

3. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

The wealth of data collected mainly through victimisation surveys has led to the formulation of a number of victimology theories. These theories have been developed to offer explanations for the variations in victimisation risks as well as the clustering of victimisation in certain areas and among certain groups (Williams & McShane, 1994:223). In order to advance a better understanding of sexual harassment and rape of female students in tertiary institutions, a critical overview of relevant models and approaches namely, the lifestyle exposure model, the routine activity approach as well as the male peer support model is given in this chapter to guide the study in an exploratory way (De Vos 2001:268). Based on this an integrated model of sexual harassment and rape of female students on campus will be formulated, to serve as theoretical background for the current study.

3.1 THE LIFESTYLE EXPOSURE MODEL OF PERSONAL VICTIMISATION

One of the first and foremost models explaining differential risks of victimisation is the lifestyle exposure model developed by Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo in 1978. The formulation of this model was based on data gathered during victimisation surveys conducted in eight cities, namely Atlanta, Baltimore, Cleveland, Dallas, Denver, Newark, Portland and St. Louis (Schurink, Snyman, Krugel & Slabbert, 1992:44).

3.1.1 EXPOSITION OF THE LIFESTYLE EXPOSURE MODEL

The point of departure of the lifestyle exposure model of personal victimisation is that the likelihood that an individual will be victimised depends to a great extent on the lifestyle of the person. In general, lifestyle may be defined as “patterned ways in which individuals channel their time and energy by engaging in a number of activities” (Fattah, 1991:319). Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978:241) however, define lifestyle as the “routine

daily activities, both vocational (work, school, keeping house) and leisure activities”.

In order to function well as a member of the society, an individual must adapt to certain role expectations and social structures. These role expectations and structural constraints differ according to the demographic characteristics of individuals. These demographic variables vary over the course of an individual's lifetime and carry with them expectations of appropriate and inappropriate behaviours (Hindelang et al., 1978:242, Williams & McShane, 1994:224). Once these role expectations and structural constraints in the lives of individuals are learned, individuals incorporate them into their routine activities. For example, in terms of role expectations, there are certain behaviours that society deems to be appropriate for children, but not for adults. Similarly, structural constraints such as economic circumstances can change as a person gets promoted to a better-paying job.

3.1.1.1 Demographic characteristics

Although demographic characteristics are directly related to an individual's lifestyle, they are also related to different probabilities of victimisation. This is due to the association between demographic characteristics and structural constraints ascribed to groups whose members share those characteristics. In so far as people share the characteristics with potential offenders, they face increased risk of victimisation. From an offender's perspective, personal characteristics and lifestyles contribute to determine target suitability and desirability (Hindelang et al., 1978:242). The personal characteristics which are relevant in the current study comprise age, gender, marital status, family income and race.

3.1.1.1.1 Age

Age influences a person's lifestyle in terms of association with others outside of the immediate family. As a child, for example, most time is spent in the home or at school, but “by late adolescence, the activities of the child are by

and large no longer within the institutional control of family or school” (Hindelang et al., 1978:247). According to the model adolescents are more likely to be victimised. The adolescent stage is characterised by the formation of new relationships with people of the same age which could lead to victimisation. This could be attributed to their lifestyles which entail going out alone to attend social functions at night which could mean more interactions with strangers. When an individual gets older and gains stable employment, work takes over as a form of institutional control, hence the probability of victimisation tends to decrease. Also, once individuals reach retirement years their mobility as well as the number of interpersonal contacts decrease. Hindelang et al. (1978:248) thus argues that older persons are less likely to become victims of crime because they are, in terms of their lifestyle, not available as potential victims.

3.1.1.1.2 Gender

Gender also plays an important role in an individual’s routine activities and lifestyle. In this regard, traditionally, males and females have been subjected to different forms of socialisation. Billinkoff (1995:65) as well as Makepeace (1999:57) explain that society exposes men and women to different expectations as part of learning their gender identity and sex roles. The manifestations of this have been that men are expected to be aggressive, forceful and tough while women are to be submissive and passive. These modes of socialisation have resulted in women spending more time inside the home than their male counterparts. In this regard Hindelang et al. (1978:248) state that “females are more closely supervised than males and as adults they are more likely to assume housekeeping responsibilities”. Consequently, males tend to spend more time outside the home, interacting with other peers as well as strangers. This could lead to greater exposure to criminal victimisation.

3.1.1.1.3 Marital status

Marital status in conjunction with family ties of both men and women also result in more time spent at home. As the number of responsibilities increase, married persons can be expected to spend more time within the home than single persons do, especially if they have children (Hindelang et al., 1978:249). Furthermore, leisure activities outside the home are more likely to take place with both partners present or within the company of other married couples. Finally, because marriage creates a larger extended family, more time is likely to be spent with other family members (Hindelang et al., 1978:249). As a consequence of these factors, married persons are less likely to be alone in public and thus can be expected to have lower victimisation rates than non-married individuals.

3.1.1.1.4 Family income

According to Hindelang et al. (1978:249) patterns of association can also be linked to income as it reflects an individual's position in the economic structure. Family income is an important constraint on behavioural options. This is due to the fact that the flexibility to adjust one's life as one wishes, including the ability to choose where one lives, the mode of transportation used and the nature of leisure activities, are related to one's income. Thus, for the low income group there could be greater victimisation risks as these individuals are for example, dependent on public transport and staying in areas with high crime rates.

3.1.1.1.5 Race

Similar to income, race is also linked to an individual's lifestyle. Although Hindelang et al. (1978:250) note that "some of the importance of race as an indicator of lifestyle derives from its association with family income," they also admit that "whites and blacks of the same socio-economic stratum live in quite different worlds". These differences are most notable in housing patterns and educational as well as recreational opportunities. For example, whites are more likely to attend private schools, belong to private clubs and live in more

economically homogeneous areas than people of color. Consequently the life opportunities and experiences of these two groups are markedly different and so are their chances of victimisation.

From the above discussion, one can infer that while lifestyle affects one's exposure to personal victimisation, the effects of demographic and socio-economic characteristics through socialisation cannot be ignored. In addition to these demographic characteristics, Hindelang et al. (1978:250) list several conditions, which must be met before personal victimisation can occur. First, the victim and offender must intersect in time and space. Second, a dispute/claim must arise between the victim and offender. In this case, the offender should view the victim as a suitable target. Third, the perpetrator must be willing and able to use force or stealth to accomplish the desired goal. Last, the offender must view the situation as beneficial to use or threaten force in order to accomplish the goal. The probability of all of these circumstances being met is associated with the routine activities of the individuals. Differences in lifestyles, in turn, result in varying probabilities among individuals of being in "particular places at particular times and coming into contact with persons who have particular characteristics" (Hindelang et al., 1978:245). This implies that there are certain people, places and times that will have higher victimisation risks than others. In this regard, Hindelang et al. (1978:253) formulated the following propositions:

Proposition 1: The more time individuals spend in public places (especially at night and weekends) the more likely it is that they will be victimised

According to research conducted by Gottfredson (1984:9) as well as Hayt, Ryan and Cauce (1999:376) individuals who are more likely to be at risk of personal victimisation are those who frequent public places at night and on weekends. However, Gottfredson (1984:10) suggests that not all individuals who fit in this category will be victimised.

Proposition 2: Following certain lifestyles make individuals more likely to frequent public places

This proposition applies to individuals who attend school or go to work on a daily basis. These individuals are more likely to spend most of their time outside the home. Consequently, due to the nature of their routine activities, they may be more likely to frequent public places such as parks during lunchtime for example. This therefore increases the risk of personal victimisation. Thus, individuals whose activities are centered around the home such as housewives and retired persons are less likely to suffer personal victimisation (Gottfredson, 1984:12; Hindelang et al., 1978:253).

Proposition 3: The interactions that individuals maintain tend to be with persons who share their lifestyle

Hindelang et al. (1978:253) propose that co-workers for example are more likely to spend time with their colleagues during work hours as well as during leisure time. This is also applicable to learners. The reason for this is that their daily activities are more likely to be centered on their work-related or school-related activities.

Proposition 4: The probability that individuals will be victims increase with the extent to which victims and offenders belong to the same demographic categories

Following from the above proposition it becomes clear that victims who share the same demographic characteristics with potential offenders may be more likely to be victimised. In this proposition age and marital status become determinants of who would be more likely to be victimised. In this regard, Hindelang et al. (1978:256) state that the activity patterns of the young and the elderly differ. Young, unmarried individuals are more likely to spend their leisure time outside the home attending sporting events and parties. At such events, they interact with people of the same age group and marital status thus increasing their likelihood of victimisation.

Proposition 5: The proportion of time one spends in public places where there is a large number of non-family members varies according to lifestyle

As mentioned in proposition 4, young, unmarried people are more likely to spend their time outside the home attending social events with other youngsters. It follows from this then that parents or guardians are more likely to be home during such activities. Due to the absence of individuals who could prevent or deter victimisation events from occurring, the likelihood of victimisation among young and unmarried persons increases (Gottfredson, 1984:12).

Proposition 6: The chances that individuals will be victims of crime, increase as a function of the proportion of time that an individual spends among non-family members.

This may be attributed to the fact that young motivated potential offenders are more likely to frequent places where offending behaviours are more likely to take place. In contrast an elderly person who is likely to associate with people of the same age group is less likely to be victimised (Sasco & Kennedy, 1994:97). The likelihood of sexual victimisation tends to increase among young people as they tend to spend most of their time among non-family members.

Proposition 7: Differences in lifestyle relate to individuals' ability to isolate themselves from those with offender characteristics

Individuals' routine activities and lifestyle are structured in a way that will either minimise or maximise their chances of interacting with potential offenders. For example, going to work or attending school may increase the exposure of individuals to people with offender characteristics (Hindelang et al., 1978:253).

Proposition 8: Variations in lifestyle influence the convenience, desirability and ease of victimising individuals

Hindelang et al. (1978:272) state that for any victimisation event to occur there must be a convergence of a number of factors. First, there must be a meeting place between the victim and the offender. In this regard, the victim's lifestyle must be such that he or she will interact with potential offenders. At the same time, a potentially motivated offender must also deem the place suitable for the commission of an offence. This means that a selected target area deemed convenient for the offence must exhibit a relatively low chance of apprehension.

Secondly, potential offenders select individuals whom they consider suitable for the offence. The offender may weigh, for example the chances of the suitable victim reporting the offence. Victims of stranger rape for example are more likely to report rape than victims of acquaintance or date rape (Hindelang et al., 1978:272), thus resulting in more convictions. The suitability of a target also varies by the type of offence. For example, females may be suitable targets for rape, males for assault and banks for robbery. Females walking alone at night may be seen as desirable' accessible and easy targets for sexual victimisation.

In summary, the lifestyle model hypothesises that some individuals are more vulnerable to personal victimisation than others. This is attributed to demographic characteristics such as age, gender, marital status, education and race. Furthermore, it is postulated that following certain lifestyles such as going out at night, especially during weekends also contributes to the risk of personal victimisation.

3.1.2 EVALUATION OF THE MODEL

Various researchers such as Gottfredson (1984), Sampson and Lauristen (1990) as well as Sampson and Wooldredge (1987) have attempted to apply the lifestyle exposure model in order to account for individuals' risk of personal

victimisation. However, it was found not to be devoid of criticisms. This model has been criticised by Garofalo (1987:148) for its inadequacy in providing explanations of the policies that govern role expectations and structural constraints. In this regard, Garofalo (1987:149) states that there are some laid-down institutional and economic policies. Certain rules are for example stipulated and enforced in schools, work and other related institutions. For example, students have a prescribed timetable, which regulates the attendance of classes, writing of tests and the like. Workers are also subjected to the same regulations in their respective places of employment except for self-employed people. An example of this would be working night shifts. These rules can restrict and shape an individual's lifestyle, thus leading to an increased risk of victimisation. Thus, for Garofalo (1987:149) the problem is that the lifestyle exposure model does not explain the existence of these policies.

Garofalo (1987:28) also identified the failure of the lifestyle exposure model in making a distinction between absolute and probabilistic exposure. He therefore mentions that by failure to distinguish between these two aspects reduces this model to mean that there can be no victimisation of individuals if they are not exposed. In addition to this, Garofalo (1978:26) is of the opinion that because victimisation does not always occur when there is direct contact between the victim and the offender, factors which could lead to victimisation should be highlighted and included in this model. Garofalo (1987:38) stated that such factors should include target attractiveness and individual differences which will be discussed in section 3.1.3.

Another criticism levelled against this perspective relates to the explanation it offers for the relationship between demographic characteristics and the risk of personal victimisation. In this regard, Jensen and Brownfield (1986:84) state that the lifestyle exposure model fails to consider the fact that youths for example, engage or attend some events for fun. Examples of such would be attending parties, supporting sport events and going to nightclubs or restaurants. According to these researchers, the likelihood that an individual

will be more prone to victimisation may be as a result of exposure as well as lack of protection from potentially motivated offenders. The modified model of the lifestyle exposure model and the next approach to be discussed namely, the routine activity approach, addresses the aspect of exposure and guardianship respectively.

Walklate (1989:13) also offers two sets of criticism against the lifestyle exposure model. The first shortcoming is based on the proposition that the number of nights spent outside the home, with non-family members and particularly on weekends increases the probability of victimisation. In this regard, Walklate (1989:13) is of the opinion that various forms of sexual harassment and rape are more likely to be committed in homes. Research conducted by Bechhofer and Parrot (1993:251) as well as Dekeseredy and Schwartz (1997:100) on acquaintance and date rape as well as sexual harassment, has revealed that this type of rape is more likely to be committed in the home, dormitories and offices. Walklate (1989:95) also criticises the lifestyle exposure model for its underrating of the relationship between leisure time and personal victimisation. He states that Hindelang and his colleagues place more emphasis on the role played by routine activities such as school and work as indicators of personal victimisation. In this regard he states that very few cases of rape, for example are committed during work or school hours. Sexual harassment related cases on the other hand may be perpetrated at work or school. Walklate (1989:96) thus, asserts that the way individuals spend their leisure time is an important indicator and also maximises the chances of victimisation. In this regard, most individuals spend their leisure time in public places of entertainment such as nightclubs, parties and movie theatres. Violent episodes may erupt caused by frustrations about failed relationships, extra-marital affairs or disagreements over the use of alcohol. As stated by Sampson and Lauristein (1990:119) in most of these activities or events alcohol and drugs are likely to be consumed. The implication is that individuals who drink alcohol excessively are more likely to engage in violent behaviour, which may result in their own victimisation (Bjarnason et al., 1999:108).

A number of researchers (Sampson & Lauristein, 1990:120; Sparks, 1982:143) also state that the factors that place victims at risk of victimisation are also the same factors that place the offenders at risk for victimisation. This aspect has also been left unexplained by the model. Sparks (1982:143) indicates that offenders may be victimised after they have committed a crime. In cases of vandalism, stranger rape and theft, for example, the possibility exists that once members of the community catch an individual at the crime scene, he or she might run a high risk of victimisation. In such an instance, offenders may be viewed by other potential offenders as vulnerable. Their situation may also be exacerbated by the fact that reporting a crime to the police, for example, might lead them to implicating themselves in criminal behaviour. This therefore means that individuals whose lifestyles are characterised by criminal behaviour are more likely to be victimised.

Kennedy and Ford (1990:208) as well as Sampson and Wooldredge (1987:381) state that the exposure model also failed to account for the role played by neighbourhood characteristics such as poor security, camera surveillance as well as the density of street activity. Potentially motivated offenders, for example may be influenced by these factors and thus make use of an opportunity to commit crime. These factors cannot be explained by an individual's demographic characteristics.

Last, Garofalo (1987:149) states that the lifestyle model does not specify or suggest ways in which individuals can protect themselves from victimisation. For example, students who attend classes at night or workers such as nurses or waitresses are not given guidance on how to adjust their lifestyles so as to minimise the risk of victimisation.

Despite the criticisms leveled against this model, it also has some merit. It can be used as a tool for a primary crime prevention strategy. If adolescents, for example, change the way they spend their leisure time they could decrease their risk of victimisation.

In order to address some of the above criticisms, the original lifestyle exposure model was modified Garofalo in 1987.

3.1.3 MODIFIED LIFESTYLE MODEL OF PERSONAL VICTIMISATION

Garofalo (1987:149), Fattah (1991:147-148) as well as Steinmetz, Van Dijk and Garofalo (1983:291) assert that risk is the central concept for any personal victimisation to occur. Garofalo (1987:149) defines risk as the possibility of an individual becoming a victim of crime directly or indirectly. He mentions that variations in risk cannot only be attributed to sociological factors but also to psychological as well as biological variables. In this regard, Garofalo (1987:39) states that individuals differ in their psychological propensities regarding the taking of risks as well as the images of physical vulnerability that they project to potential offenders. Thus, he identifies four factors that must prevail for any personal victimisation to occur. These are proximity or exposure to potential offenders, attractiveness, vulnerability or accessibility as well as reactions to crime.

3.1.3.1 Exposure to potential offenders

Garofalo (1987:40) identifies two factors that may lead to individuals' exposure to potential offenders. These are geographical and social proximity. Fattah (1991:234) states that individuals who live in close proximity to potential offenders (geographical proximity) are likely to be at risk of victimisation. In this regard, Brantingham and Brantingham (1984:112) found that potential offenders are more likely to commit crimes in areas close to their homes, the reason being that it takes time and money to travel or venture into unknown areas. Thus, individuals living in areas where motivated offenders are present, are more likely to be perceived as good targets for crime.

The modified model also suggests that individuals who spend most of their leisure time with friends either during the day or night and going to places of entertainment such as the movies, parties, pubs or bars run a risk of being exposed to potentially motivated offenders (social proximity). This could be

attributed to the fact that in most of these events it is difficult to identify people with offender characteristics (Garofalo, 1987:40).

3.1.3.2 Attractiveness of victims

Depending on the crime that is being contemplated, potentially motivated offenders in search of targets also consider the exhibited characteristics of potential victims. In crimes against the person, for example sexual harassment and rape, the offender may look for attractive women or females wearing revealing clothes (Steinmetz, 1989:10). These women are believed to be provoking rape or sexual harassment because of the clothes they wear.

3.1.3.3 Accessibility of victims

The accessibility of victims refers to victims facilitating their own victimisation (Garofalo, 1987:43). Potentially motivated offenders will in this case commit crime if they come into contact with attractive targets. Steinmetz (1989:10) distinguishes between social and technical accessibility. Social accessibility in this context is described as the carelessness of victims such as failure to lock doors, leaving a party or a bar at night alone or walking in dark public areas such as parks at night. In such cases victims are said to be good targets as there is no one present who could prevent the crime.

Technical accessibility on the other hand, refers to the presence of preventive measures such as the police, security personnel, proper lighting or security cameras in certain areas. These are seen as examples of guardianship which if not present, may facilitate victimisation.

3.1.3.4 Reactions to crime

Fattah (1986:149) states that people react differently to crime. This may for instance include altering their lifestyles through avoiding certain crime hot spots, installing proper surveillance measures or avoiding dimly lit areas when walking at night. These responses to crime are as a result of either their own victimisation or those who are close to them. This means that the way people

react to crime might lead to certain lifestyle changes which could minimise a person's exposure to victimisation.

Garofalo (1987:43) hypothesises that opportunities of criminal victimisation are closely associated with the characteristics as well as behaviour of potential targets. This means that individuals who exhibit good qualities for a particular crime, such as attractiveness of women in rape related cases, will be deemed suitable. The absence of a guardian such as parents, security personnel or poor lighting in such areas also increases the risk of victimisation. However, if individuals change their lifestyles by for example, not going out alone at night, the risk or exposure to criminal victimisation may be, to some degree lessened.

3.1.4 APPLICATION OF THE LIFESTYLE EXPOSURE MODEL OF PERSONAL VICTIMISATION

The literature reviewed in respect of sexual harassment and rape in tertiary institutions revealed that most victims are young, single, female students. In this regard the relationship between the demographic variables and personal victimisation as discussed in the lifestyle model comes into effect. Most students in tertiary institutions are in their late adolescent stage since they have just graduated from high school or secondary education. The combination of age, being single and female places them at higher risk of sexual harassment and rape. The reason for this is the lifestyle changes which begin when they enter university and the new associations they make with various individuals. Such associations could be in the form of dating or socialising with friends and strangers. In this regard dating could lead to rape or sexual harassment particularly if the date is motivated to have sexual intercourse.

The lifestyle of university students is further characterised by out of the home activities. Most female students are however subjected to sexual victimisation because they are away from their parents or guardians. The fact that they

have to attend classes or go to library, sometimes at night makes them to interact with strangers who may be motivated to commit crime.

On campuses various recreational functions are organised such as the freshers' ball which is the welcoming of new students, music concerts, sporting events and beauty pageants. Of particular importance is the fact that these activities are likely to be held in public places, at night and on weekends (Fridays and Saturdays) so as not to interfere with the academic programme. It therefore is imperative to note that these events are sometimes not restricted to the members of the university community only. It may consequently be difficult to distinguish between an individual who is there to enjoy the event and the one who is motivated to prey on female students. In addition to this, alcohol, used as a form of entertainment is likely to be consumed and female students who drink could be seen as suitable targets because of the stereotype that they do not deserve respect. The likelihood of sexual harassment and rape of female students attending such activities therefore increases.

Female students tend to maintain interactions with other students during academic and non-academic related activities. It follows from this then that research conducted by Dekeseredy and Schwartz (1997:98) found that most perpetrators of sexual victimisation on campuses are male students. Thus, female students who interact more with male students, because of their lifestyles, could be seen as suitable targets for sexual victimisation. Also most male and female students in this category are young, single and unmarried. These demographic variables play an important role in the sexual victimisation of female students because most perpetrators of sexual victimisation on campuses fall between the age groups of 14 to 25. It is clear from this that the interactions female students maintain tend to be with non-family members who share their same demographic characteristics which increase the risk of being subjected to sexual harassment or rape.

Due to the fact that the lifestyles of female students include attending classes, going to the library, attending social events as well as sharing the same residences with male students, it therefore becomes difficult for them to isolate themselves from potentially motivated offenders. When such female students come out of the class, library or bar unaccompanied at night with inadequate security personnel or adequate lighting to prevent victimisation, they might be seen as suitable targets.

However, sexual victimisation of female students may not only occur when a student comes out of the library or classes walking alone at night. A female student, for example, who goes out on a date with a partner could also be subjected to sexual victimisation. A partner who spends money on a date and decides where the couple should go, could feel shortchanged when a female refuses to have sexual intercourse and may take advantage of the situation and see her attractive and accessible target for sexual victimisation. The same could also be applicable to a female student who wears revealing clothing on a date, which the partner could misinterpret as inviting sexual intercourse by a partner. Due to the fact that these incidents occur between people who are acquainted with each other, the victims often do not report them. In sexual harassment incidents, female students who work closely with their lecturers especially postgraduate students could be vulnerable to sexual harassment by lecturers who have power over them.

Most female students do not report incidents of sexual victimisation which increases the incidents of these crimes as perpetrators usually judge the reactions of victims after a crime. Furthermore, perpetrators do not travel to commit offences instead they choose to prey on areas they know well and on victims who are closer to them. Thus, the fact that female students interact with male students on a daily basis makes them to be subjected to sexual victimisation as a result of this close proximity in terms of residence.

It is ironic that the very factors which increase the opportunity to enjoy the benefits of life may also increase the opportunity for predatory violations. For

example, attending university, working or any other activities which can be carried out of the home provide the opportunity to escape the confines of the household while it increases the risk of predatory victimisation at the same time. Rather than assuming that crime is as a result of the social breakdown one might take it as a byproduct of freedom and prosperity as they manifest themselves in the routine activities of everyday life.

An inference can thus be drawn from the above application that the lifestyle model may be used to explain some forms of sexual harassment and rape in tertiary institutions. However, the lifestyle theory explains victimisation in terms of the exposure of victims in terms of their lifestyle. However, it does not recognise the role played by the absence of guardians in victimisation. The routine activity approach, which is discussed next, addresses this aspect.

3.2 THE ROUTINE ACTIVITY APPROACH

The routine activity approach was developed by Cohen and Marcus in 1979. Kennedy and Silverman (1988:1) state that this approach was inspired by the work of Hawley (1950) on human ecology and Shaw and McKay's work on juvenile delinquency in urban areas (1942). The routine activity approach uses regularities in behavioural routine to predict criminal victimisation. The routine activity approach is a relatively recent approach that is related to the rational choice perspective. This means that this model is based on freedom of choice and action which yield a more complete picture or model of crime (Williams & McShane, 1994:250).

3.2.1 EXPOSITION OF THE ROUTINE ACTIVITY APPROACH

Routine activities can be defined as "recurrent and prevalent" activities which provide for basic population and individual needs, whatever their biological or cultural origins (Cohen & Felson, 1979:593, Felson, 1997:913, Miethe, Stafford & Long, 1987:184). These include formalised work as well as the provision of standard food, shelter, sexual outlet, leisure, social interaction, learning and childrearing. These activities may occur at home, in jobs far

away from home and in other activities centered away from home. The structure of these activities brings people of various backgrounds into interaction with one another. During this interaction, individuals struggle among themselves for profit, power, survival and the fulfillment of basic needs. This may lead to interpersonal conflict which could disrupt social relationships thus leading to opportunities for criminal behaviour and victimisation.

Mannon (1997:12) states that one of the central features of the routine activity approach is its description of predatory crime. Thus, rather than emphasising the characteristics of offenders, this approach concentrates upon the circumstances in which criminals commit predatory crime (Cohen & Felson, 1979:588). Predatory crime may be defined as illegal acts in which someone definitely and intentionally takes or damages the person or property of another person (Glaser, 1971:4). Examples of these crimes include both crimes against the person such as rape and assault as well as property crimes such as theft and burglary. Cohen and Felson's (1979:588-589) conceptualisation of predatory crime centers around three necessary elements for the committing of predatory crime. They argue that the following elements must converge, namely a motivated offender, a suitable target and the absence of capable guardians.

- **A motivated offender**

Felson (1987:911-912) maintains that much about crime can be learned by examining offender routines. According to him offenders seek the least effort which means that they want the shortest route to spend the least amount of time on the crime. Likewise offenders pursue the most obvious targets relying on their senses. The approach also assumes that daily movements and general mobility can either increase or diminish potential victimisation and that offending may be deterred, displaced or even encouraged depending on certain environmental and social conditions (Cohen & Felson, 1979:590). These theorists regard a motivated offender as a given fact and thus do not

offer any explanation of what motivates individuals to commit crime. These explanations, according to Cohen and Felson (1979:590) have already been provided for by other criminological theories such as Merton's anomie theory, Sutherland's differential association theory as well as Cohen's sub cultural theory of delinquency.

- **Suitability of the target**

According to Mannon (1997:15) the questions most likely asked here are: Who are the most likely victims? and What makes these targets (victims) most suitable?. Four components, namely value, physical visibility, accessibility and inertia contribute to a target being regarded as appropriate for a crime. Value refers to the financial and symbolic desirability of the item while visibility applies to the perceptibility and/or the risk of being noticed by potential offenders. Accessibility implies the availability and the ease with which a criminal can approach the target without drawing any attention. Lastly, inertia refers to the ease with which the target can be obtained such as factors which makes it difficult to overpower a target as well as the victim's ability to offer forceful resistance. In this regard, Cohen and Felson (1979:560) are of the view that for any crime to occur there must be something worth stealing, or an appearance of wealth. These researchers assert that routine activities have an effect on the suitability of the target in that a routine pattern of behaviour may increase the possibility of a convergence of individuals in particular places at specific times.

Target or victim suitability is directly linked to the third condition in the routine activity approach namely, absence of capable guardians.

- **Absence of a capable guardian**

Williams and McShane (1994:222) state that for any crime to occur the circumstances must be such that nobody or nothing should or must distract the motivated offender. Cohen and Felson (1979:560) refer to capable

guardians as ordinary citizens going about their daily routines as well as mechanical devices such as locks, alarms and security cameras. In other words, it involves ordinary people enacting informal social control through watching and sanctioning.

It is hypothesised that with the convergence in space and time of motivated offenders, suitable targets and the absence of capable guardians, the probability of being a victim increases. Cohen and Felson (1979:561) further argue that the lack of any of these elements is enough to stop a crime from occurring. For example, if a motivated offender encounters a uniformed police officer with a great deal of cash, then the third element would be missing and the likelihood of crime would be reduced if not eliminated altogether. Alternatively, if a motivated offender such as a caregiver finds cash hidden in an elderly person's nightstand and there is nobody to catch the offender stealing the cash, then all three elements are present and the likelihood of the crime occurring increases (Wooldredge, Cullen & Latessa, 1992:326). It is argued in this approach that the success in the fight against crime requires an understanding of how routine activities promote this convergence (Cohen & Felson, 1979:593). This approach states that daily routine movements of people explain victimisation patterns. Thus, the most effective way to control crime is to manage the ebb and flow of human traffic so that offenders and targets seldom converge in the absence of guardians (Felson, 1987:913).

Since the Second World War and the liberation of women there has been a shift of routine activities away from the confines of the home. More individuals were offered employment in places which were further away from the home such as the mines. This shift increased the probability that motivated offenders would converge in space and time with suitable targets. Because most individuals commuted to and from work and the homes were left unattended to, there were increases in crime rates (Felson, 1987:913, Payne, 2000:171; Vito & Holmes, 1994:144).

3.2.2 EVALUATION OF THE APPROACH

While some of the results of the routine activity approach seem promising, it is still in a stage of infancy in terms of its development. To date, this approach seems to account more for varying risks of property offences and less for violent offences or motive driven offences. Since violent offences usually involve interpersonal conflict and more spontaneous reactions, a direct application of the routine activity approach may be questionable. However, certain routines such as those in abusive family situations may increase the exposure of certain victims or provide greater opportunities for conflict. For example, when the mother is working and the child stays at home with an abusive father. In this case, due to the mother's work which requires that she should be at work, the mother can thus not be available to protect the daughter.

The routine activity approach also does not offer plausible explanations of what motivates a person to commit crime. Kennedy and Silverman (1988:17) concur with this criticism and mention that criminal investigations are rarely interested in explaining factors which influence offenders to commit crime. Thus this approach takes the motives provided by other criminological theories for granted and assumes that these could be used to explain criminal motivations.

The routine activity approach also fails to acknowledge the fact that criminals observe and study victims' routine activities which increases the victims' exposure to crime. In the case of sexual harassment and rape of female students, perpetrators could learn the victim's routine activities, such as the time she goes to the library or attends classes, which social activities she attends and who she attends these with. Motivated offenders could thus see these times as good opportunities to subject the victims to sexual harassment or rape.

According to Finkelhor and Asdigian (1996:5) another criticism which could be levelled against the routine activity approach is that it does not explain intimate family violence. Using the routine activity approach to address intimate violence shows how faulty reasoning, such as improved security, can be in protecting victims from intimate crime in their own homes or that of the perpetrators. Increased police patrols, stricter law enforcement and teaching children to say no to strangers will have minimal impact at best on curbing the prevalence of domestic and intimate violence.

The role of demographic variables in a crime is also not taken into consideration. Thus, certain people, exhibit specific demographic variables which place them at risk for criminal victimisation. In the case of the sexual victimisation of female students on campus, being a female, young, single and unmarried could place them at risk of sexual harassment and rape.

Target attractiveness, in the routine activity approach, has also primarily been utilised in a very narrow sense. The objection here is as a result of the fact that the target attribute such as being a female described in the approach does not constitute a routine activity nor does it necessarily increase the risk through routine activities. Thus, being a female is not a routine activity. Moreover, while maleness may put men at differential risk for physical assault because men engage in more unsupervised and risk taking behaviour, femaleness does not put women at differential risk for physical assault by virtue of anything they do. Femaleness itself is the risk attribute (Vito & Holmes, 1994:147).

According to Vito and Holmes (1994:147) the explanation of the routine activity approach is not wide enough. Thus, to explain the full range of victimisation, the routine activity approach needs to be modified. Concepts like exposure, guardianship, and proximity when it comes to victimisation by intimates need to be seen not as aspects of routine activities or lifestyles, but as environmental factors that expose or protect victims from victimisation.

Vito and Holmes (1994:146) also state that the routine activity approach does not explain the risk of victimisation of females, low-income individuals, single people and the young. Thus, the fact that some violent crimes such as stranger rape are often expressive, irrational acts that require a confrontation between the victim and the offender is not explained by this approach.

In spite of the above criticisms, the routine activity approach plays an important role in the current study because of its emphasis of the requirements for a crime to take place. The fact that motivated offenders select suitable targets, indicate that criminals are motivated and able to weigh the risks associated with the commission of the crime (Maxfield, 1987:279).

The routine activity approach also helps to assemble some diverse and previously unconnected criminological analyses into a single substantive framework (Cohen & Felson, 1979:591). Without denying the importance of factors motivating offenders to engage in crime, the routine activity approach has focused specific attention upon the violations themselves and the prerequisites for their occurrence (Cohen & Felson, 1979:605). In this regard, the routine activity approach might be applied to the analysis of the movement of offenders and their inclinations as well. Implementation of various crime prevention strategies such as neighbourhood watches, increased surveillance and installing burglar alarms might also minimise the chances of victimisation (Steinmetz, et al. 1983:291). Furthermore, the routine activities approach can also be beneficial in situational crime prevention. Williams and McShane (1994:222) state that architectural planning as well as environmental design could be implemented to increase the level of guardianship thereby decreasing the amount of suitable targets. Thus the provision of police patrols and adequate security personnel could aid in lessening the availability of suitable targets.

Kennedy and Silverman (1988:17) also acknowledge the importance of this approach in that it explains the dynamics of victimisation. This is evident in the importance of the role played by the criminals, victims and witnesses in a crime scene. The routine activity approach highlights the fact that intimate

violence centers on an increased understanding of offender characteristics and routines, victim characteristics and behaviour and how guardians can be made more capable and accountable.

Williams and McShane (1994:220) state that the routine activity approach became popular due to the growing interest in victimology and an ecological crime prevention approach. Even though this approach does not explain why individuals commit crime, it however focuses on the elements which are necessary for a victimisation event to take place. In this way, the routine activity approach has made an important contribution to the discipline of Criminology by providing assumptions on how potential offenders select targets deemed suitable for a crime.

3.2.3 APPLICATION OF THE ROUTINE ACTIVITY APPROACH

The routine activity approach, which assumes freedom of action and rational choice, can be utilised to understand sexual harassment and rape of female students on campuses. This approach emphasises that the occurrence of a victimisation event largely depends on the convergence of a motivated offender in a suitable place and time with a suitable target in the absence of a guardian. Sexual harassment and rape of female students on campuses are more likely to occur when suitable (likely) female students' daily activities bring them into contact with motivated offenders in places where there is an absence of capable guardians or people who are likely to intervene.

The convergence of motivated offenders and suitable targets in the university setting is made possible by the fact that campuses host a number of events and activities which are open and free to the public. These events such as music concerts and sport competitions are rarely restricted to the participation of the university community alone. Unaccompanied female students could therefore be seen as suitable targets for sexual harassment and rape. When these students enter the tertiary education level they are no longer under the confines of their parents. Males can manipulate their victims through threats,

promises of rewards, or by redefining the sexual situation as one of love and comfort or appealing to the female's sense of obligation to the partner. When a female student ends a relationship, a male student could, for example, be disappointed and seek revenge by subjecting the female student to rape. In addition to this, rape could also be used as a means of enforcing power and patriarchal attitudes over a female student. Thus, the fact that most female students are away from home could place them in a position where they are expected to perform household activities such as washing, cleaning for their partners. Failure or refusal to do such chores in the absence of guardians (parents) could expose them to victimisation.

Male students and lecturers could sexually harass female students because they are readily available and the crime is enacted in private. Most incidents of sexual victimisation are perpetrated in dormitories or in the lecturers' offices in the absence of protection. The fact that female students invite or are invited to the perpetrators' offices or dormitories make them more susceptible to victimisation.

Perpetrators study an area as well as the availability of suitable targets in a place before committing the crime. Motivated offenders could ascertain where the security personnel are situated on campus and which areas they often patrol. This knowledge could help them to devise ways and means of identifying suitable areas and targets for committing an offence. Thus a combination of lack of security personnel around campus grounds, dark areas, lack of surveillance cameras as well as a motivated offender may increase the likelihood of female students being seen as suitable targets of sexual victimisation.

Due to the fact that female victims do not report rape or sexual harassment to the authorities for various reasons (see section 2.2.5) most victims or potential victims prevent further victimisation through their own informal methods of control. This makes them to be perceived as suitable targets by potential offenders. Victims are often too ashamed, embarrassed or frightened to call

the police or other formal authorities. Hence it is important to reiterate that sexual harassment and rape might increase because offenders can avoid detection and suitable targets are readily available.

The absence of proper security measures on campus who could prevent sexual harassment and rape from taking place, could also make female students more susceptible to rape. In this regard, deployment of security personnel on campus becomes important. Thus, if there are no visible security officers, motivated offenders could prey on female students coming out of the library at night or attending social events. In addition to inadequate security, poor lighting in dark areas could place female students walking in these places at risk of sexual harassment or rape. A female student coming out of the library unaccompanied and walking in a dark area might be seen as a suitable target. The male peer support model which was developed to explain sexual assault on campuses will be discussed next.

3.3 THE MALE PEER SUPPORT MODEL

The male peer support model originated in 1988 in an attempt to explain the causes of various forms of sexual assault on campuses. It was developed by Dekeseredy (1988:113) during an exploratory study of sexual victimisation on the campus of the Ontario University in the USA. The study revealed that various forms of sexual victimisation are perpetrated in tertiary institutions. The basic theme of the model is that sexual victimisation on campuses can be explained by two components namely, attachments and resources. Although explaining why offenders sexually harass or rape students in tertiary institutions is not an aim of the study and offenders will not be directly interviewed, discussing this model is essential to provide an understanding of sexual victimisation in tertiary institutions and to develop an integrated model of sexual harassment and rape on campus as theoretical background for the current study.

3.3.1 EXPOSITION OF THE MALE PEER SUPPORT MODEL

According to Dekeseredy (1988:113) the occurrence of various forms of sexual victimisation in tertiary institutions can be attributed to the nature of associations male students have. In this regard, he states that this social interaction is mainly found in dating relationships. On average each student on arrival at any tertiary institution has to make a place for him or herself to belong and be part of all the different sectors of this new community. Dating is one way of becoming part of this not yet adult community. It has, however, inherent problems that can impact on the student's life. One of these problems is stress which can be caused by sexual dysfunction as well as inexperience. Due to the pressure from peers or the need to prove their sexual expertise, students may accept any problem solving strategy which may range from acceptable behaviour to exhibiting antisocial behaviour. In this regard, Dekeseredy and Schwartz (1997:144) state that

...if a male student is confused, angered or hurt by a female student, he may well bring up the topic with his friends to ascertain their own similar experiences. They may tell him that a woman is right, or that he was unfairly treated and advice him to strike back.

Following such advice, these male students may become attached to students who favour abusive behaviours. This may manifest itself in the nature of these attachments. For example, a student may upon acting on the advice of these friends, develop some loyalty to the friendship in an attempt to maintain the image of other men. In addition to this, certain resources supportive of women abuse may be found in these associations. For example, this group of friends may offer emotional as well as verbal support for engaging in the psychological, physical and sexual abuse of women.

Dekeseredy and Schwartz (1997:45), however, argue that stress or insecurities which are found in dating relationships are not the only aspects that are relevant of the explanation for sexual victimisation in tertiary institutions. In this regard, they propose that other factors, namely, the

ideology of familial and courtship patriarchy, alcohol consumption, male peer support groups as well as the absence of deterrence, may also contribute to sexual victimisation of female students in tertiary institutions.

3.3.1.1 Ideology of familial and courtship patriarchy

According to Dobash and Dobash (1979:13) patriarchy may be found in a number of institutions of which tertiary institutions are no exception. In this regard, these authors make a distinction between two forms of patriarchy which may be found in these institutions. The first one being familial patriarchy stemming from the family. Thus, a child who was exposed to patriarchal attitudes and beliefs at home may act out and imitate these attitudes at a later stage. Smith (1990:258) asserts that familial patriarchy explains most of the abuse found in dating relationships in tertiary institutions. The second form of patriarchy is what Dobash and Dobash (1979:13) refer to as societal patriarchy. Societal patriarchy refers to the unequal distribution of power in institutions. In this regard it is emphasised that males head most tertiary institutions and that those who have no power (females) occupy subordinate and lower positions.

Lammana and Reidman (1985:249) as well as Lloyd (1991:15) are of the opinion that the victimisation of female students in tertiary institutions is a result of the “patriarchal images” that students hold. As mentioned earlier, dating is one of the forms of association on campuses. Some male students perceive dating, especially when the partners are in courtship, as a tool to exercise their right to control females and also to imitate the attitudes and beliefs acquired from their families. A female student may be expected to be loyal, obedient and respectful to her partner. In addition to this, a female student will thus be expected to perform household duties such as cleaning, laundry and cooking thus taking care of her partner. Adherence to these expected roles may lead to a female becoming dependent on a male which may even lead to various forms of victimisation. On the contrary, failure to fulfil these roles may lead to violence in an attempt to enforce the fulfillment of

these expected rules (Dekeseredy & Schwartz, 1993:398; Lloyd, 1991:15; Smith, 1990:258).

3.3.1.2 Alcohol consumption

The consumption of alcohol plays a significant role when explaining factors related to the causes of violence against women. With regards to tertiary institutions, Dekeseredy and Schwartz (1993:400) have revealed that alcohol consumption is rife, especially in residential settings as well as during entertainment events such as sport, music concerts, parties and the fresher's ball. Students often spend their leisure time attending and hosting parties on weekends as a form of entertainment. The abuse of alcohol during these events may, however, be used as a breeding ground for the abuse of female students.

As stated earlier, Dekeseredy and Schwartz (1993:400) also maintain that male students may turn to other male students for advice on dating-related problems. The problem-solving strategies may either be positive or negative. For example, the solutions proposed by some males may be that of getting a woman drunk in order to have sexual intercourse. Dekeseredy and Schwartz (1997:100) assert that when a student is raped by an acquaintance or on a date, the chances are that she will not define it as such if she is intoxicated.

Female students, who participate, consume or are manipulated into alcohol use during activities such as the fresher's ball, sport events and parties may also be seen as suitable targets for rape (Dekeseredy & Schwartz, 1993:400). In addition to this, female students who drink at bars may be followed and thus be subjected to rape. When rape occurs in such circumstances a number of justifications may be used. Firstly, a perpetrator may claim that a victim seduced him or that a victim wanted sexual intercourse. Also, peers may encourage and advise men about the appropriateness of forcing a drunken woman into sexual intercourse (Martin & Hummer, 1995:243).

3.3.1.3 Male peer support groups

Dekeseredy and Schwartz (1997:402) argue that certain groups exist in society. These groups often comprise of people who have the same needs and goals. The underlying reason for the formation of these groups is to find a sense of belonging as well as companionship. These structures are also found in tertiary institutions.

Dekeseredy and Schwartz (1997:402) refer to the existence of groups such as athletes, rugby players as well as groups of students who share the same interests such as drinking alcohol together. The members may be unified by certain traits such as “competence, dominance, willingness to drink as well as sexual prowess” (Tiger, 1969:132). In this regard, Martin and Hummer (1995:234) also state that the existence of male groups on campuses promote

...narrow stereotypical conceptions of masculinity, encourages the use of alcohol to overcome women's sexual reluctance and emphasises violence, force and competition in relationships.

Traditionally, masculinity has been associated with aggressive, assertive and authoritarian behaviour. In addition, socially defined roles define men as powerful, strong and aggressive and violent behaviour as a symbol of masculinity and male dominance (Dobash & Dobash, 1998:141). Male violence might be regarded as a way of showing male authority and domination over women. Often members of these groups also have to vow secrecy to the group's activities. This means that, any activity within the group, legal or otherwise must not be revealed to anyone who is not a member of the group. For example, when one member sexually victimises a female student, group members may protect the perpetrator and this enhances group solidarity resulting in the absence of deterrence (Dekeseredy & Schwartz, 1993:405; Merton, 1985:121).

3.3.1.4 Absence of deterrence

According to Dekeseredy and Schwartz (1993:403) most male students who perpetrate sexual offences on campuses are barely punished for these crimes. The victims' reluctance to report as well as the status some of these groups might hold on campus may contribute to this impunity. Most female students do not report these incidents for a number of reasons which are highlighted in section 2.3.5. The members of athletic teams or SRC's are also often in close contact with management. Thus, even if the victim reports the crime and the student is found guilty, it might happen that no harsh sanctions are imposed (Dekeseredy & Schwartz, 1993:407). Coupled with the support of the perpetrator's friends, when a student reports rape by an acquaintance or a date, the likelihood is that no one will believe her. In addition to this, she may be subjected to threats from the other members of the group, thus deciding to withdraw the charges. The rewards of sexually abusing women will therefore outweigh the risks associated with the crime and the perpetrators of these offences on campuses consequently rarely see themselves as criminals.

3.3.2 EVALUATION OF THE MODEL

The major limitation of the male peer support model is that it focuses on individual factors by hypothesising that stress and male peer support leads to sexual victimisation on campuses (Farr, 1988:262). This means that the model fails to recognise that there are other factors which may lead to the sexual victimisation of female students in tertiary institutions. These factors include the areas where most female students may be targeted for criminal activity as well as the nature of their lifestyles and the factors which make them more vulnerable to sexual victimisation on campus. Some of these factors are, however, addressed in the lifestyle exposure model and the routine activity approach that have been discussed.

This model also does not explain the ways in which male peer support networks develop (Hey, 1986:66) – it starts with the proposition that these

structures already exist on campuses. It also does not offer explanations of sexual victimisation by students who do not belong to these groups.

In spite of this criticism, the male peer support model demonstrates a number of variables which are useful in explaining the link between individual as well as societal factors and sexual victimisation. These variables include the role played by familial and societal patriarchy, in the sexual victimisation of women in society.

Since the male peer support model was formulated specifically to explain the causes of various forms of sexual victimisation on campuses, the researcher will not apply this model in the current study. This model will thus be used as a guide in the formulation of the integrated model of sexual harassment and rape which is discussed in the next section.

The models and approaches discussed in the previous sections can be used to explain the occurrence of sexual harassment and rape on campuses. This makes it imperative for the researcher to formulate a model which could be used to indicate the possible links between risk factors which could lead to sexual harassment and rape in tertiary institutions.

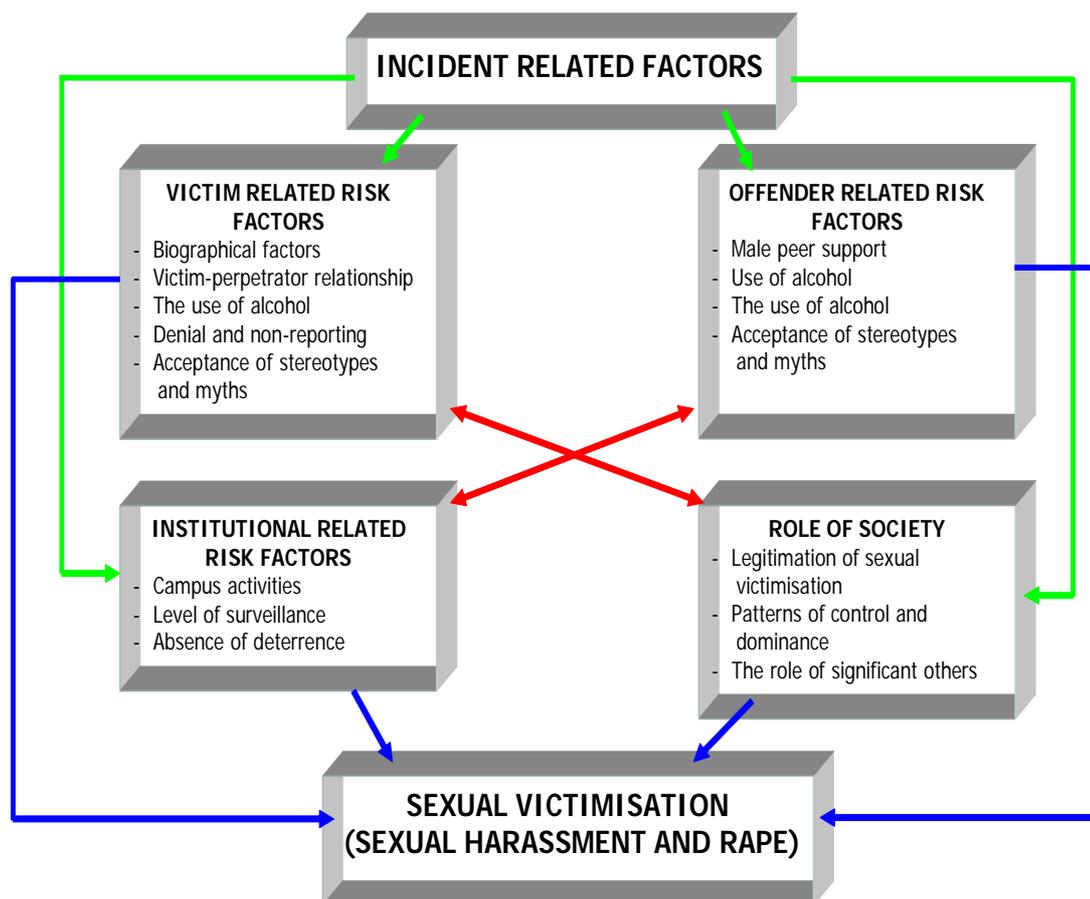
3.4 INTEGRATED MODEL OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND RAPE ON CAMPUS

The three major theoretical perspectives previously discussed guided the development of the model used in the present study. Due to the fact that these perspectives address some of the risk factors separately, an integrated model of sexual harassment and rape (see diagram 1) of female students at tertiary level is formulated. The point of departure of this model is that the convergence in time and space between the motivated offender and the potential victim in the absence of capable guardians could provide an opportunity for sexual harassment and rape of female students in tertiary institutions. It is based on the assumption that various victim related risk

factors, offender related risk factors, institutional risk factors as well as societal risk factors interact to produce sexual harassment and rape of female students on campus. These factors will be discussed separately in the following subsections.

DIAGRAM 1:

INTEGRATED MODEL OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND RAPE



3.4.1 VICTIM RELATED RISK FACTORS

Sexual harassment and rape of female students in tertiary institutions could be attributed to a number of risk factors relating to the victim. These include biographical factors, the victim-perpetrator relationship, the use of alcohol,

denial and non-reporting as well as the acceptance of stereotypes about sexual victimisation.

3.4.1.1 Biographical factors

Prior research (Ageton, 1983:34; Clark & Lewis, 1977:58; Powell, 1980:9) reveals that demographic variables such as age and gender play an important role in victimisation. These studies conclude that females who are between the ages of 18 and 25 are more prone to the risk of sexual harassment and rape. Likewise, men who are in the same age group are associated with the perpetration of sexual harassment and rape. University students fall into this high risk age group (18 to 25). In terms of crime statistics they are the most frequent offenders and the most frequently offended against (Dekeseredy & Schwartz, 1996:226).

Learners' stage of psychological development during the late teens and early twenties may be a factor in their victimisation on campus. They are in transition from direct parental supervision to eventual autonomy, usually in new settings and always with a variety of environmental stressors. Sexual impulses and cultural expectations often make insistent demands. Peer pressures are heavy, competencies only partially established and mistaken beliefs about personal invincibility abound. Learners live away from old support systems, among others who are experimenting with new freedoms. They are often socially immature and naïve about the world, while under a heavy burden of competition for available jobs, income and status (Powell, 1980:9). The age between 17 and 21 is often one of nagging self-doubt, of intense conflict in relations with other people, of painful and sometimes rebellious struggles for independence from one's parents and of an uneasy search for one's eventual occupational and sexual roles.

Also at this age, young single females might be seen as suitable targets for sexual harassment and rape as they are more likely to form close relations with men of the same age group. Proposition numbers three and four of the

lifestyle exposure model state that the risk of victimisation depends on the extent to which victims and offenders share the same demographic characteristics (see section 3.1.1.1). Naïve first year female students have been reportedly at high risk of sexual harassment and rape on campuses (Paludi, 1996:112, Sandler & Shoop, 1997:110). This is largely because of their age. These students have for example just graduated from high school and know very little about university life.

3.4.1.2 Victim-perpetrator relationship

Another victim-related factor that might facilitate the sexual harassment and rape of female students in tertiary institutions is the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator. Studies done by Bohmer and Parrot (1993:20), Russo (2000:2) as well as Sandler and Shoop (1997:14) reveal that the incidents of rape on campuses occur between men and women who know each other. This is in direct contrast with the general belief that rape in particular occurs among people who are total strangers to each other (Bohmer & Parrot, 1993:20).

Perpetrators of either date or acquaintance rape do not in most circumstances define their acts as rape. This is largely because of the relationship that existed prior to the offence and also the fact that the victims of these rapes are not likely to suffer any physical bruises or scars because limited amounts of physical force is used. The offender could for example manipulate the victim into sexual intercourse. This makes it difficult for the victim to report the case thus leading to the absence of deterrence.

Sexual harassment on the other hand may be perpetrated by a staff member against a student or by a student against another student (peer harassment). The former represents *quid pro quo* harassment which is perpetrated by an individual who has more power (such as a staff member) over the other (the student). Peer harassment could occur among students who are classmates or acquaintances.

3.4.1.3 The use of alcohol

Many violent acts occur while persons are under the influence of alcohol or other substances. Alcohol use can impair the victim's ability to communicate her intentions clearly and make her vulnerable to sexual harassment and rape. The fact that the victim was under the influence of alcohol during the incident, might cause her to be unable to account for the events leading to the incident (Muelernhard & Linton, 1987:186). The victims' version of the rape may not then be believed (Unit for Gender Research in Law, 1998:105). A number of stereotypes about female students who drink alcohol exist on campuses. These include the perception that such women are promiscuous (sexually available) and therefore appropriate targets for rape or sexual harassment. Thus, in the view of some male students females who drink are not worthy of respect and thus deserve to be punished (Kanin, 1985:224).

The female students who attend parties could be at risk of sexual harassment and rape. In this regard, a female student's friendliness and being under the influence of alcohol could be seen as inviting rape or sexual harassment.

3.4.1.4 Denial and non-reporting

Whitaker and Pollard (1993:16) are of the opinion that while non-reporting is not a causative factor of violence in the first instance, violence is made possible by denying and downplaying its existence. Denial, ignorance and intentional hiding of facts are contributing factors in the continuation of violence. The kinds of violence under discussion are personal and the behaviours usually happen in private settings. It is easy to claim that what was not witnessed by others may not have taken place. Members of the campus community are frequently unaware of the nature and extent of the problem or do not want to admit its existence. The shame and self-blame of the victim, the "I won't do it again/ please forgive me" syndrome of the offender and bystanders looking the other way have led to much secretiveness about inter personal violence (Whitaker & Pollard, 1993:16). Victims also do not report because they do not view acquaintance rape or

sexual harassment as crimes. The fact that the victim and the perpetrator are known to each other as well as that there is usually no physical violence suffered by victims, adds to the non-reporting of these incidents. The victims often keep quiet about behaviour that does not serve the community as a whole.

3.4.1.5 Acceptance of stereotypes about sexual harassment and rape

The acceptance of stereotypes held in society about victims of sexual harassment and rape could contribute to sexual harassment and rape (Burt, 1980; Dziech & Weiner, 1990:63). These misconceptions range from the belief that women deserve or ask to be raped, that they enjoy being raped or harassed to the belief that rape or sexual harassment did not actually occur (see sections 2.3.1.2 & 2.3.2.2). Women, who are aware of the existence of these stereotypes consequently often, blame themselves for their victimisation. Statements such as “I should not have worn that” or “I should not have gone to the library late at night” support the presence of such self-blame.

3.4.2 OFFENDER RELATED RISK FACTORS

The focus of the current study is on female students as victims of sexual harassment and rape. Even though the offenders will not be included in the study and no explanation can be given as to why they become involved in sexual harassment and rape, there are however, various factors which by interviewing female victims of sexual harassment and rape, could shed some light on the characteristics and behaviour of the perpetrator during the incident of rape or sexual harassment. These include male peer support, use of alcohol as well as acceptance of stereotypes about abuse.

3.4.2.1 Male peer support

Various groups exist on campuses namely, sport groups as well as other groups of students which are brought together by a common cause. The reason for the existence of these groups is that the students are looking for a sense of belonging and identification (see section 3.3.1.3). However,

participation in these groups may be regarded as a risk factor in terms of sexual victimisation on campuses.

Social support from friends in tertiary institutions is very important in order to be able to cope with life's stressful events. However, some types of social support can have negative consequences for the safety of female students in dating relationships on campuses. Many male students experience stress in dating relationships which range from sexual problems to challenges to patriarchal authority. Some male students try to deal with these problems on their own, whereas others turn to friends for guidance and support. The support they get could encourage and justify sexual harassment or rape (see section 3.3.1.3).

3.4.2.2 Use of alcohol

The consumption of alcohol plays a crucial role in explaining the causes of sexual harassment and rape. This is because many violent acts occur while people are under the influence of alcohol or other substances (Dekeseredy & Schwartz, 1997:102). Alcohol is mostly consumed in the residences and during entertainment events such as music concerts. Students for example, spend their leisure time hosting parties on weekends. These may be breeding grounds for the abuse of female students. Being under the influence of alcohol could be used by perpetrators to rationalise behaviour, reduce personal responsibility and present a socially acceptable excuse to engage in otherwise prohibited behaviour.

When rape occurs in these circumstances, the perpetrator's actions may be seen as justified by others.

3.4.3 INSTITUTIONAL RISK RELATED FACTORS

Violence is threaded through many aspects of life, but it is perhaps most out of place in an institution devoted to education, learning and development. In spite of the desire to maintain a safe setting, a campus environment provides

a culture in which violence can ferment. As mentioned in section 2.3.1 all the forces of the larger society are also present on university campuses. However, universities differ from other environments in terms of expectations, ambitions, operating principles and values. Colleges and universities have commitments to values of free enquiry and respect for human dignity. Freedom of expression on these campuses sometimes translates into freedom of experimentation relevant to personal lifestyles.

3.4.3.1 Campus activities

A campus is a relatively open and free place physically as well as academically. It can rarely be closed to the public and in general it would be considered inappropriate to do so. Service to the society, as a stance of higher education means that campus boundaries are not firm and that many buildings are kept open for public use. Institutions such as universities also attract people from the surrounding community. It is thus difficult, especially if there is no proper and tight control to the access in and out of campus, to keep track of who is on campus for academic or for criminal purposes.

The campus community also comprises a wide range of societal habits, ethnic customs, cultural norms and family histories. Some of these habits, customs, norms and histories include abuse of and by others (Dornhoff, 1983:143; Johnson & Sigler, 1997:55). Other unique features of a campus community may also contribute to individuals becoming victims of violence and to victimising others. Campus bars as well as other activities such as parties and the fresher's ball where alcohol use is common, present the potential for victimisation. These factors make campuses attractive target areas for motivated offenders.

3.4.3.2 Level of surveillance

Social characteristics associated with sexual harassment and rape on campus include access to and from campus, desertion or isolation of an area, poor surveillance such as lighting, security as well as the cameras around campus.

In this regard, an area that is not well lit especially after dark and isolated may be more likely to be seen as an attractive target area. Thus female students who go around these areas will be more susceptible to sexual harassment and rape.

The number of pedestrians in some areas on campus is also important. In this regard, students who attend classes at night or study in the library at night may be seen as suitable targets. For example, when students come out of night or evening classes, they first start by walking in groups but as they get closer to the parking lot or residential areas, the numbers gradually decrease. It is thus not uncommon to find a student walking alone at night heading towards her dormitory. A motivated offender may follow this student and subject her to rape or sexual harassment. The reason for this is that there may be fewer individuals around campus at night who can distract a motivated offender (see absence of guardians, section 3.3.1.4).

3.4.3.3 Absence of deterrence

According to Dekeseredy and Schwartz (1997:131) there are rarely any sanctions placed on perpetrators of sexual victimisation on campuses. A number of reasons may be advanced for this. First, victims are often unwilling to report their victimisation due to a number of reasons which have already been discussed in section 2.2.5. Second, university authorities have also been reported to be reluctant to take action in the form of punishment against the offenders because they fear that should this come to the public attention, the image of the university could be tarnished (Fisher & Sloan, 1988:167). Third, there are often neither formal nor informal sanctions in place on campuses where sexual victimisation of female students occurs. In this regard, Bernstein (1996:8) studied a campus disciplinary system in the USA. His study revealed that disciplinary cases including cases of sexual victimisation are covered up on a regular basis. One possible reason for this seemed to be that some perpetrators occupied special places in the hierarchy of the university such as being members of the SRC, or the university

disciplinary committee. Thus, an appeal to the university authorities in charge of the case often results in the case being dismissed or sanctions overturned or reduced. The fourth reason is often the lack of understanding on the part of the university community (administrative personnel, academic staff, service staff as well as the student population) on what constitutes rape (especially date or acquaintance rape) or sexual harassment (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1997:5 & Fisher et al, 2000:12). Consequently, most victims do not characterise their sexual victimisation as crime.

3.4.4 SOCIETAL RISK FACTORS

A number of researchers (Dornhoff, 1983:143; Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:21) assert that various factors in the society could contribute to the sexual harassment and rape of female students on campuses. Such factors include the legitimisation of sexual victimisation, patterns of control and dominance as well as the role of significant others.

3.4.4.1 Legitimation of sexual victimisation

Society exhibits many pro-violent values and behaviour. These are demonstrated in various forms of entertainment such as the media, pornography, advertisements and movies. What is learnt in some of these is the legitimisation of various forms of violence towards women such as sexual harassment and rape. Faculty and staff, fearing possible job recriminations as well as the fact that these incidents are either misrepresented or distorted, tend not be aware of the violence thus allowing it to occur in secrecy.

3.4.4.2 Patterns of control and dominance

Closely related to the societal legitimisation of violence and sex role socialisation processes are hierarchical patterns of dominance. The inappropriate use of personal, physical or institutionally based power appears to be part of many demands and commands which lead to victimisation. Research by Whitaker and Pollard (1993:14-16) regarding rape confirms that most violence is a power issue rather than a sexual or aggressive matter.

Furthermore, most forms of harassment are based on the inappropriate use of power.

Dating requires a number of decisions such as when to go out, where to go, who will drive as well as who will pay for the expenses. This may also be used as a breeding ground for sexual harassment and rape. If a man, for example initiates the date thus providing transport as well as paying for the date, sexual harassment and rape may in his view be justified. The reason for this is that engaging in this activity may give a man power and control over his date. If the date is at night and at a distance from a place of residence, a female may be forced to subdue even when she wants to go home. In addition to this driving from a date, a man may decide to park his car in a secluded area giving him more power over the victim. This may lead to first unwanted touching and fondling and later to rape. The control and dominance issues are also used in explaining stranger rapes. This is typical of men who generally see women as sexual objects and thus less deserving of respect.

The power issues are also found in sexual harassment cases involving female students and their lecturers, supervisors or promoters. In these cases the individual can make sexual advances and if the student refuses she may risk failing a subject or losing a bursary or the withholding of a job offer.

3.4.4.3 The role of significant others

Victims often find themselves vulnerable to the stigma society attaches to being a victim of either rape or sexual harassment. This also stems from the social attitudes that have defined some forms of sexual victimisation as something that does not happen to “nice” people (Hubbard, 1991:88). Furthermore, friends as well as family (in particular those intimately involved with the victim), often have difficulties relating to victims especially in cases of rape (Ross, 1993:15). In some cases family members often choose to suppress all knowledge that the rape or sexual harassment had occurred. The victim could consequently be ashamed of what happened to her thus

blaming herself for the rape (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993:5; Shoop & Heyhow, 1994:59).

3.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, three theoretical perspectives were presented in order to understand sexual harassment and rape of female students on campuses. According to the lifestyle exposure model, the risk of victimisation is largely determined by the demographic variables to which a person belongs to and the way in which an individual conducts him or herself. Young, single individuals are likely to be at risk of victimisation. Frequenting public places, alone at night largely increases this risk.

In the routine activity approach it is stated that daily activities such as going to work or school place individuals at risk of being perceived as good targets by potentially motivated offenders. The absence of capable guardians such as the police, security guards, parents, adequate security measures (e.g. locks, alarms systems and surveillance cameras) that could deter the victimisation event from taking place increases the risk of personal victimisation.

According to the male peer support model factors such as patriarchy, male peer support groups, the use of alcohol as well as the absence of deterrence may increase the risk of sexual victimisation on campuses.

Despite the shortcomings of the various models and approaches that were scrutinised, they still provided an appropriate background for the formulation of the integrated model of sexual harassment and rape on campuses. This model synchronises a number of possible explanations which are extracted from the literature reviewed in Chapter 2, as well as the lifestyle exposure model, routine activity approach and the male peer support model. According to this model, various victim related risk factors, offender related risk factors, institutional risk factors as well as societal risk factors interact to facilitate sexual harassment and rape of female students on campuses.