Furthermore, the media has been involved in raising awareness around the issue of rape (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002).

Participant A (16): Sho, they've been lots that have been done and even though it's not enough…and there has been talks, there has been workshops, there's been awareness's and umm……

Participant B (16): Mmm, in this province we distribute pamphlets, there are awareness campaigns, there are workshops that we convey. Yha, the pamphlets, workshops and awareness campaigns.

Participant G (11): Mmm, workshops around schools, making our children aware of this issue. We also give them pamphlets. About information on rape as well as places where they can report, you know.

The efforts towards combating rape most commonly mentioned by participants included information dissemination to challenge myths around rape as well as informing people of available options when a rape has occurred. Some researchers have perceived a need for campaigns to change public attitudes towards rape, so that a consistent zero tolerance messages are sent about all forms of rape. This includes changing or challenging myths about rape that tend to blame the victim and not the perpetrator (Christofides et al., 2005).

The differences in opinion among the participants may highlight that there are no set strategies within the organisation. Alternatively, it may imply that not all police personnel are aware of the strategies formulated in their organisation. If this is the case, more work needs to be done within the organisation to equip all the members with this information.

Effectiveness of Current Prevention Strategies

The high prevalence of rape in South Africa and in other parts of the world may suggest that the current strategies may not be effective in combating rape. As a result, future strategies may need to be introduced. There appears to be differences among the participants in the evaluation of the effectiveness of the current strategies. Some participants perceived the current strategies to be effectively combating rape, as can be seen in extracts by participants A (16), B (17) and D (16) below.

Participant A (16): But that time I was a child we had lesser knowledge about rapes, we didn't know; but now I don't think there is any child who doesn't know if a person touches my breast, or if an older person touches me this is wrong, if another touches my private part this is wrong…….

Participant B (17): It helps a lot because we give the public the time whereby they question us and we give them answers.

Participant D (16): yes it does; these attempts are making a difference. People are more aware of what is happening and there is a slight decrease and so the message is getting across to the public. People are taking precautions they are more careful.

The above-mentioned participants have seen progress with the current strategies for reducing incidents of rape. They view knowledge and awareness about rape to have increased. One of the participants (in extract D16) even suggests that people are taking more precautions to improve their safety. This is an interesting point as the statistics of rape themselves are still quite high. Researchers have also debated that there have been no improvements with regards to reporting of rape cases and that a large number of rape victims still do not report their cases (McGregor et al., 2000). This would suggest that the current strategies may need to be revised.

Other participants disagreed about the effectiveness of current rape prevention efforts and perceived the current strategies to be ineffective in combating rape.

Participant E (10): FCS was introduced and it was cancelled I cannot say they took it serious any further, you see because they were supposed to improve what had been done but now we no longer work the way we used to. FCS is no longer functioning, its dead and presently it's difficult to address the issue of rape because there are no more investigative officers to investigate normally how it should be done. So it's difficult to address the issue. I cannot say that it is not working; you have to follow whatever decision they make.

The above statement suggests that there may be conflicting views about the strategies in place to combat rape. It suggests that the specialised human resources needed to work with rape cases no longer exist. Instead of rape being a specialised crime needing specialised interventions, it is perceived to be like any other crime and should therefore be treated as such. This statement suggests that there may be conflicts within the justice system regarding the handling of rape cases. Such conflicts therefore make it difficult for the police personnel to serve communities effectively.

One participant perceived the current awareness campaigns as not reaching people.

> **Participant C (14):** Awareness programs, big like HIV/AIDS usually have you know. HIV/AIDS is everywhere but rape is not really like that.

This statement suggests that rape awareness campaigns held are at a smaller scale which may further suggest that rape is not regarded as a major social problem, or at least not by police personnel. The efforts put into the campaigns should be determined by the scale of the problem (Kim et al., 2003). HIV has been identified as the leading cause of death in South Africa and the infection rates are high (Kim, 2000). For this reason, awareness programmes to spread the message about HIV/AIDS have been of large scales (Kim et al., 2003). This to may be expected for rape, which has one of the highest prevalence rates in the world compared to other crimes (Kim, 2000).

Future Strategies

South Africa is faced with the challenge of developing an appropriate strategy to curtail the incidence of sexual assault (Cox et al., 2007). A number of issues have been outlined by the participants that contribute to the rape problem in the country. As noted above, information dissemination has been used as one of the strategies to prevent rape. A number of the respondents felt that additional strategies were also needed.

Consultation within the organization

One of the most important factors in any organisation is communication. There should be effective communication between the management and the workers so that the workers can work effectively. Nevertheless, in many organisations this is not the case. Many workers are left to struggle to implement with the instructions coming from management.

This appears to be one of the downfalls of the SAPS and has created the perception of a fragmented organisation with poor communication between different facets. This can be seen in extract E (12) below:

> **Participant E (12):** **...**The most important thing is consultation with people who are directly dealing with the issues of rape and do away with this fragmentations….

The above participant feels unhappy that strategies are being implemented and disbanded without consultation with people who have insights about what needs to be done through direct experience. This suggests that some police personnel are frustrated with the system and how it operates. The introduction of the Child Protection Unit and its extension to the FCS seemed to be the right step towards providing good services to rape victims. The disbanding of these operations have created a sense of shock and disappointment for some participants. An evaluation of Medico-legal Services in Gauteng, has found that one of the major problems which render these organizations ineffective is long-standing and serious lack of co-ordination and fragmentation (Suffla, Seedat & Nascimento, 2001). The lack of co-ordination was found to be present not only between organizations but also within sectors (Suffla et al., 2001). This suggests that if there is any hope for improvement in the handling of rape cases, there needs to be more co-ordination and communication within and between organizations.

Improvements in the prosecution of perpetrators

One of the major criticisms of the police services is their inability to investigate cases thoroughly and therefore many perpetrators are not convicted for their crimes. This may influence the reporting of rapes as victims may anticipate that the perpetrator will not be convicted. The poor quality of investigations may also lead rapists to believe they will not be severely punished for such crimes. One participant felt that harsher sentencing of perpetrators was needed, as shown in the extract by participant A (16) below:

Participant A (17): If maybe the laws change that if a person is found that he is guilty if the sentences can be more than it is now maybe people they will stop raping.

This extract suggests that rapists may rape because they do not fear the consequences of their actions. The participant also blames law and policy makers, as she suggests that the laws are lenient on the perpetrators of rape. The participant further believes that a greater focus on the perpetrators of rape is needed as evident from the extract below.

Participant A (17): …Because the problem is with the perpetrator I don't think there is a problem with the victims. I don't think there is enough done to the perpetrators.

This participant not only shifts the blame away from rape victims, but also challenges the severity of the punishment meted out to perpetrators. The participant goes further and questions the role of justice system.

Participant A (17): Is there enough justice done for the victims…because you find the case is very genuine and it gets thrown out in court or maybe investigation was incomplete or much more evidence is needed. So maybe the state of dealing with rape cases can change to a better because now there is technology everything is improving so maybe if dealing with these cases can be of high standards probably we will get somewhere.

The participant above further questions and scrutinises the justice system for not bringing justice to rape victims. The justice system appears to have failed a lot of victims, contributing to a pessimistic view about its role. This participant recommends that there should be improvements to evidence collection and the investigation process of rapes. She also suggests that available technology should be used to enhance the investigation process. This would increase standards of service delivery and would therefore instil a

greater sense of faith in the justice system. The above statement may reflect the police personnel's sense of inadequacy or failure in managing rape cases. This is further reflected in the statement below:

> **Participant A (17):** „„But as of now its like getting up in the morning washing your face; you know you have to wash your face). It's like a used thing even if a person is raped "oh I'll go the police station I will open up a case, they will take me to the doctor and if they arrest him, ahh we'll see". You see there is no eagerness or efforts being made to all the people who are taking part because if I open up a case I'm the police that is getting the docket I must really know what's happening and the police has to do everything in his or her powers and even when it goes to court and even that channel you know if it can improve maybe we can get somewhere.

This quote suggests that this participant is demoralised by that the inefficiency of current services to rape victims.

The participant has raised a number of important issues with regards to the prosecution of rape perpetrators. Several researchers have reflected that the very high prevalence of rape largely reflects a high level of social tolerance of the crime (CIET, 2000). This is expressed in the way in which complaints are treated by the justice system. The lenient sentences are handed down by the judges and magistrates in small proportion of cases that ever get to court (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). The participant therefore wishes for changes in the legislations about perpetrators sentencing.

Training of personnel working with rape cases

Several participants felt that they were inadequately trained to deal with rape cases effectively and suggested that specialised training was required. Sexual assault is a special and delicate crime with a number of serious consequences. It therefore needs to be addressed knowledgeable and trained professionals. These professionals range from individuals within the health sector to the law enforcement, legal and justice systems. The

proper handling, assessment and evidence gathering process is an important one for the appraisal of the perpetrator (WHO, 2002).

> **Participant E (12)**: They should bring back the specialised units which would focus on the rape cases alone as they need a lot of time. I don't think the management is talking this thing very seriously. Because I know what I have to do with these cases but I cannot do it properly. It means they are taking rape cases as normal cases, which is not alright.

Training of relevant people to better handle sexual assault cases is essential. This includes training for medico-legal staff, counsellors, police personnel and other groups (Martin, Taft & Resick, 2003). The public health sector needs to improve its ability to respond to rape cases through the provision of holistic, high quality services by trained and experienced personnel. A recent survey found that only one in four service providers of sexual assault services had been trained and that most service providers were not aware of the clinical guidelines for managing rape cases (Christofides et al., 2005).

Changing perpetrators' attitudes towards women

Perpetration of rape is closely related to gender stereotypes and misconceptions (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). Some participants felt that the attitudes towards women held by men and by women themselves needed to be addressed.

> **Participant G (12)**: I think we need to educate the perpetrators even more around respect of our woman and to create a sense of Ubuntu everywhere you know, to know that even if she is wearing a mini skirt she is not mine or showing off her cleavage you know. To just respect one another

Changes in human behaviour may be possible when patterns of social and organisational relationships change or the physical environment changes (WHO, 2002). That is, if there are changes in all ecological levels, there is likely to be a change in the prevalence of

rape. But even more importantly, a change in one of these levels influences the other levels. Men's perceptions of themselves as the superior gender as well as their sense of entitlement also need to be challenged (Jewkes et al., 2005). Boys are been raised with patriarchal beliefs need to be challenged so that they can grow with respect and view themselves as equals to women. The focus on attitude change should not only be for perpetrators of rape but the public as a whole. The public attitudes towards rape must be changed so that a consistent message of zero tolerance towards all forms of rape is given (Jewkes et al., 2005). Cultural beliefs and norms place women at a considerable risk of sexual abuse. For example in many cultures, women as well as men regard marriage as entailing the obligation on women to be sexually available virtually without limits (WHO, 2002). These cultures should be challenged.

In addition already convicted perpetrators of rape also need to be involved. A common response of men who commit sexual violence is to deny that they are responsible and that what they are doing is violent (WHO, 2002). These perpetrators must come to the realisation that their actions are unjust. This may also be achieved through campaigns against sexual violence.

Joined forces between society and organisations

One participant perceived joint work between society and organisations would be a feasible technique to combat rape. This is a community-based effort to reduce rape that is inclusive and requires broad participation.

Participant F(10): …So if we can have workshops, I mean the media is there to teach us, so the media can be used unlike always having bad reports from the media. The hospitals can also be involved, to help with the awareness teaching people that rape is present ad it is not OK for it to be. By so doing I think maybe we can decrease the rape to a lower level. I suppose we can even stand at the corner of the streets and give out pamphlets and information to people passing by, maybe people will start opening their ears. Not only just the

> teachers but us as SAPS, the hospitals the churches, everyone should get involved. People should come out and not be afraid to report and tell their stories…

Efforts to combat rape should include various sectors of society. Television has been effectively used in South Africa and Zimbabwe (WHO, 2002). For, example programmes such as Soul City (which is a prime time television series) has contributed significantly in communicating the anti-violence against women message (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). This would therefore add to the media coverage. School programmes have also proven to be very effective in bringing attitude change towards sexual violence (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). These programmes could therefore be extended to other groups as well as suggested by the participant's involvement form churches, NGO's and individuals. This introduces a community-oriented approach to raising awareness. This may play an important role as rapes magnitude has exceeded focus on individual issues and changes. Rape's scope warrants community-based interventions.

Crime prevention covers the functional services that police provide to ensure safety and security (SAPS, 2004). This is also included in the Mission of the SAPS. The mission also points to investigate any crimes that threaten the safety or security of any community as well as to participate in efforts to address the roots of causes of crimes (Naidoo, 2004). The institution is also guided by the Batho Pele principles. However, information on how the SAPS aim to address or prevent the crimes seems to be scarce. Other researchers have suggested that in order for the SAPS to provide adequate and quality services they should consult with the relevant people (Naidoo, 2004). This includes any person who is affected by crime, specifically rape. This suggests that the SAPS should consult about what people's needs are and be driven in those directions. This is because many crime victims are not satisfied with the services provided.

Parental guidance

Parental guidance was one of the future strategies that was suggested to address the issue of rape, as shown in the extract by participant B (18) below.

Participant B (18): I think the curfew thing must come back you see, these little kids ne, they roam around lets take for instance during the holidays they go out late, just lurking in the street doing nothing when the sun sets they don't even see they just sit at the corners and there comes a stranger, you see and they just grabs them and they get raped.

One of the major factors in child rape is the role of parent supervision and guidance. Children who do not have solid parenting have been found to been found to be most vulnerable to rape and other forms of abuse (Jewkes et al., 2005). Although participant B (18) raises a valid point about parental supervision, anybody can be raped and children are not safe in the streets close to their homes. However, research has revealed that children are most likely to be raped by people known to them (Jewkes et al., 2002). This suggests that even though the streets are not safe for children, they may not even be safe in their own homes. Programmes that strengthen parental monitoring skills and empower parents were identified by previous research to be useful strategies (Peterson et al., 2005). This would help parents to provide effective discipline and hence protection for their children.

Conclusion

The participants in the study had conflicting perceptions of whether preventative measures have been taken and whether there have been effective. Participants that supported the concept that there are preventative strategies currently pointed to the fact that the SAPS hold campaigns and workshops to bring awareness to the public about rape. On the other hand, some participants reported that the SAPS wait for a rape to happen before they can act. This demonstrated the lack of common understanding among the participants on what they do as an organisation. The effectiveness of the strategies

that were mentioned was then in question and participants perceived rape to not be taken seriously by the SAPS. Some participants felt that the management has disbanded effective strategies without consulting the relevant officers on the ground, who better understand the issues and the needs of the victims. A number of future strategies were then proposed. These recommendations include consultation and communication within the SAPS, improvements in the prosecution of perpetrators and training of personnel dealing with rape cases. Strategies that target changing perpetrators' attitudes as well as the attitudes of the general public were also suggested. The recommended strategies overall communicated a need for collaboration among different organisations and sectors to combat rape.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

OVERALL CONCLUSION

The primary purpose of this study was to gather the perceptions, experiences and knowledge of police officers in the inner city Johannesburg with regards to rape. Police officers perceptions were sought due to their involvement with both rape victims as well as rape perpetrators. Their experiences would therefore be useful in bringing about strategies for the prevention of rape in inner city Johannesburg. The study aimed at understanding the common rape cases that police personnel usually encounter. It also aimed at understanding the causes of rape as well as the barriers to a rape free society, specifically in inner city Johannesburg.

It has been generally established that the incidence of violence directed at women in particular tends to be reflective of the overall level of violence expressed in any society. South African society is an extremely violent one hence the prevalence of rape is very high (Vogelman & Lewis, 1993). The current study explored the extent of the issue of rape in Johannesburg and the country as a whole. There were conflicting views on this matter as some of the participants' perceived rape to be within the range of other crimes. For this reason, rape was not perceived to be a major issue in South Africa. On the other hand, some participants disagreed and found rape to be a major issue not just in South Africa but globally as well. One of the factors that informed this perception was the impact rape has on its victims. Rape was also perceived to be a social concern due to its relationship with other issues such as HIV/ AIDS, substance use and unemployment.

The prevalence rates of rape were also explored. Given the current statistics of rape it is not surprising that most of the participants viewed the prevalence of rape to be very high. Two factors were mentioned by the participants that contributed to these high

levels of rape, these included South Africa's apartheid history and an ineffective justice system. The apartheid system threatened male power at both a material and decision making level. In addition, the introduction of the new democratic system legitimised women's central and equal role in society, which is seen to have further eroded traditional notions of Black masculinity (Peterson et al., 2005). The participants also felt that the transition from the apartheid era to the democratic one was not guided properly hence people are confused about what they may do or not. Also the end of the apartheid era led to changes in the justice system and the death penalty was abolished. This was found by the participants to be problematic as the perpetrators of rape committed the crimes in the knowledge that they would not receive severe sentencing. The justice system was therefore also identified by the participants as a contributing factor to the problems of rape. The justice system has been criticised for its ineffective and insufficient services to rape victims. It has also been criticised for being lenient in punishing rape (Peterson et al., 2005).

A comparison between incidents of rape in Johannesburg and South Africa was then explored. All of the participants perceived the prevalence rates to be higher in Johannesburg and identified a number of factors that contributed to this. These factors included the population size, the availability of resources and people's general awareness of rape. The participants noted that people are more aware of rape in Johannesburg and hence they report rape more frequently; this impacts on the high rape statistics in the area. The participants also identified false reporting of rape cases by sex workers to increase the overall statistics on rape cases in Johannesburg.

The participants identified a number of different types of rape cases that they encounter. The participants identified acquaintance rape, partner rape and marital rape to be the most common forms of rape reported. Previous research has also found rape among acquaintances to be very common (WHO, 2002). The participants noted issues such as men's sense of entitlement and women's dependency on men as factors that make women more vulnerable to partner rape. Sex workers were also identified as another

common group of victims of rape. Sexual violence in the sex industry is not a recent phenomenon and has been well documented (Du Mont & McGregor, 2004). The interesting finding with regards to rape of sex workers is the perception that these cases (a great majority) are false.

Although child rape has received much attention recently in South Africa, some of the participants reported that child rape is not common. However, in child rape cases, participants reported that family members are usually the perpetuators. This supports previous research that found that child rape cases are commonly perpetrated by known people (Pitcher & Bowley, 2002). Male rape cases were also mentioned as one of the types of rapes dealt with. However, the participants did mention that most male rape victims still shy away from reporting their cases.

Understanding the causes of rape is a difficult task as it involves considering multiple factors. Like all forms of male violence against women, rape is connected to the broader socio-cultural milieu, which is suffused with beliefs of male dominance, supremacy and aggression (Tavara, 2006). Inequalities in male-female relationships as well as in the social, economic and political structures in South Africa ensure that women remain vulnerable to attack (Vogelman & Eagle, 1991). The current study attempted to understand perceptions of rape causality from the perspective of police personnel. The causes of rape for adult cases and child cases were perceived by participants to be different. The causes of rape among adults were perceived to be related to gender attitudes, social or economic status and personality factors in perpetrators such as self-esteem. On the other hand, the causes of child rape appeared to be confusing for the police personnel to describe, and child rape appears to be a sensitive area for them. The causes of child rape were largely perceived to be related to the perpetrator's childhood background, the mental state of the perpetrator and the absence of care or support structures for children. In adult and child cases, victim blaming was evident. In addition, HIV was identified as a casual factor for both adult and child rape. According to participants, HIV positive men rape adult women due to anger over their diagnosis; the

perpetrator blames women for their infection. Rape of a child by HIV positive men is related to the belief that sex with a virgin will cure HIV. This is however a confusing phenomenon for the police officers as child rape continues despite the fact that the participants believe that this myth has been disputed. Failure to acknowledge the causative link between HIV and AIDS by the country's political leadership has been implicated in maintaining these beliefs among communities (Pitcher & Bowley, 2002). Another interesting factor is that the rape of very young children seems to receive more sympathy than rape of older children, as older children are somehow attributed to the cause of their own victimisation.

Integrated with the causes of rape was the profile of the perpetrators. According to the participants in this study men are likely to rape if they have a history of abuse themselves, if they are unemployed, are infected with HIV and have negative and/or patriarchal views on women and their roles. Men raised in patriarchal structures are more likely to rape, and use sexual coercion against women as well as to abuse their partners (WHO, 2002). Men are also likely to rape when they have some form of psychopathology. There appears to be major differences on the perpetrators profile between adult rapists and child rapists. According to the participants child rapists are more likely to be perceived as 'sick' or 'mentally disturbed'. This suggests that the participants perceive adult rapists as normal men but child rapist as special individuals. On the other hand, labelling the perpetrators as 'mentally disturbed' also seems to excuse the perpetrator and therefore in some way creates tolerance towards it.

In South Africa, the prevalence of rape is so high that anyone may be raped. Having said this, there are people who are more vulnerable than others to being raped. The participants identified a number of factors that increase ones' chances of being raped. Night travelling, sex work, substance use, job seeking, migration, and the wearing of revealing clothing were identified as the factors that increased an adult woman's chances of being raped. Children who were perceived to be most vulnerable to rape were those with poor parental supervision, those that are cared for by male guardians, and those from

poor families and live in poverty stricken conditions.

The study concluded with an exploration of rape prevention strategies. There were conflicting views among the participants of whether there are current strategies in place. Some participants identified awareness campaigns and workshops as the main strategies that are currently in place. The effectiveness of these strategies was then explored. Some participants felt that the above-mentioned strategies have brought about awareness of gender inequalities and rape. Other participants disagreed and pointed to mismanagement of useful strategies within the system, such as the FCS units, as the major problem. Issues such as poor communication within the system were also identified. Others felt that the current scale of the strategies did not meet the required level to combat rape.

Future interventions were therefore explored as an attempt to fill in the gaps of the current strategies. Improvements in the prosecution of perpetrators of rape were proposed, as well as specialised training of personnel, and greater consultation between the SAPS management and field workers (investigation officers for example). The participants appeared to find the current working conditions stressful and seem to feel that they have inadequate knowledge and resources, and are ill equipped to deal with many of the problems they face regarding rape. For example, the specialised units are no longer in operation therefore rape is no longer given priority, but is investigated with other crimes. However, rape is still a special crime and needs special attention. Despite this, the police do not have the time to thoroughly work through a case due to the increased workload, with other crimes. The participants also recommended campaigns aimed at changing attitudes towards rape and these would include community engagement. The social environment has been found to play a very crucial role in the perpetuation of rape. If an environment or community is deeply entrenched in male superiority and male entitlement to sex, sexual violence is likely to take place (WHO, 2002). This is particularly important for South Africa, which has already been described as having a culture of violence. South Africans also seem to scrutinise the victim's role in the rape and hence tend to engage in victim blaming. This implies that rapists may

perpetrate a crime if they are more likely to be protected or receive lenient punishment. That is, general tolerance in the community towards sexual assault and the strength of sanctions, if any against perpetrators play an important role (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). Rape therefore can only be combated with joint interventions or efforts from different organisations and through victim support.

The different themes in the study have highlighted the multiple levels or factors that increase the prevalence of rape, that cause rape, that cause men to commit rape and factors that make women more vulnerable to rape. To fully address the issue there need to be a comprehensive and community based prevention strategies (Peterson et al., 2005). These strategies should range from modification of rape supportive attitudes to producing more protective social norms. The modification of these attitudes is likely to be more successful if it is achieved through a collective re-negotiation of social or peer norms than through attitude change of cognition at an individual level (Campbell & McPhail, 2002).

Greater efforts are also needed to address some of the risk and vulnerability factors for both rape perpetration and victimisation in order to comprehensively deal with the problem. Social issues closely related to rape would need to be addressed if there is any hope in winning the battle against rape. Social issues such as unemployment, substance use and HIV would need to be integrated in the overall strategy of combating rape. This may generally mean that there needs to be improvements in the general status of women in society (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). This would empower and reduce women's vulnerability to rape. The challenges that women face with regards to reporting, negative attitudes of police personnel, low conviction rates and poor protection for rape victims also need to be addressed. This therefore implies that combating rape should involve joint efforts of different organisations.

STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

There is limited research conducted on the police officers experiences with regards to issues of rape and the focus of the present study can therefore be seen as a strength. Police personnel are at the forefront of dealing with rape cases and their perceptions are therefore valuable to the community in understanding how they work, as well as in drawing up future strategies regarding rape prevention. There has been previous research that focused on rape victims and their experiences of rape, as well as the perpetrators of rape, yet the experiences of the police officers are rarely taken into account. Understanding how police personal work is important as it enlightens us of their difficulties hence leads to deeper understanding of some of their downfalls in handling of rape cases. It is therefore crucial to have more research conducted in this area.

Police officers have been criticised and blamed for the rates of violence, sexual violence in most areas (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). One could even note that people have lost trust in the police system, yet it may appear that people do not understand how police officers work with regards to rape cases. Police personnel have much to offer as they not only deal with the rape survivors but with the rape perpetrators as well. This knowledge combined could be beneficial in estimating the prevalence of rape, understanding the causes of rape as well as the prevention of rape. This study therefore exposed some of the challenges that the police officers are facing hence their difficulties in the management of rape cases.

The study like many others has its own limitations. The study sample although a qualitative study was quite small. The qualitative paradigm however does not place much emphasis on the number but emphasis the uniqueness and quality of the data (Snape & Spencer, 2003). Qualitative analysis highly values the participants' personal accounts and therefore allows for a rich and deep understanding of each individuals context.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RESEARCH

Based on the current study as well as literature pertaining to this topic, it is recommended that further research be conducted that focuses on police officers and their management of rape cases. Through understanding of their involvement, it may be possible to develop interventions that alter the misperceptions of police officers that are evident. From the current study it is clear that police personnel are frustrated with their current working conditions with regards to rape cases. Some participants seem overwhelmed by their work with rape cases. It is therefore recommended that research be directed at understanding the working conditions and improving the coping strategies of police personnel. Ongoing research on the effectiveness of interventions for rape is needed to ensure that interventions are comprehensive and targeted at creating a climate of zero tolerance for sexual coercion in communities (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). More focused research on particular types of rape is also needed.

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INFORMATION NOTE

Ref: 25/7/12/1(3)

The Provincial Commissioner
SA Police Services
GAUTENG

APPLICATION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE: POST GRADUATE STUDY: Ms Thandi Mabasa

1. The above mentioned student is a registered for the Masters Degree in Clinical Psychology at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

2. The topic for the study is, "Understanding and preventing rape: Perceptions of police officers in inner City Johannesburg".

3. The aims of the research:

3.1. To explore perceptions of why rape continues to be such a major issue in South Africa from the perspective of police officer as service providers to rape survivors and perpetrators.

4. Research data will be gathered through individual face-to-face interviews with police officers who provide services to rape victims and or perpetrators.

5. The study aims to draw the experience and knowledge of police officials working with survivors and perpetrators of rape in order to

contribute to knowledge in this area.

6. Attached find documents from the member:

6.1. Application from Ms Thandi Mabasa

6.2. Research proposal

6.3 Letter from the Head Strategic Management (Letter 3/34/2 dated 8 March 2007)

7. The application is recommended with the following constraints the research be conducted at SAPS Hillbrow and SAPS Jeppe as per the sample mentioned in page 13 of research proposal.

8. It is further recommended that the completion of the face-to-face interviews not unduly affect the performance of duties at SAPS Hillbrow and Jeppe.

Comments

Recommended/ Not ~~Recommended~~

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~~Provincial Head:~~ Management Services: Gauteng

WA Venter

APPROVED/ ~~NOT APPROVED~~

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DEPUTY PROVINCIAL COMMISSIONER: POLICING: GAUTENG

RN MDLULI

Information Note Compiled by: Snr Supt PS Naicker

011-274 7566 (office)

011-274 7565 (fax)

082 455 5373 (cell)

APPENDIX B

SUBJECT INFORAMTION SHEET

Department of Psychology
School of Human and Community Development
Private bag 3, Wits 2050, Johannesburg,
South Africa

Good day,

My name is Thandi Mabasa, and I am conducting research for the purposes of obtaining a Masters Degree in Clinical Psychology at the University of Witwatersrand. My area of focus is on rape as a social issue. This research study is aimed at exploring understandings of rape and ways of addressing this problem in inner Johannesburg City from the perspectives of police Officers who work with rape cases. Part of the research aims include investigating why rape is a major problem in South Africa and to add to the body of knowledge in this area. I would like to invite you to participate in this study.

Participation in this research will entail being interviewed by myself, at a time and place that is convenient for you. You will be asked to some demographic information, which is to help the researcher obtain a context to base the analysis of the material. However, you will not be able to be identified from this information. The interview will last approximately one hour. With your permission this interview will be recorded in order to ensure accuracy. Participation is voluntary, and no person will be advantaged or disadvantaged in nay way for choosing to participate or not to participate in the study. All of your responses will be kept confidential, and no information that could identify you

will be included in the research report. The taped interview material (tapes and transcripts) will not be see or heard by any other person than myself and my supervisor, and will only be processed by myself. Interview tapes will be kept in a secure location during the research process and destroyed when the research is complete. You may refuse to answer any questions you would prefer not to, and you may choose to withdraw from the study at any point. With your permission, the final report will include the use of direct quotes, although quotes will not have nay identifying information attached to them. Results will be reported in a research report that will be made available to participating organisations and may also be written up in the form of a journal publication.

If you choose to participate in the study you can contact m on 078 2323 949 or via e-mal at thandimabasa@yahoo.com. My supervisor, Ms Tanya Swart, may be contacted telephonically on (011) 717 4586 or via email at Tanyaswart@wits.ac.za.

The study has no individual benefits, but you participation will contribute to the larger body of knowledge on perceptions of police officers with regard to understanding and preventing rape. A copy of the final research report will be supplied to your organization. This research is intended to assist in informing the development of interventions for reducing the number of rape cases in South Africa.

Kind regards,
Researcher: Thandi Mabasa

APPENDIX C

CONSENT FORM (Interview)

I……, consent to being interviewed by Thandi Mabasa for her study on understanding and preventing rape in Inner Johannesburg City form the perspectives of the Police Officers who work with rape cases.

I understand that:

- Participation in this interview is voluntary
- That I may refuse to answer any questions I would prefer not to
- I may withdraw from the study at any time
- No information that may identify me will be included in the research report, and my responses will remain confidential.
- The study may make use of direct quotes from the interview.

Signed:……..

APPENDIX D

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Participant Number…… Date of interview:……

The following demographic interview will be obtained from each participant

- Sex
- Home language
- Name of institution
- Duration in the institution
- Approximate number of rape cases handled

APPENDIX E

CONSENT FORM (Recording)

I……, consent to my interview with Thandi Mabasa for her study on understanding and preventing rape in Inner Johannesburg City form the perspectives of the Police Officers who work with rape cases being tape-recorded. I understand that:

- The tapes and transcripts will not be seen or heard by ay person in this organization at any time and will only be processed by the researcher.
- Tape will be kept in as secure location that is only accessible to the researcher during the research process.
- All tape recordings will be destroyed after the research is complete.
- No identifying information will be used in the transcripts or the research report.

Signed:…….

APPENDIX F

INTERVEW SCHEDULE

- Why do you think rape is such a major issue in South Africa?
- How does the issue of ape in South Africa as a whole compare to the issue of rape in the Johannesburg area?
- Are there specific characteristics of rape in the Johannesburg area?
- What are the typical kinds of rape cases do you find yourself dealing with?
- What do you think causes perpetrators to commit adult rape?
- What types of adults are most likely to be victims of rape?
- What do you think causes perpetrators to commit infant/ child rape?
- What types of children are most likely to be victims of rape?
- What has been done to address the issue of rape?
- What needs to be doe to address the problem of rape?
- Any other comments?

Appendix A: Application Form for Internal Clearance Procedure

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

Division of the Deputy Registrar (Research)

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Mabasa

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE **IHPROTOCOL NUMBER IH61106**

PROJECT Understanding and Preventing Rape: Perceptions of Police Officers in

INVESTIGATORS T Mabasa

DEPARTMENT Human & Community Development/Psychology

DATE CONSIDERED

DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE* APPROVEDUNCONDITIONALLY In-House Review

This ethical clearance is valid for 2 years and may be renewed upon application

DATE **CHAIRPERSON** .....
(Professor M Vorster)

*Guidelines for written 'informed consent' attached where applicable

cc: Supervisor : T Swart
Human & Community Development

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 a completion of a yearly progress report.