

**VICTIMISATION OF FEMALE STUDENTS AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF VENDA WITH SPECIFIC
REFERENCE TO SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND
RAPE**

by

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Dedicated to:

**My mother and father
Shinah Nolukhanyo and Nzameko Dastile**

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Title : **Victimisation of female students at the University of Venda with specific reference to sexual harassment and rape**

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SUMMARY

In this study the nature and consequences of the sexual victimisation of female students at the University of Venda with specific reference to sexual harassment and rape were explored. To serve as a theoretical background for the study, an integrated model of sexual harassment and rape was formulated. In this model various victim related risk factors, offender related risk factors, institutional related risk factors as well as societal related risk factors, were highlighted as possible factors that may contribute to sexual harassment and rape of female students on campus.

Ten research participants who met the requirements of the study were selected by means of purposive theoretical sampling. Requests for research participation were made through the use of posters as well as the facilitation of a workshop on the campus of the University of Venda. Two victims of sexual harassment and eight female students, who were subjected to rape on campus, participated in the study. In order to obtain in-depth information on the nature of the research participants' experiences, face-to-face semi-structured interviews were conducted.

Based upon the analysis and interpretation of the data it became evident that most sexual harassment and rape incidents occur on campus between individuals who know each other. Further analysis of the data indicate that victim related risk factors (such as age, level of study, residential status, victim-offender relationship, victim participation and position in class, denial and non-reporting, the acceptance of stereotypes regarding rape and sexual harassment as well as the use of alcohol), offender related risk factors (such as male peer support and the use of alcohol), institutional related risk factors (such as participation in campus activities, the level of surveillance and absence of deterrence) as well as societal related risk factors (such as the legitimisation of sexual victimisation and the role of significant others) interact with each other and contribute to sexual harassment and rape on the campus of the University of Venda. The findings also show that victims of sexual harassment and rape suffer emotional, physical, social as well as financial consequences as a result of the incidents.

Based upon the findings, certain conclusions with regard to the aims of the study were reached and recommendations for further research were also made. Emanating from the feedback from the research participants, recommendations regarding prevention aimed at the victim, perpetrator and the institution (the University of Venda) were also made. The need for the empowerment of female students through educational programmes, the necessity to dispel the stereotypes surrounding sexual harassment and rape as well as the need to encourage the management of the University of Venda to take serious note of sexual victimisation on campus and to implement policy to protect women at this institution, were also emphasised.

- Titel** : **Viktimisasie van vrouestudente by die Universiteit van Venda met spesifieke verwysing na seksuele teistering en verkragting**
- Naam** : Nontyatyambo. P. Dastile
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OPSOMMING

In hierdie studie word die aard en gevolge van die seksuele viktimisasie van vroulike studente by die Universiteit van Venda met spesifieke verwysing na seksuele teistering en verkragting geëksploreer. 'n Geïntegreerde model van seksuele teistering en verkragting is geformuleer om as teoretiese agtergrond vir die studie te dien. In die model is verskeie slagofferverwante risikofaktore, oortrederverwante risikofaktore, institusioneelverwante risikofaktore asook samelewingsverwante risikofaktore uitgelig as moontlike faktore wat tot seksuele teistering en verkragting van vroulike studente op kampus kan bydra.

Tien navorsingsdeelnemers/respondente wat aan die vereistes van die studie voldoen het, is geselekteer by wyse van doelgerig teoretiese steekproeftrekking. Versoeke vir deelname aan die studie is gedoen deur die gebruik van plakkate asook die fasilitering van 'n werkwinkel op die kampus van die Universiteit van Venda. Twee slagoffers van seksuele teistering en

aght vroulike studente wat slagoffers van verkragting op kampus was het aan die studie deelgeneem. Ten einde in-diepte inligting rakende die aard van die navorsingsdeelnemers/-respondente se ervarings te verkry, is aangesig-tot-aangesig semi-gestruktureerde onderhoude gevoer.

Op grond van die ontleding en interpretasie van die data is gevind dat die meeste seksuele teistering- en verkragtingsinsidente op kampus plaasvind tussen individue wat mekaar ken. Verdere analisering van die data dui daarop dat slagofferverwante risikofaktore (soos ouderdom, jaarvlak, residensiële status, slagoffer-oortreder verhouding, slagofferdeelname en posisie in die klas, ontkenning en nie-rapportering, die aanvaarding van stereotipes rakende seksuele teistering en verkragting asook die gebruik van alkohol), oortrederverwante risikofaktore (soos manlike portuurgroepondersteuning en die gebruik van alkohol), institusionele risikofaktore (soos deelname aan kampusaktiwiteite, die vlak van waarneming en die afwesigheid van afskrikking) asook samelewingsverwante risikofaktore (soos die legitimisering van seksuele viktimisasie en die rol van betekenisvolle ander) met mekaar in interaksie verkeer en tot seksuele teistering en verkragting op die kampus van die Universiteit van Venda bydrae. Die bevindings dui verder daarop dat slagoffers van seksuele teistering en verkragting emosionele, fisieke, sosiale asook finansiële gevolge as gevolg van die insidente lei.

Na aanleiding van die bevindings is tot bepaalde gevolgtrekkings met betrekking tot die doelstellings van die ondersoek gekom en aanbevelings rakende verdere navorsing gemaak. Voortspruitend uit die terugvoer van die navorsingsdeelnemers/respondente, is aanbevelings rakende voorkoming gerig op die slagoffer, die oortreder sowel as die instelling (die Universiteit van Venda) ook gemaak. Die behoefte aan bemagtiging deur opvoedingsprogramme, die behoefte om stereotipes rakende seksuele teistering en verkragting te ontmoedig asook die behoefte om die bestuur van die Universiteit van Venda aan te moedig om ernstig aandag te skenk aan seksuele viktimisasie op kampus asook om 'n beleid te implementeer om vroue op kampus te beskerm, is beklemtoon.

1. INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Violence against women is so widespread in the country that it may be regarded as endemic to South African life (Strebel & Foster, 2000:11; Vogelmann & Eagle, 1991:1). Recent research reveals that the personal relationships of many adolescent women are bound up with violence and coercion (Strebel & Foster, 2000:11). Although considerable research has been done on violence against women and more specifically the sexual victimisation of women, relatively few studies have been conducted in respect of the situation in tertiary institutions.

Such studies have been prompted by the rising fear that these institutions are not ivory towers but, instead are now hosts to a variety of criminal activities (Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 2000:1). It is also noteworthy that large concentrations of young women come into contact with young men in a variety of public and private settings at various times on campuses. Thus, for the average female student, the campus is no longer a safe haven as she could be exposed to crimes such as rape, attempted rape, sexual assault and sexual harassment on a daily basis (Osborne, 1990:658). Female students, might therefore, be a group whose victimisation warrants special attention.

The focus of the study will be female students as victims of two forms of sexual victimisation on the campus of the University of Venda, namely sexual harassment and rape. In order to place the study into contextual perspective, a historical overview of the changing position of women in society will first be given. Thereafter, certain concepts that underlie the research will be operationally defined. The need for this study will be highlighted whereafter the aims will be outlined.

1.1 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

According to Gates and Chapman (1978:112) the historical roots of violence against women are ancient and deep. The emergence of the first primitive

societies contributed to the subordinate position of the woman where her sole purpose was to satisfy her husband's lust, bear his children and tend to household chores. In support of this view, Bebel (1988:1) states that oppression appears to have been the common lot of women from the beginning of recorded history.

Vogelman (1990:23) contends that violence against women must be considered within the context of patriarchy and the social control of women. The reason for this is that in patriarchal societies structures are essentially oppressive and allow women limited independence. Dobash and Dobash (1992:11) explain that since male power dominates most male-female relationships, women are ultimately reduced to social dependency as subjects to males. Therefore, societies organised around such relations may give legitimacy to violence against women. In these societies violence may not only be confined to physical abuse. In fact, this violence may also manifest as emotional abuse through threats and reprisals, exploitation, discrimination, or other forms of control and coercion. Although oppression, the subordinate position of women and patriarchal practices are not the only reasons for violence against women, Bebel (1988:1) and Vogelmann (1990:23) argue that it is often against this background that many women become victims of violence.

Early in history, the institution of marriage was closely supported by patriarchal attitudes that defined the male as an authoritarian figure who had responsibility of controlling the woman (Johnson & Sigler, 1997:5; Dean & Be Bruyn, 1982:18). Prior to marriage, the woman was perceived to be the property of her father or male guardian. This ownership was transferred to the husband when the woman married. The woman's role in society was defined in terms of her ability to function in a subservient position and to procreate. This perception of the woman facilitated the historical view of rape as a property crime instead of a personal or violent crime. Thus, a man could take possession of a woman, rape her and bring her into the tribe as his property or wife (Johnson & Sigler, 1997:6).

In primaeval German society, the practice of bride purchase was common. In this

particular society, a marriageable girl was put up for bid by her father or male guardian. Marriage was characterised by abduction, forcible rape of women as well as the auction of women to the highest bidder. Rape was also viewed as an act of theft or seizure of property from the victim's father and there were no laws against rape and other forms of sexual assault (Dean & De Bruyn, 1982:18). A man who wanted a sexual companion simply carried a woman away by force so that she could always be available for his own sexual needs. Women somehow benefited from this arrangement because the woman came under a man's protection and was therefore no longer a target for those who were hunting them for sexual purposes. A more detailed consideration of the position of women in primaeval times is given in the following section.

1.1.1 THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN PRIMAEVAL TIMES

In primeval times, women were regarded as inferior to men particularly during pregnancy and child rearing because they were physically at a disadvantage in terms of such activities as hunting and warfare. This forced them to look to men for assistance and support. It was a time when physical strength was very highly esteemed and the struggle for survival was at its most brutal and savage form. Physical superiority and male dominance was easy to sustain and according to Bebel (1988:8) it may represent the origins of many forms of violence against females. Such was the low esteem accorded to women that many female children were killed soon after birth. Those who showed signs of strong physical character were allowed to live for procreative purposes (Milton & Butchell, 1991:437). This was done in order to avoid a disproportionately higher number of women. It was also considered cheaper to simply capture mature women for use in times of war than to bring them up from infancy. With time such male views and treatment of women became tradition. Some of the resulting consequences are explored in the next section.

1.1.1.1 Male-female relationships

At first and for a considerable length of time, no lasting union existed between men and women. Women were the property of the tribe, without the right of

choice or refusal of mates. However, while apparently women had no recognised rights as individuals, the mother's right of property concerning the child (gynaecocracy) was long maintained among certain tribes such as the Lydians.

Bebel (1988:10) asserts that although men arrogated supreme powers to themselves, with individual men obliging women to associate only with them, such demands somehow obliged men to protect such women and bring up any resulting children as their own. These early arrangements among men and women are considered the beginning of more formal male-female or husband-wife relationships, which provided better security to the woman than her former position as tribal property.

Such male-female relationships also carried a division of labour. According to Bebel (1988:11) men hunted, fished and fought while women attended to housework and child rearing. The children grew up and in turn procreated which gave rise to a family, community and eventually the tribe. The tribe in turn was divided into smaller clans. Women had their own part to play as they were considered men's servants. They were not only responsible for taking care of the children and household chores, but also had to make clothing and build huts or make tents when necessary.

Men, having grown accustomed to rule, enforced total estrangement of women from other men. Women were obliged to retire from men's presence and to confine themselves to spaces assigned to them in the hut. They were also obliged to veil themselves to avoid tempting lustful neighbours.

The evolving master-servant relationship between men and women had important consequences. The woman, for example, was no longer a mere object of sexual gratification as was the case in the tribe. She had now become the bearer of heirs through whom the man continued his lineage after death. This meant that women began to represent something of distinct value and consequently became a much sought-after article of exchange which men had to

obtain through bargaining. In exchange, the father of the woman or bride received articles like cattle, game and/or fruits of the field. The virgin girl, in leaving her father's house, broke off all ties with her father. It can therefore be deduced that the lives of women were divided into two entirely separate parts namely, the first in the parental home and the second in that of their husband and master (Bebel, 1988:13). The effect of this, however, was that women became as much the property of men as any other possession which he could dispose of at his pleasure, retain or cast off, ill-treat or protect.

1.1.1.2 Right to land and inheritance

In primaeval times, land was communally owned with the proviso that while wood and water belonged to all, the part assigned for agriculture was separated into lots and divided among the heads of the families. According to Bebel (1988:13) the arrangement regarding land ownership reinforced the status of women as second-rate beings because as a rule, females were entirely excluded from participation in the lots. Only the sons received a share and it can be expected that under such circumstances the father would regard the birth of a son with more satisfaction than that of a daughter (Crump, 1987:21).

1.1.1.3 Prostitution

Although men throughout the world demanded from their wives strict sexual reserve with regard to other men (and have frequently chastised transgression of this rule by the cruellest forms of punishment), men were by no means inclined to subject themselves to similar restraints (Bebel, 1988:15-18). A man could in primaeval times, purchase two wives or as a victor in the battle, capture women from the conquered. Men who were absent from home because they were engaged in war or on a journey felt no restraint in indulging in new sexual relationships. An unmarried woman, widows, cast-off wives or wives of the poor who offered themselves as prostitutes helped to satisfy this indulgence. These prostitutes were paid in turn for providing or delivering sexual favours (Bebel, 1988:18).

1.1.2 THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE ANCIENT KINGDOMS

According to Crump (1987:22) women in the ancient kingdoms were also subordinate to men. The position of women in various kingdoms such as Babylon, Egypt, Rome and Greece will be scrutinised next.

1.1.2.1 Women in Babylon

In Babylon, which existed between 2000 to 1500 BC, women possessed rights that they had gained in a previous more enlightened era. For example, they enjoyed the right to inheritance alongside sons and brothers. Furthermore, upon the death of the husband or after a divorce, a woman was entitled to marry another man (Crump, 1987:22).

However, according to Crump (1988:18) nothing was sacred about marriage in this kingdom. Marriage was more of a secular agreement than a religious or moral commitment. It was contracted by a man, or if he was a minor, by his father. The liberty to terminate the marriage at will, without offering any reason, was the prerogative of the husband alone. Upon such decision, he was required to give his wife money to the value of the bridal gift. A woman could not, on the other hand, divorce her husband without bringing the matter to a court of law. During the divorce proceedings, a wife had to prove behaviour on the part of the husband, which resulted in her seeking divorce.

Hammurabi, a Babylonian King, who ruled from 1795 to 1750 BC, constructed intricate laws called the Code of Hammurabi. These laws dealt with all aspects of Babylonian life, including marriage and divorce. Hammurabi's divorce laws were almost as complicated as divorce laws today (Packer, Merrill & White, 1980:434). A look at some of its laws relating to women reveals much about the status of women in Babylonian culture. A Babylonian husband, for instance, had the power to divorce his wife by simply saying to her that, "thou art not my wife", or that "I had left" or "divorced you" where after he had to give her leaving or divorce money. The statement "I had cut the fringe of her garment" was also used. Since a garment often symbolised the person who wore it, this meant that

the husband had “cut” his marriage to his wife (Dean & De Bruyn, 1982:18; Hurley, 1981:23). As noted above, a husband could thus divorce his wife almost at will and his words were considered a legal divorce decree (Packer et al., 1980:424).

However, a woman could in turn never start divorce proceedings. She had to wait for the husband to make an application to the court. If a woman could not prove her innocence and/or her husband’s guilt, she was drowned. This resulted in a woman seeking divorce only in extreme cases. If the court ruled that the husband was at fault, the man had to give up the wife’s dowry, which often constituted a large proportion of his property. Furthermore, should the husband have been found to be the guilty party, the wife incurred no punishment for her refusal of conjugal rights and could return to her father’s house.

Cases of infidelity within marriage also focused on the wife (Hurley, 1981:24). An illegal sexual relation with a married woman was viewed as a capital offence. Furthermore, the Babylonians considered a married woman who was raped to be guilty of adultery. They usually bound her to the rapist and threw them into the river (Brownmiller, 1975:19). Consensual adultery resulted in the drowning of both partners, unless the husband chose to spare the partner in which case the King also spared the man involved (MacQueen, 1964:75).

1.1.2.2 Women in Egypt

According to Crump (1987:24), the Egyptian society (1546-1319 BC) was matriarchal and inheritance passed through the female lineage. In Egypt, girls were permitted to earn their marriage position by prostitution. For example, Cheops, one of the Kings of Egypt covered the cost of building a pyramid with the sums of money earned by the prostitution of his daughter (Bebel, 1988:19). Another habit, which existed, was that of showing hospitality to a male guest by giving him one’s wife or daughter for the night.

1.1.2.3 Women in Greece

Greek civilisation in the fourth and fifth centuries BC was an age when the status of women reached one of the lowest points in the recorded history of Western civilisation (Crump, 1987:23). Females whose main purpose of existence was to produce and rear children, were hidden in gynasiums which were usually an inaccessible retreat in the upper part of the home. Van der Walt (1988:22) asserts that women were regarded as being little more or better than livestock. They were regarded as a means of procreation and their duty was to produce ideal citizens (Evans, 1983:36).

Prostitution and homosexuality were also permitted. Bebel (1988:19) points out that the public brothels in Greece were established at an early date. Solon, a Grecian King, introduced them as state institutions into Athens around 594 BC, which caused a contemporary to sing his praise in the following manner:

Solon be extolled! For thou hast public women for the safety of the town, for the morals of a town filled with strong young men, but for thy wise institutions would have given themselves up to the annoyance and pursuit of women in upper classes.

However, when women turned to prostitution and homosexuality, it was regarded as degrading or criminal. Solon also decreed that married women who had intercourse with a lover should atone for the indiscretion by losing her freedom for life. This meant that her husband had the right to sell her as a slave (Witherington, 1990:10).

Lerner (1986:117) states that the sexual victimisation of females (specifically rape) was seen to have no devastating effects or consequences on the victim. In the case of rape, the victim was forced to marry the rapist in order to protect the value of the woman as dowry. Where the rapist already had a wife, the innocent wife would be chased out of the family house and often forced to become a prostitute. In other words, women were treated as usable and disposable objects

for male pleasure.

According to Witherington (1990:10) there were three categories of women in Greece, namely, the concubines, the Athenian citizens and the companions.

- **Concubines**

The concubines constituted the smallest category and were grouped with persons of the lowest status in society. Their main function was to attend to personal needs, especially the sexual requirements of males. The availability of these women meant that a male citizen could limit his legitimate heirs without limiting his sexual activities at the same time.

- **Athenian citizens**

As early as the fifth century BC in Athens, a woman of the upper class was free in name but not in status and role. This meant that in spite of her upper class status, she was not allowed to vote, sign contracts or settle any business transactions. She was allowed only to perform and participate in so-called feminine activities, which in many cases included physically demanding work such as weaving, spinning, cloth dyeing and raising children. The wife was just an apparatus for bearing children and even viewed as a faithful dog that watched the house. In contrast with this, the master of the house lived according to his own pleasure (Witherington, 1990:10).

In Athenian society, rape of a married woman as compared to seduction was consequently perceived as a lesser offence. In fact, seduction was considered a more serious offence because it was viewed as a premeditated act involving a lasting sexual relationship whereby the seducer gained access to the husband's household. In cases of seduction, the aggrieved husband had the right to kill the seducer. If he chose not to exercise this right, he could seek other forms of revenge, particularly those that involved subjecting the offender to humiliating acts in public, such as nudity (Bebel, 1988:21).

The husband of a victim of rape was required by law to divorce his wife even

though the wife might be considered innocent. Once she became a divorcee, the woman had no opportunity to prove her innocence and she became an outcast from society. Lack of consent to rape was not a relevant factor or acceptable defence. Rather, what counted most was that if the wife has engaged in sexual intercourse with another man regardless of whether or not it was forced upon her, the husband's status was lost (Johnson & Sigler, 1997:9).

- **Companions**

Women in this category had the greatest freedom among women in ancient Greece and earned a great deal of respect for their services. Their role in society included participation in festivals involving sacrifices to gods and goddesses. They were particularly honoured and respected for the role they played in religious activities.

1.1.2.4 Women in Rome

At the time of establishing the city of Rome around 450 B.C., Roman women possessed no rights (Bebel, 1982:22). Their position was as abject as that of the women in Greece. It was not until the Roman empire had grown large, powerful and the Roman patricians had become wealthy, that women's position gradually changed. It was mainly during the first century BC that women obtained greater social status as a result of the liberal atmosphere that was brought about by the material wealth that abounded during that particular time. They enjoyed far greater liberty and social responsibility than the Athenian women.

Roman wives had economic rights, the right to divorce, the right to own property as well as inheritance rights and were allowed to conduct themselves almost as independently as men (Crump, 1987:23). However, she remained a minor and could dispose of nothing without the consent of her guardian, who was either her father or upon death of her father, a male relative (Bebel, 1988:22). Thus, in spite of the gains women made in acquiring certain rights, men remained the proprietors of women under Roman law. This reflected a deep-seated belief held by men that women essentially had no will of their own and therefore needed the

guiding hand of a father, husband or male relative.

Due to the fact that the practices used in the past serve as the basis for defining the place or role of women in the contemporary world religions today, it is also important to take cognisance of the position of women in the prevailing or dominant religions of the world.

1.1.3 TRADITIONAL POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE WORLD'S MAJOR RELIGIONS

In addition to being a vital component of a people's culture, religion represents for its adherents an embodiment of divine wisdom and truth and therefore provides guidance in the conduct of human affairs. Thus, even though there might be more liberalism in religious observance today, the traditional view of women in these religions is bound to have contributed to present-day society's perceptions of women (Rikyard, 2000:1). The role of women in the religious communities of Hinduism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam will be explored next.

1.1.3.1 Hinduism

According to Bonvillain (1998:227-228) the fundamental doctrines of Hinduism prevalent in the Near East share the underlying theme of the possibility of contamination from women especially those related to sexuality. Important concerns in Hinduism are issues of purity, dangers of pollution and deity.

Contact with women's bodies during their biological reproduction period was said to be potentially contaminating to Hindu men (Bonvillain, 1998:227-228). Menstrual blood was considered to be a highly spiritually polluting substance. Therefore, women were strictly secluded from religious activities, ceremonies or rituals during their menstrual periods (Rikyard, 2000:1). Menstruating women also had to remain in a separate porch or room in the residence and to refrain from handling food or clothing or any other objects that might come into contact with her. Their bodies were also said to be contaminating to their children, which resulted in them being separated from their children at such times. The only

exception was in the case of a nursing mother. The reason for this exception was that mother's milk was considered a purifying substance.

While on the one hand Hindu beliefs symbolise dangers derived from women's sexuality, they also present, on the other hand positive, protective and life sustaining images of women through goddesses (Bonvillain, 1998:230). Deities or divinities were not representations of people, even though they had attributes of human personalities. Gods and goddesses were symbols of "universal cosmic essence" (Bonvillain, 1998:231). As married couples, they represented the dual nature of existence namely male and female. Most Hindu deities, whether male or female, were thought of as composites of a variety of attributes or aspects. In one form, they could be helpful, in another, they were cruel and vengeful.

The goddesses, in their more benevolent and helpful way were depicted as faithful wives. Dangerous, vengeful goddesses however, were viewed as being unmarried. This distinction implied that men controlled women's sexuality and this ideal was also reflected in marriage. These perceptions tended to reflect or reinforce negative attitudes towards women particularly when they appeared independent and failed to conform to the ideal of subordination to male authority.

1.1.3.2 Judaism

Traditionally, a high regard was placed on marriage in Judaism. However, this appreciation of marriage appeared to be at the expense of women (Evans, 1983:33, Van der Walt, 1988:21-23). A wife was, for example, literally locked in the house and was to be seen in public as little as possible in order to prevent her from seducing innocent men. Furthermore, the Talmud, which is the primary source of Judaic religious law, warns that men should not converse too often with women, even with their wives as this would ultimately make them fall into immortality. In short, a woman's sole role on earth was to fulfil her husband's destiny. She was to be a willing servant delighted to bow humbly to his desires and wishes (Crump, 1987:23).

Bonvillain (1998:230) points out that traditional Judaism, similar to Hinduism, contained themes of purity, pollution and of dangers to men posed by contact with women. Menstruating women were also considered unclean and contaminating. At the end of each menstrual cycle, a woman had to take a purifying bath in order to clean herself and return to normal life.

In the synagogue, the traditional place of worship, there was also strict gender separation. This, according to Evans (1983:35) was probably an extension or consequence of the belief in the contaminating and seductive influences of women. As far as Judaism is concerned, there is no doubt that the place of the woman was not equal to that of the man. Women were subordinate and inferior to men in religion, in society in general and also in the home and family (Evans, 1983:36-37).

1.1.3.3 Christianity

Although women played a very important role in the development of Christianity, this religion, like most of the ancient religions (particularly Judaism from which it arose) appears to have played a role in the subordination of women (Bebel, 1988:24). Walun (1977:126) notes that even the parables, stories and teachings of the Judeo-Christian tradition, perpetuate gender-role stereotyping.

Moltman-Wendel (1982:7-8) argues that the Bible was written or at least given its final form in a predominantly patriarchal culture. It contains a number of sexist remarks, which might be interpreted as suppressive to women. For example, in St Paul's letter to the Ephesians (5:23-24), wives are urged to "subordinate themselves to their husbands for the husband even as Christ is the head of the church". Those who interpret this biblical injunction or text for a wife to submit to her husband, often misuse the Bible to justify their actions.

The church's position, often consistent with that of various cultures worldwide is particularly evident in its emphasis of the biblical story of the creation of humankind and the way it is interpreted. In Genesis (2:7, 18, 21-23) the creation

story that is taught is:

the Lord God formed man (Adam) of the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life,... Also, Adam said, “this is now the bone of my bone and the flesh of my flesh, she shall be called “Woman”, because she was taken out of me.

The most popular interpretation of this text is that the woman, having been made after the man and out of a part of his body, was designed to serve man, as man serves God. To confirm this view, the Judeo-Christian creation story in 1 Corinthians (11:8-10) accordingly states: “...for a man did not originally spring from a woman, but a woman was made out of a man and man was not created for a woman’s sake, but a woman for a man’s sake”.

Bonvillain (1998:233-234) mentions that the Christian doctrine too, has at various times in history, been greatly concerned with the notions of danger derived from women’s sexuality. Although strict seclusion and physical separation is not part of Christian practise, visions of women as inherently evil, lustful and destructive are encoded in numerous teachings. The sin associated with Eve is one of Christianity’s dominating themes. In Genesis (3:16, 20) verses such as: “I will increase your labour and your pain and in labour you shall bear children and you shall be eager for your husband and he shall be your master” reinforce the subordinate role of women.

According to Walun (1977:130) there are many elements in the religious heritage of Christianity favouring different gender roles and expectations for men and women. He, however states that these attitudes are understandable in that the events and individuals described in the Bible were themselves located within patriarchal societies which were imbued by a set of beliefs about the natural order of things. Women were defined primarily in terms of their sexuality, for example virgins, wives, mothers, concubines (an unmarried woman living with a man as his wife) and prostitutes, whilst men were defined in a wider diversity of roles such as kings, soldiers and priests.

According to Rikyard (2000:1) Christianity today still harbours attitudes and practices that reflect a perception of women as the subordinate or inferior gender. In support of this he notes that in a Christian wedding the veiled bride is escorted to her groom to be given away by her father as if she were his property.

1.1.3.4 Islam

Islam doctrine in part developed from prior teachings derived from both Judaism and Christianity. Bonvillain (1998:231) postulates that the subordination of women in the Islamic culture was often severe. Patriarchal control was exerted on women in order to mute their sexual desires and counteract dangers imposed by contamination from women. The custom of *pardah* (seclusion of women) was basic to Islamic practise. Women were most of the time asked to stay in separate quarters within the house, away from contact with men. The reason being that according to Islamic belief, women were by definition impure. Only chaste women (those who were virgins) were said to be pure. Once they had intercourse, they lost, according to this religion, the ability to control their sexual impulses and had to be controlled by men. It was believed that a woman's sexual fidelity was only assured if she was a virgin.

Islam, which is the third of the so-called Abrahamic religions, the other two being Judaism and Christianity, prides itself in its detailed injunctions granting women rights such as inheritance, ownership of property, divorce and the like. However, in Chapter 4 of the Holy Qur'an, entitled "Women", it is written that the daughter's share of inheritance is only half of that of a son's (Chapter 4:11). Presumably this is because a son as a male has more responsibilities as an actual or future head of the family. It also states that men are in charge of women, because Allah (God) had made one of them to excel the other (that is women) because they spend most of their property for the support of women (Chapter 4:34). In this verse men are also permitted to beat their wives if they are disobedient. These verses did accord women a subordinate role *vis a vis* men in Islamic practice.

1.1.4 THE POSITION OF WOMEN DURING THE MIDDLE AGES AND UP TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The position of women during the middle ages and up to the twentieth century will now be discussed.

1.1.4.1 The middle ages (1000 AD to the 16th century)

The position of women in Europe during the Middle Ages was so debased that men were advised from the pulpit to beat their wives and the wives were to kiss the rod that beat them (Chambliss, 1954:255). A woman was considered a weak vessel in herself, given to sin and a source of evil. The Church insisted on the wife's subordination to the husband. The husband was to a wife as god was to him (Painter, 1970:121). The household was the basis for production and although women played an important role in this, very few if any, escaped total subjugation to their husbands. Thus, women were responsible for the procreation of legitimate offspring. The church, courts and community therefore closely monitored the sexual behaviour of women in order to ensure female fidelity and legitimacy of the husband's children (Donat & D'Emilo, 1992:16). It is evident that the value of women in society depended on their ability to marry and give birth to legitimate heirs. Women's virginity increased their chances of marriage in a respectable family. However, if this purity was violated through an act of rape, they were not allowed to get married and were seen as a burden to their families.

According to Johnson and Sigler (1997:6-7) traditional attitudes regarding violence against women and the status of women were also dominant. For example, rape was viewed as an expression of male power and domination and was regulated by the courts and the community in order to maintain power over women rather than to protect them from being violated. The social class and marital status of women were important determinants of whether or not a rape case would come before the court. Rape cases in which the assailant's social class was lower than that of the victim, or those cases in which the victim was married and physically resisted the attack, were the ones most likely to come

before the court. It was also necessary to show that the victim did not consent to the act of rape, meaning that she did not voluntarily engage in a sexual act with a man other than her husband. If she could not prove her resistance, she was then punished for the rape (Donat & D'Emilo, 1992:18).

1.1.4.2 The nineteenth century

According to Crump (1986:23), the situation of women deteriorated even further during this century. Old prejudices, which were held against women in the 18th century, still persisted and women were regarded as irresponsible minors. Furthermore, as the Industrial Revolution of the 18th century continued to develop, the husband became a regular wage earner and therefore controlled the family finances, which put him in a position to exercise control over his wife. Women were not allowed to work outside the home and they assumed responsibilities of caring for children as well as preparing food for their husbands (Crump, 1986:23). They were completely financially dependent on their husbands.

As the 19th century progressed, women who belonged to the middle and upper classes were allowed to work. Women with a poor social status, however, constituted a source of cheap labour. Their lives were characterised by numerous responsibilities namely, bearing children, cooking and cleaning inside the home. They also often had to work outside the home such as in the garden and fetch wood from the forest. Unmarried women were allowed to get an education, with only a few succeeding in carving careers for themselves. This coincided with the development of the need for clerks, shop assistants, teachers as well as nurses. Consequently, a new view of women started to develop (Crump, 1986:23).

As a result of this development, community controls on women began to relax as they were allowed to make choices. Women could now make decisions which included amongst others where to work and to further their studies. This freedom had its own peculiar risks and vulnerabilities. Women who worked outside the

home had more opportunities of coming into contact with other than their husbands. While no extra-marital sexual relationships might necessarily have developed, a particularly insecure or suspicious husband could harass and intimidate his wife with allegations of infidelity. On the other hand, as she would invariably have male supervisors or superiors, she could be subjected to undue harassment given the prevailing notions of female inferiority. The seeds of sexual harassment in the workplace, which became a major issue in the 20th century, were probably sown during this time (Crump, 1986:24).

1.1.4.3 The twentieth century

In viewing the plight of women in this century, the researcher will now focus on the position of women in South Africa (SA) as it is of particular relevance for the present study.

1.1.4.3.1 The position of women in South Africa

Prior to 1994, the legal codes of South Africa categorised people as African, Coloured, Indian and White. Those who were not white lived in a country that persecuted them for the colour of their skin, denied them job and educational opportunities on the basis of their race and ensured that their access to housing, health services, transport and economic opportunities was limited (Msimang, 2001:3). Racism under apartheid was both informal (everyday practice) and formal (e.g. laws designating areas where non-whites could and could not live, banning interracial sex and barring employment of non-whites in certain positions). The system also had profound effects on the private lives of women. For example, what was possible both in the home and in public was limited for many women by the conservatism of a patriarchy that was encouraged by the violence, and rigidity of the apartheid state.

While women in South Africa still have to contend with peculiar gender-related prejudices that often have their origins in the cultural past, the majority face additional discrimination based on class and race, as members of disadvantaged groups, ethnic minorities within their own areas as well as citizens of the

underdeveloped world. Although these three tiers of oppression (i.e. gender, class and race) may be linked, discrimination on the grounds of gender is often the starting point (O'Connell, 1993:4).

Throughout history, women have been perceived to be inferior to men and have been assigned lesser roles than those of their male counterparts. For a long time, men symbolically and ideologically structured the South African society as women's roles were defined by men (Lemer, 1989:28; Rissik, 1993:4).

Even today specific gender roles are allocated to men and women within each society. Men and women are also educated and conditioned according to these expected roles from birth (O'Connell, 1993:3). Invariably women have the primary responsibility of caring for children, the elderly and other family members who are ill or disabled. This usually brings with it a range of domestic obligations, which include inter alia growing, buying and preparing food as well as washing and cleaning. Furthermore, it is women who maintain close ties with other family members, organise social functions like weddings and run community health-care initiatives (O'Connell, 1993:5). On the other hand, men are expected to display traits or behaviours that are regarded as masculine such as aggressiveness, ruthlessness, competitiveness and dominance.

Women and men are thus expected to fulfil certain roles. Roles assigned to men and women alike are imbued with certain values such as prestige or perceived importance, which confer differential rights and power. O'Connell (1993:4), however, notes that, if all roles were regarded as being of equal merit by society and open to both genders, a division of roles would not be necessarily problematic. However, as roles differ, this leads to gender constraints which are inevitable in employment and education sectors.

Although the situation may be changing for women in the labour force, they by and large still predominate in the lower paid sections of formal employment (Msimang, 2001:4). For example, most women occupy positions, which though important to societal welfare are not regarded as prestigious such as nurses,

social workers, school teachers and clerks or assistants. Lower educational and training qualifications coupled with family obligations and cultural constraints, make it difficult for some women to obtain well-paid employment. However, even when they obtain such opportunities, women face gender-based discrimination in the workplace. Also, even if they earn the same salary, women may still be perceived as “minors” (Lemer, 1989:30; O’Connell, 1993:4).

South Africa, with its many ethnic groupings provides an excellent example of the homogeneous effects that socio-cultural factors exert on the position of women. South African women come from a variety of cultures, creeds and races. They are part of a population that is a mixture of different tribes of many different African ethnic groups, hosts of European immigrants of various nationalities and a number of different cultures from Asia. As a result, women in all sections of society have to juggle with different values and expectations (Rissik, 1993:9). While women suffer under patriarchy, women suffer differently depending on their race, class, religion and ethnicity. Although apartheid was primarily a racial ideology, it intersected with conservative class and gender ideologies in ways that made life much easier for white women than for black women (Msimang, 2001:20). On the other hand, South African women hold the spiritual and cultural values, which could be West European, Muslim, Hindu or African. In addition, they also face the harsh realities of a fast-growing westernised society that forces them to change age-old customs and roles. The unique positions of African, Coloured, Indian and White women in South Africa are discussed below.

- **African women**

African women form by far the largest proportion of the female population in South Africa. Their participation in the workforce has over a century been indicative of the gender division of labour within the home. As race was so intertwined with poverty, these women participated in the workforce in significantly higher numbers than white women did. The most common employment of black women was in the domestic sphere, as domestic workers. They also occupied positions as cleaners and tea ladies in office buildings.

Others were employed as farm labourers who worked alongside their husbands but were paid less because they were women (Rissik, 1993:9).

Over a century ago these women lived in rural areas with their husbands and families. However, no matter where women lived and/or worked, they were primarily held responsible for the family's health, wealth and happiness. Ndlangisa (1992:3) notes that a woman's most important traditional role has been the dissemination of culture through mothering. Attending to the family needs, caring for the husband, rearing children and ensuring good neighbourliness have been African women's first priorities.

Traditions played a very important role in social control in the tribal hierarchy (Rissik, 1993:61). Black women were subordinate to men within a wider kinship system with the chief as the controlling male (Brozzolli, 1983:152). The patriarchal system, which is commonly found in the whole of Africa, is also prominent among black groups in SA. Before marriage, black women were to be under the authority of their fathers or male guardians and later, when they got married, that of their husbands. Women had little or no say in matters pertaining to their marriage. The oldest tradition that centres around African women, the custom of *lobola* (the payment of a bride price which involves negotiations between two family representatives) meant that the marriage was an agreement between two families and not two individuals. Furthermore, the bride had no say in the choice of a marriage partner. It was therefore, common to find couples that were total strangers up to the moment they got married (Chinkanda, 1992:227).

The system of *lobola* gave the husband and his people the right to claim a woman as theirs. Its effect among the Zulu women is described by Nene (1988:12) as follows:

In exchange for the livestock paid, married women were expected to render life-long services to a wide circle of kin, to move away from their families of origin as a matter of tradition and to settle within easy reach of the husband's people, bear and rear children.

Among the Pondo tribe, a bride was subjected to strict control during the early years of her marriage. She was not allowed to have her own house. Therefore, she had to live with her mother-in-law who would subject her to various forms of cruelty such as succumbing to physical and mental abuse from her husband without lodging any complaints (Chinkanda, 1992:236).

With regard to domestic relations, *lobola* gave men the right to enforce authority even by beating their wives. However, such victimisation did not manifest itself in physical injuries only, because wives were also subjected to marital rape, wherein a husband would force himself sexually upon his wife. In spite of the occurrence of such victimisation, the understanding of the husband's role in a customary union meant that his right to treat his wife as he deemed fit remained unchallenged (Chinkanda, 1992:236).

The growth of new ideas brought about by education together with economic and political pressures have resulted in a change in some practices. For example, the *lobola* system or bride wealth has declined with the rise of urban, western values, which came with industrialisation (Schurink, 1992:231). Ironically, women now tend to be worse off in terms of the customary law than before industrialisation. According to Bronstein (1998:340) customary law stipulates that wives (especially rural women) do not have the power to prosecute their own divorces, they do not negotiate the bridewealth and may not tender its return. Whether the bride wealth has to be returned on divorce depends on who is at fault, but the wife is vulnerable to pressure to stay in her marriage if her family cannot return the *lobola*.

Crump (1987:15) also found that women, who have experienced a measure of freedom before marriage, were especially reluctant to play the part of subservient brides. Many prefer having children out of wedlock. Also, many, finding it difficult to work and look after their children, often send their children away to stay with grandmothers in the rural areas. In general, many more African women are becoming westernised and are seeking emancipation from some of the traditional restrictions. Although many are still concentrated in nursing and

teaching, increasing numbers of women are playing leading roles in government and the private sector such as corporate businesses.

- **Coloured women**

Coloured women in South Africa have experienced much of the same oppression as black women (Rissik, 1993:71). They were also subjected to racial discrimination in the labour market and education, resettlement against their will and to restrictions as to where they could live and work. Many coloured women work as unskilled workers, in the lowest paid jobs in industries that have traditionally employed large numbers of women. Examples hereof include the textile, garment, footwear and food processing industries, particularly in southern KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape. These women bear the responsibility of the domestic chores in their homes irrespective of whether they also carry the task of economically supporting their families (Hunt, 1991:3).

- **Indian women**

In the Indian community, girls had to stop going to school once they reached puberty and some were never sent to school. As late as 1972, only 42% of Indian girls proceeded to secondary level. Even now, whenever there is shortage of funds, it is the girl's education, which is sacrificed.

Crump (1987:24) argues that traditionally, among Indian women of Hindu faith in South Africa, a husband was seen as a teacher. He was also regarded as a god to his wife. However, a slow rebellion against these conditions is emerging as more women become educated. The educated women, for example, no longer believe that menstruation is defiling. The husband is no longer regarded as the god he was and younger women are exercising increased freedom in the choice of a marriage partner. More and more women are educated up to tertiary level. At the University of Durban-Westville, attended mainly by Indian students, the proportion of female students rose from 9,2% in 1962 to an estimated 74% in

2000. According to Rissik (1993:72), these women have a long road to travel before they can attain equality with their menfolk. Their position however is steadily improving.

- **White women**

White women were also excluded from most types of formal employment except for clerical and secretarial work. While this exclusion was not legislated, many white women were denied access to employment by conservative ideas within Afrikaans and English communities about women's place in the society (Rissik, 1993:8). Thus, white women's employment patterns mirrored their role in the family.

Msimang (2001:4) states that white women's aspirations and opportunities were limited by the policies of banks that would not allow married women to take out loans or open accounts without the permission of their husbands. Employers also fired women when they fell pregnant and the education system encouraged them to take courses in nursing or teaching rather than dentistry or other higher education courses. This varied depending on class and began to shift towards the 1980's as university enrolment evened out for white women and men and as career opportunities began to open up in a number of non-traditional disciplines. However, white women are still economically and politically disadvantaged in relation to white men (Msimang, 2001:5).

White, mainly Afrikaner women in South Africa have been the most advantaged among women of all racial groups by virtue of privileges gained from being members of the ruling class during the apartheid era (Rissik, 1993:69). A high percentage of these women are well educated usually to tertiary level. However, as women they are still a long way from being equal to men who usually run industries, the farms and churches. Life for non-professional or poorer white women is still not satisfactory as their roles are usually of a lower status (Rissik, 1993:69-70).

From the above discussion it is evident since early history women have been

subjected to a number of discriminatory practices both in the private and public spheres of their lives.

1.2 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

It is important to describe the subject of interest in a study as well as various facets of the problem to be researched so as to explain the parameters of the study clearly. The following concepts used throughout the study will be defined and described, namely sexual harassment, rape, stranger rape, acquaintance rape as well as date rape.

1.2.1 SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Bradenburg (1988:159) and Powell (1992:290) define sexual harassment as any attempt to coerce an unwilling person into a sexual relationship, or to subject to unwanted sexual attention, requests for favours and/or other undesired verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature. According to Evans (in Theron, 1989:216), sexual harassment refers to “any repeated and unwanted sexual comments, looks, suggestions, or physical contact that one finds objectionable or offensive and causes discomfort”. Both these definitions can be criticised because they fail to address the criminal accountability aspect. Also no reference is made of the fact that sexual harassment involves issues of power wherein the abuser has a power advantage over the victim.

Quinna (1987:7) offers another definition and asserts that sexual harassers often use economic or social power to dominate their victims. According to him, sexual harassment can be seen as “any unwanted sexual attention ranging from leering, pointing, patting, verbal comments and the subtle pressure for sexual activity to attempted rape and rape”. However, for the purpose of the study, rape will not be included in the definition of sexual harassment. In this regard, Bouchard (1992:21) argues that when rape is included in the definition of sexual harassment it tends to lead to confusion. He therefore, defines sexual harassment as “any unwanted or inappropriate sexual attention which includes touching, suggestive gestures and it usually happens in situations where one

person (the harasser) has power or authority over the other person (the victim)". This definition recognises that in certain circumstances, there is a power imbalance and in some, a sexual relationship that could be considered a violation of professional ethics and as such constitutes sexual harassment.

Shoop and Heyhow (1994:2), Sutherland (1991:1) as well as Welzenbach (1986:4) offer a more comprehensive definition of sexual harassment and the role of power in sexual harassment situations. They define sexual harassment as unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favours and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature when

submission to such conduct is made explicitly or implicitly a term or condition of an individual's employment; submission to or rejection to such conduct by an individual is used as the basis for employment decisions affecting such individual or, such conduct has the purpose or effect of increasingly interfering with an individual's work or performance or creating an intimidating hostile or offensive work environment.

The first section of this definition deals with what has become known as *quid pro quo* harassment. This occurs when specific employment opportunities or benefits are withheld as a means of coercing sexual favours. In other words, when an individual in a position of power, either explicitly or implicitly uses his or her authority to hire, fire, promote or allocate work to persuade an employee to engage in sexual requests. These activities can include complying with requests for dates or sex, being touched or fondled, or responding positively to sexual comments and flirtations (Welzenbach, 1986:4).

The latter part of the definition deals less explicitly with direct power relationships in employment by focusing on the work environment instead. If this is made unpleasant or uncomfortable for anyone on the basis of their sex or sexual preference, then it constitutes sexual harassment. This type of harassment, therefore, can include sexist or homophobic jokes or comments, unwelcome verbal and/or physical advances of a sexual nature, offensive sexual flirtations, graphic comments about an individual's body, sexually degrading words used to describe an individual and the public display of sexually suggestive objects or

pictures (Shoop & Heyhow, 1994:12; Welzenbach, 1986:4).

Sandler and Shoop (1997:4) define sexual harassment on campus as any unwelcome sexual advances and/or request for sexual favours when submission to such conduct is made explicitly or implicitly a term or condition of a person's academic advancement; such conduct has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with a person's work or academic performance; or creating an intimidating, hostile or offensive learning or social environment. However, till (1980:7) defines sexual harassment on campus broader as the use of authority to emphasise the sexuality or sexual identity of a student in a manner which prevents or impairs the student's full enjoyment of educational benefits or opportunities.

Since the above definitions specifically deal with sexual harassment on campus and they encompass a wide variety of behaviours, they were particularly useful in constructing an operational definition for the current study. However, the following definition of Braine, Bless and Fox (1995:141) will also be used because it is short and to the point and it also accommodates all the criticisms levelled at the previous definitions. They define sexual harassment as "exposure to sexual advances in a situation when the submission or rejection to such conduct is used for academic or work performance of a student in an educational environment". For the purposes of this study the word, "student" refers to female students only.

Sexual harassment will thus be defined as any exposure to sexual advances in a situation where the submission or rejection to such conduct may increase, prevent or impair the student's educational benefits or opportunities.

1.2.2 RAPE

According to Mauro-Cochrane (1993:18) one of the greatest obstacles to combating rape is that the court personnel sometimes doubt that rape actually occurred. Because there are many variables that play a role in rape, the solution seems to lie in formulating a concrete definition that will leave no room for doubt.

It is envisaged that such a definition should encompass all situations, environments, attackers as well as the type of force used. However, Mauro-Cochrane (1993:19) emphasises that a legal definition of rape must be considered at all times. In this regard it should be kept in mind that laws differ from one country to another and even in the same country such as the United States of America (USA) rape laws differ from one area to the next thus leading to problems in defining rape. On the basis of this, the researcher will consider the existing Criminal Procedure Act 51 of 1977 dealing with rape in South Africa. After this, the researcher will elaborate on the recommendations dealing with rape made by the South African Law Reform Commission in which a new legal definition of rape is advised. The new proposed draft Bill on Sexual Offences will also be discussed after which an operational definition of rape will be formulated.

The Criminal Procedure Act (Act 51 of 1977) currently distinguishes between two kinds of rape, namely statutory and forcible rape. Snyman (1999:424), the Unit for Gender Research in Law at Unisa (1998:104) as well as Vogelman (1990:4) define forcible rape as the intentional, unlawful sexual intercourse with a woman without her consent. Bezuidenhout (1998:130) on the other hand defines statutory rape as sexual intercourse with a person under a specified age, even if she participates willingly. This age may vary from country to country but it ranges from 16 (for girls) to 18 (for boys) years in SA. Statutory rape is however not the focus of the study and thus warrants no further discussion.

The South African legal definition of rape can be described further according to its most important elements namely, ***mens rea (intention)***, **unlawfulness**, **sexual intercourse with a woman** and **without consent**.

With reference to the above, **intercourse** is defined as any degree of penetration by the male organ into the woman's vulva or labia (Burchell & Milton, 1997:491). The rapist does not necessarily have to achieve orgasm or ejaculate (Vogelman, 1990:4). The slightest penetration into the victim's labia by the male organ constitutes rape. It is not necessary that there should be an emission of the semen or, in the case of a virgin, that the hymen should be ruptured or that the

woman becomes pregnant. The offence thus consists of the violation of the victim and not on the satisfaction of the rapist (Snyman, 1999:424). Furthermore, the acts of forceful oral sex or sodomy are not considered rape. These acts are criminalised under indecent assault legislation (Snyman, 1999:425). If a man tries to penetrate the woman with his penis and cannot because she resists him or gets caught in the act, he will be prosecuted for attempted rape. However, if he penetrates the female in any way, which does not involve his penis such as using a bottle, knife or any sharp object, the act will be regarded as indecent assault.

It should be noted that when a woman consents to the act of sexual intercourse, rape cannot occur (Burchell & Milton, 1997:492). The element of **consent** is in most cases defined by the male's perception as opposed to the female actually consenting to intercourse. In this regard, the law has accepted that the manifestations of resistance can take on many forms. These may include physical resistance where the male overpowers the female. This symbolises lack of consent. It is also accepted that when a woman submits to intercourse through intimidation or fear, she also has not consented to intercourse (Ross, 1993:10). The South African law also provides an irrebutable presumption in which a girl who is 12 years and younger is incapable of consenting to sexual intercourse. However, when the girl is under 12 years this does not mean that a man will be prosecuted for rape. This is more applicable in situations where there may be a lack of required intent upon conviction (Unit for Gender Research in Law, 1998:105).

Whenever a man has sexual intercourse with a woman without her consent, even if there is no use of physical violence such as the use of a weapon like a knife and the woman does not suffer any visible wounds such as cuts or bruises, the act is defined as rape. The actions of the man still constitute rape even if the woman did not fight her attacker off. What is of importance is that it should be clear that she does not agree or has not agreed to have sexual intercourse with him.

The absence of consent in most cases relates to **unlawfulness**, but depending on the case, it is also a separate requisite that the state has to prove it beyond reasonable doubt. It is also important to clearly distinguish between consent and submission. Snyman (1999:426) singles out five instances where consent cannot be admissible. Consent is firstly excluded if the woman is fearful of the threats or violence used thereby submitting to intercourse. Having intercourse when a woman is asleep is a second instance. Thirdly, a woman who is under the influence of alcohol or drugs cannot give consent as she is not in control of her mentality. Fourthly, if a woman is mentally ill to such an extent that her reasoning capacity is incapable of consenting to intercourse, consent is excluded. Lastly, consent obtained by fraudulent means such as a doctor who during the course of examining his patient, has intercourse with her as a cure to her condition, is also an instance where consent cannot be admissible.

In the case of *mens rea*, it must be proved that the man knew he was committing rape. In the context of rape, the state of mind is judged from the perspective of the male. Therefore the court analyses the male's perception of consent, as opposed to the woman's actual consent (Hunt, 1990:435). If he generally believes that the woman consents, even though this belief may be unreasonable, he lacks intention. It may be found that the accused thought that the complainant consented, in which case there is no intent or *mens rea*. Furthermore, rape occurs according to the law when the woman is made to submit to intercourse through force, fear or fraud, or due to the woman's incapacity to consent.

In terms of the South African definition of rape, the act can only occur between a man and a woman. From this it follows that a man cannot be raped and a woman cannot commit rape. However, a woman can assist the rapist, which means that she can act as an accomplice.

The reputation of the woman is irrelevant and therefore it makes no difference whether she is a prostitute or a promiscuous woman. As long as she has not consented to the sexual intercourse, the act is considered rape. The victim's version of the alleged rape may not be believed especially if she is a woman of

questionable morals (Unit for Gender Research in Law, 1998:105). In spite of the Criminal law and the Criminal Procedure Amendment Act (Act 39 of 1989) which prohibits the questioning of a woman about her previous sexual experience with persons other than the accused (unless reasons for its admissibility are provided in camera), the victim's version of the alleged rape may not be believed if she is a woman with questionable morals.

The South African legal definition of rape has been subject to a number of criticisms (Ross, 1993:10; Vogelmann, 1990:3). According to Vogelmann (1990:3) this definition limits rape to the penetration of the vagina by the penis. This implies that other forms of sexual contact, which may violate the victim's body, are ignored. Such acts include oral or anal penetration as well as penetration using objects. These are acts which when not consented to by the woman are referred to as indecent assault. In addition to this, when a man is convicted of these offences, a lower sentence or penalty than that of rape may be given. Moreover violent sexual assaults between people of the same sex are not recognised as rape. This may pose a problem, as same sex couples may not get an appropriate conviction for the crimes they have committed. Another major limitation of the definition is that rape is defined solely as an act, which may be committed by a man against a woman. Consequently, law does not protect male rape victims and thus female offenders are not liable for prosecution (Ross, 1993:10).

Following upon the recommendations of the South African Law Reform Commission in the Sexual Offences Bill that was introduced to parliament in 2003, the legal definition of rape will, in a number of aspects, undergo significant reforms. This is due to the fact that the proposed Sexual Offences Bill suggests the broadening of the definition of rape to include "any act committed when a person intentionally and unlawfully commits an act of sexual penetration with another person, or when a person compels, induces or causes another person to commit such an act" (Sexual Offences Bill, 2002:33).

It can thus be deduced from this proposed definition that the words sexual

intercourse is replaced with the words sexual penetration. This sexual penetration is broadly defined by the Commission as “any act which includes penetration to any extent whatsoever by a penis or part of the body of another person, or any other part of the body of an animal, into the vagina, anus or mouth of another person” (Sexual Offences Bill, 2002:33). This means that oral, anal and/or vaginal penetration or even simulated sexual penetration constitutes rape. Also, in terms of the proposed Bill, the Commission proposes instances in which sexual penetration can be regarded as unlawful namely, in coercive circumstances, during false pretences as well as in cases where the person is unable to ascertain sexual penetration (Sexual Offences Bill, 2002:33).

Coercive circumstances include the application of force, threats and indirect or direct abuse of power or authority to the extent that victims cannot resist such an act or express their unwillingness to participate in such an act. This might be applicable to female students in tertiary institutions. Sexual relationships, for example, between students and lecturers involve power relations who might mean that refusing any act of sexual penetration can have serious consequences for the student such as poor marks and/or forfeiting a scholarship or bursary.

False pretences or fraudulent means include circumstances in which a potential victim is led to believe that an act of sexual penetration might be beneficial to her physical, psychological, social or educational or spiritual health. Thus, female students might in this case believe that succumbing to an act of sexual penetration may be a way of obtaining higher marks. Consequently, they may tend to believe that sex can be exchanged for favours.

If a person has sexual relations with a woman who is either sleeping, under the influence of alcohol or drugs, undergoing treatment or is unconscious, it also constitutes rape. This is due to the fact that these circumstances impair the individual’s judgement and the individual cannot be in control of their own mental faculties. This factor is especially important given the fact that alcohol and drug abuse especially on campus is directly linked to an increased risk of personal victimisation (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1997:100).

In terms of the current definition of rape, the state has to prove beyond reasonable doubt that the woman did not consent to sexual intercourse. As mentioned earlier, this creates the impression that victims of rape are put on trial to prove the absence of their consent to sexual intercourse. The SA Law Reform Commission proposes that the absence of consent to sexual intercourse should not be included as an element of the offence and should be replaced by coercive circumstances. Accused individuals can still raise consent as a justification for their unlawful conduct, but will carry the burden of proof in this regard (Sexual Offences Bill, 2002:38).

Based on the above discussion, **rape** in the present study will be operationally defined as “an intentional and unlawful act of sexual penetration that is accomplished in coercive circumstances, during false pretences or when the victim (female student) is unable to ascertain penetration”.

The next section will focus on the definitions of various types or forms of rape based on the relationship that existed between the victim and the perpetrator prior to the rape.

1.2.2.1 Stranger rape

According to Lena and Lena (2001:1) stranger rape occurs when victims do not know their attackers. This definition is not adequate for the purpose of the study as it does not state the unlawfulness of the act. It also neglects to acknowledge the various effects this action might have on the victim.

According to another definition, stranger rape may be defined as non-consensual or forced sexual intercourse on a woman who does not know her attacker (Landmark first women’s definition of rape in international law, 1998:1). Although unlawfulness is illustrated in this definition, it must however be reiterated that men are victims of rape as well. However due to the fact that only female students are included in the study, **stranger rape** will for the purpose of the study

be defined as an intentional and unlawful act of sexual penetration by an attacker not known to the student. The same elements stated in the definition of rape above are applicable here.

1.2.2.2 Date and acquaintance rape

The terms “acquaintance rape” and “date rape” are often used interchangeably and can be defined as sexual abuse, not necessarily violent, perpetrated by someone known to the victim, often a peer in a trusted social relationship (Lena & Lena, 2001:3). Based on the fact that various researchers such as Bohmer and Parrot (1993:4) as well as Reid (1988:234) distinguish between date and acquaintance rape, these two concepts will be, for the purposes of the study defined separately.

According to Reid (1988:234) date rape refers to forcible sex when the offender knows the victim. This implies that the victim has agreed to some social interaction but not sexual intercourse. Benson (2001:1) highlights the fact that date rape is a term, which usually describes the context in which rape occurs. However, it also implies a situation where the victim and the offender are acquainted with each other.

In the light of this, Bohmer and Parrot (1993:4) define date rape as a rape that occurs while the victim and the assailant are on a date. In this regard the two parties can meet at a specific place for example during university related activities.

For the purposes of the study **date rape** occurs when a date forces himself sexually upon a female student.

Acquaintance rape is inferred when the victim and the assailant know each other. Rape by a friend, spouse, lover, co-worker or merely an individual the victim knows slightly, might be considered acquaintance rape (Bohmer & Parrot, 1993:4; Bopp & Vardalis, 1987:12). The researcher will use this particular

definition because it suits the purposes of the study.

It should however be noted that the difference between date and acquaintance rape lies in the type of relationship the couple had prior to the rape. With regards to date rape, a more defined relationship, which may be defined as a dating relationship, exists between the two parties. Whereas in the case of acquaintance rape a male and a female may, for example be classmates.

However, Parrot and Bechhofer (1991:213) point out that it is not always possible to categorise all incidents of forced sex as acquaintance, date or stranger rape. For example, how will an act be classified if the female met her assailant only a few minutes prior to the rape? This case may not fit into either a stranger or acquaintance rape. Be that as it may, it is useful to name these types of rape because the dynamics of rape and consequences thereof are different.

1.2.2.3 Gang rape

Gang rape also known as the “pack rape” or “bang rape” is defined by Encyclopedia (2004:11) as an act, which occurs when a group of people participate in the rape of a single victim, usually a gang of males against a female. This definition fails to illustrate unlawfulness.

Another definition which is provided by the Cambridge Advanced Learners Dictionary (2003:1) defines gang rape as a form of rape, which occurs when a group of men use violence or threatening behaviour to have sex with a victim. Due to the fact that this definition illustrates unlawfulness and that only female students are the focus of the study, an operational definition of gang rape will be formulated as follows: gang rape is defined as form of rape which is perpetrated by a group of males using violence or threats, on a female student.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

According to Schuler (1992:1), the victimisation of women is a pervasive problem world-wide. It is a well-known fact that violence against women is commonplace

and that it is perpetrated on young and old alike. This victimisation can take various forms namely, physical, sexual, verbal and emotional abuse. It was however, the feminist movement with the support of the media that put the issues of especially sexual abuse of women and girls firmly on the social agenda. This includes the litany of abuses from repeated assaults to rape and murder.

The findings of the National Progressive Primary Health Care Network (NPPHCN) in South Africa confirm that violence in youth relationships between the ages of 10 and 25 years is an everyday, expected and accepted experience for many females (Strebel & Foster, 2000:11). Conco (1996:22) states that in a series of workshops held with young people in the Mpumalanga Province, it emerged that men use violence, in the form of gang rape as punishment for women who step out of their traditional roles. Among these young victims could be university students who constitute the focus of the present study.

University campuses are hosts to a large concentration of young women who face a great risk of being raped and subjected to various forms of sexual assault (Fisher et al., 2000:2). This is the case because young women come into contact with young men in a variety of public and private settings on campuses. Osborne (1990:637) describes the university environment as a “chilly climate” emphasising that while both men and women are educated at the same universities, the social environments they inhabit differ significantly. Various studies conducted by Craig (1990), Himelein (1995), Dekeseredy (1988), Dekeseredy and Kelly (1993), Dekeseredy and Schwartz (1997), Koss, Dinero and Cox (1988) as well as Osborne (1990), indicate that victimisation of female students on campuses range from sexual harassment, attempted rape to rape. However, most violence is perpetrated by acquaintances (Koss, Dinero & Cox, 1988:184).

A study conducted at the University of Western Cape in 1987 revealed that female students are often victims of rape on campuses. Two cases of rape in the male hostels were, for example reported at this institution in 1987. Another incident was reported at the Rand Afrikaans University where a female student

was repeatedly raped by her date on campus.

In addition to rape, sexual harassment also seems to be pervasive on South African campuses. In a workshop held at the University of Cape Town (UCT) incidents involving student-student (peer harassment), student-staff and to a lesser degree staff-staff harassment were reported (Braine et al., 1995:142). However, even though these studies were conducted, Twiggs (2003:86) argues that there is a great difficulty in determining the true extent of sexual harassment and rape on South African campuses. She mentions the unavailability of data bases on sexual harassment and rape and that in some institutions nothing is put in place to measure the incidence of these crimes. In addition to this, many students do not know where to report rape or sexual harassment and as such choose not to report at all. In some cases victims also do not characterise their sexual victimisation as a crime due to a lack of clear understanding of the legal definition of sexual harassment and rape. They also do not report it because of fear of embarrassment, not wanting to label someone they know as a rapist and blaming themselves for the assault.

However, when such incidents are reported to campus authorities, the victims are often faced with humiliating and hostile attitudes from co-students and campus administration (Rape, a new campus culture, 1992:34). For example, the administration at the Rand Afrikaans University responded to the above-mentioned date rape case by commenting that “although rape is something terrible that has to be rejected, it remains a lady’s duty to make herself safe”. The administration went on to appeal to all female learners not to wear provocative or revealing clothing on campus (Ross, 1993:17). This leads to confusion as learners rarely know where to find help when they are confronted with such victimising situations (Rubin & Borgers, 1990:406). Therefore, many victims choose to remain silent and not to make official complaints.

It is important to note that at some universities the problem of sexual harassment and rape has become so severe that it limits women’s academic excellence. For example, at the University of the North, female students avoid studying in the

library at night or even attending seminars because they fear they might be raped or sexually harassed if they venture onto campus alone (Conco, 1992:14).

Vetton (2003:87) also highlights that “no national studies” have been conducted about sexual harassment and rape on campuses. She notes how this problem has been ignored because its publication could “tarnish the institutions’ reputation and image”. An incident at the University of Pretoria (UP) which involved an alleged gang rape of a victim who was an 18 year old girl at a men’s (Maroela) hostel, showed how incidents of rape could have a negative impact on the institution. In this case, the court due has acquitted the perpetrators to lack of evidence. However, drastic measures were taken to prevent UP from being seen as an institution in which incidents of sexual victimisation occur. These included an appointment of a new Hostel Head as well as the possibility of closing the hostel.

The researcher’s interest in the sexual harassment and rape of female students emerged from her work as a lecturer in Criminology, specialising in Victimology on both first and third year level at the University of Venda. Before presenting a lecture in a third year class on sexual assault, the researcher decided to give learners an assignment dealing with rape on campuses. Upon receiving the written assignments, the researcher became aware of various incidents of rape on campus, which were mentioned in these reports. Although this information came from secondary sources, the way these incidents were narrated aroused the researcher’s curiosity about the nature and true extent of these incidents. This led the researcher to ponder about the consequences these incidents might have on the victims and the realisation that this topic warranted some investigation.

In addition to this, in a subsequent lecture during which various types of rape and forms of sexual harassment were highlighted in class, the researcher noted the general level of ignorance that exists among learners regarding this topic. This conclusion was made based on the debate that ensued among learners who refused to acknowledge the fact that rape could occur between people who are

acquainted with each other or dating each other. It seemed that learners supported a number of stereotypes and beliefs such as that dating means that one should have intercourse with the partner, and that victims ask and provoke rape by visiting a man's apartment.

In light of the above, the researcher came to the conclusion that research about sexual harassment and rape could be of value to the university community at large as well as the society in general. By shedding light on the nature and extent of sexual harassment and rape, female learners could be advised about their vulnerability, who the likely perpetrators are as well as the high risk areas on campus. The university community, (management and administrators) could also potentially benefit by being aware of the dangers female learners are faced with and as such put programmes and safety measures in place or improve the already existing ones, in order to provide a safer environment for female learners. Lastly, society at large will be able to offer support to female learners who have been victimised on campus.

1.4 AIMS OF THE STUDY

In the light of the problem statement, the following aims are formulated for the study:

- To investigate the nature of sexual harassment of female students at the University of Venda
- To investigate the nature of rape of female students at the University of Venda.
- To examine the reactions and response of the significant others (family, co-students and administrators) after the incident.
- To determine the consequences sexual harassment has on the victims.
- To determine the consequences rape has on the victims.
- To get the opinions of female students regarding the prevention of sexual harassment and rape in tertiary institutions.

1.5 GEOGRAPHICAL DEMARCATION OF THE STUDY

Since the researcher is a lecturer in Criminology at the University of Venda it was decided to conduct the research at this university. The University of Venda at Thohoyandou in the Limpopo Province was founded in 1982. It is a historically black university catering for historically disadvantaged students. The student (which consists of about 5000) and staff population is relatively culturally homogeneous (mainly comprised of the Venda speaking people) and the institution is located in a largely rural setting.

1.6 PROGRAMME FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE STUDY

In order to achieve the aims mentioned in Section 1.5, the remaining chapters for the study are as follows:

- **CHAPTER 2:** Existing literature on female sexual victimisation
- **CHAPTER 3:** A comprehensive discussion of the theoretical framework
- **CHAPTER 4:** The methodological approach that is to be adopted to investigate female victimisation on campus
- **CHAPTER 5:** The analysis and interpretation of the collected data
- **CHAPTER 6:** Conclusions will be drawn and some recommendations will be made for future research

2. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of existing research related to the sexual harassment and rape of female students in tertiary institutions. A literature search done in libraries revealed that there is a dearth of relevant information emanating from SA. For this reason, the focus of this chapter will also be on international research done in this regard. The following main aspects will be discussed in this chapter namely, the extent of sexual harassment and rape, possible reasons for sexual victimisation in tertiary institutions as well as the nature of the problem. The similarities between sexual harassment and rape, will also receive attention.

2.1 EXTENT OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND RAPE

According to Johnson and Sigler (1997:31) sexual harassment and rape share much of the same underlying behaviour which amongst other similarities includes the fact that male aggressors seek to impose their will on female victims. Therefore, estimates of rape and sexual harassment may contain elements of each other.

2.1.1 SEXUAL HARASSMENT

The extent of sexual harassment in general and mostly in the workplace as well as the associated impact on the victim of the harassment has been examined in a number of studies both overseas and in SA (Fitzgerald, Weitzman, Gold & Omerold, 1988:336; Jagwanth, 1994:40; Mowatt, 1986:7; Russell, 1984:270; Russell & Wilson, 1983:180; Stanko, 1985:62; Sutherland, 1991:3). The results of these studies have indicated that 19-60% of women in the United States of America (USA), Canada, Australia, SA as well as Great Britain have reported experiencing some form of sexual harassment by a co-worker. In the USA a survey conducted by the United States Merit Systems Protection Board (UMSPB) in 1984 revealed that 42% of female government employees reported having been subjected to various forms of sexual harassment. The reported forms of sexual harassment included suggestive

remarks or gestures, unwanted sexual teasing, jokes as well as unwanted sexual remarks. More severe forms of sexual harassment such as unwanted letters, phone calls, exposure to material of a sexual nature such as adult magazines, unwanted touching and unwanted pressure for sexual favours were also reported (Russell, 1984:270). Furthermore these incidents of sexual harassment were not just passing or isolated events. Respondents reported continuous subjection to sexual harassment. Some respondents had endured being harassed for more than a week while some cases lasted for six months or longer (Russell, 1984:271).

In a similar survey conducted by Mowatt (1986:7) in SA among government employees, the incidence of sexual harassment ranged from 67% to 76%. The nature of the harassment is however not revealed in this study. Sutherland (1991:3) also sampled 100 female government employees in the Johannesburg area of which 63% reported having experienced unwelcome sexual advances in the office.

While the above surveys targeted government employees, Russell (1984:271) states that sexual harassment is not uniquely associated with government agencies. She is of the opinion that people of all ages, sectors (private or governmental organisations), salary levels and educational backgrounds are potential victims. As the current study will be conducted in a tertiary institution, the incidence of sexual harassment on campuses both overseas and in SA will be scrutinised next.

Research indicates that sexual harassment in tertiary institutions in the USA occurs more frequently than is generally assumed (Fitzgerald et al., 1988:336; Rubin & Borgers, 1990:397; Shoop & Heyhow, 1995:55; Tang, Critelli & Porter, 1993:52). A study conducted by Fitzgerald et al. (1988:336) indicated that 26% of 50 female students included in their survey had experienced some form of sexual harassment. Also, at the University of Minnesota, between 41% and 56% of women (including undergraduate and postgraduate students, academic staff members as well as service staff members) reported

having been subjected to sexual harassment. Another study that was conducted by Sandler and Shoop (1997:6) documented that 20% to 30% of undergraduate female students as compared to 30% to 40% of postgraduate female students had experienced sexual harassment, indicating that the incidence of sexual harassment among postgraduate female students is higher. According to these researchers the reason for this could be the direct contact these students have with their promoters or supervisors. Sandler and Shoop (1997:7) also stated that an estimated 2% of the postgraduate students included in their sample had experienced the most severe types of harassment, which involved direct bribes for sexual activity.

In a study conducted by Braine et al. (1995:147) at the University of Natal Pietermaritzburg campus (UNP), sexual harassment was found to be higher among female students. This study revealed that an estimated 65% of 50 female students included in the sample reported having experienced sexual harassment. Of these, 24% were harassed during social events such as parties and sporting events, 24% had been harassed in their residences whilst another 15% were harassed during student meetings. In another survey undertaken at Rhodes University, Maurice (1991:6) reported that 60% of 100 female students included in his sample had been subjected to sexual harassment.

2.1.2 RAPE

Available official statistics on the incidence of rape suggest that from 1994 to 2000 there has been an increase in the incidence of rape in SA. For instance between 1994 and 1998 (a period of five years) 46 748 rapes were reported to the police compared to 51 249 cases that were reported in 1999 alone (South African Police Services Crime Statistics, 2000). This increase could be attributed to a greater willingness to report as a result of the establishment of specialised units at police stations to deal with the cases of rape, rape crisis clinics as well as specialised courts that deal with rape cases (South African Police Crime Statistics, 2000). Statistics for the year 2000 to 2001, however,

indicate a stabilisation in the incidence of rape. The recorded estimates of rape for the year 2000 alone are 120.1 per 100 000 of the population. In spite of the fact that this figure is very high, these statistics are based on data, which was collected before the South African Police Service (SAPS), implemented measures to improve the integrity and validity of statistics (South African Police Crime Statistics, 2001).

In addition to this, a number of researchers in SA have attempted to measure the incidence of rape. According to Labuschagne (1986:91) and Ross (1993:6) SA has the highest rape figure in the world. It is estimated that about 300 000 women in SA are raped every year. Breaking down these figures, an estimated 400 women are raped on a daily basis and one woman is raped every 23 seconds (Ross, 1993:7; Seconds until the next rape, 2001). These are however, not official figures.

Underreporting of rape, also referred to as the dark figure, has been identified as a significant problem in establishing the extent/incidence of rape and reasons for not reporting include fear, lack of adequate support structures, shame as well as embarrassment (Vogelman & Eagle, 1991:219). The cultural as well as social stigmatisation associated with rape also act as barriers to women reporting rape. These problems are further exacerbated by the particular socio-political history and the oppressive system of apartheid. During the apartheid era a complex relationship, characterised by distrust and fear existed between the police and the community (Vogelman & Eagle, 1991:220). As a result of the apartheid legacy, a big part of the population still distrusts the police. Thus, incidents of rape are not readily reported to the police.

In respect of tertiary institutions, various international researchers attempted to measure the extent of rape on campuses (Day, 1999:300; Dunn, Vail-Smith, Fisher, Cullen, Turner, 2000:23; Himelein, 1999:94; Koss, 1985:198; Leo, 1987:77; Muehlernhard & Cook, 1988:61, Xu, Xie & Chen, 1998:179). According to Koss (1985:198) and Leo (1987:77) an estimate of about 20% of

the 100 university female students that participated in their study described their experiences as that which would fulfil the definition of rape. Koss (1985:199) indicates that from the estimated 20%, about 15% of the research participants had been subjected to acquaintance and/or date rapes. Skelton (1982:37) also found that nearly 36% of all female students that are raped fall prey to date rape. In such cases, the couple may, for example, have been out on a date or, it may even occur between intimate partners involved in a long-term relationship. Moreover, research by Allison and Wrightsman (1993:64), Fisher, et al. (2000:4) as well as Russo (2000:5) on university campuses also indicate that dates that lead to sexual aggression usually occurred in couples who had known each other for at least a year. A recent national study conducted by Fisher et al. (2000:8) in the USA shows that there is a growing trend of sexual victimisation on campuses. This study revealed that of the total number of female students (4 446), an estimate of 2,8% of these had been victims of rape. These researchers, based on this estimate concluded that tertiary institutions host a large number of young women who are at great risk of sexual victimisation (Fisher et al., 2000:8)

Studies conducted in SA also concur with the above revealing that the extent of rape is high among learners in SA tertiary institutions (Edusource, 1999:15; Griggs, 1997:4; Mahlobo, 2000:68). A study conducted by Griggs in SA tertiary institutions (1997:13) found that perpetrators of rape on campuses are students and that these perpetrators are usually acquainted with the victims. However, even though these studies were conducted, Twiggs (2003:86) states that no national studies have been conducted on the incidence of rape on campuses. This is due to the fact that in most universities there are no data bases to record the incidence of rape on campus. Thus, rape on campuses goes unnoticed and this makes it difficult to determine the true extent of rape on campuses.

The foregoing review on the extent of sexual harassment and rape on campus reflects the fact that these offences occur widely in tertiary institutions. The

possible reasons why sexual victimisation occurs on campuses will be discussed next.

2.2 POSSIBLE REASONS FOR SEXUAL VICTIMISATION IN TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS

Relatively little research has been done to explore the possible antecedents of sexual victimisation in tertiary institutions (Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:21). This is due to the fact that the focus of most research has been on the nature and not the possible reasons for this form of victimisation. Nevertheless, Parrot and Bechhofer (1991:21) are of the opinion that identifying factors that put people at risk of sexual victimisation in tertiary institutions may help to formulate risk reduction strategies in order to empower potential victims. Such factors namely, the social organisation of tertiary institutions, socialisation, patriarchy, the role of alcohol and drugs, failure of victims to report victimisation and the absence of deterrence are discussed in the following section.

2.2.1 THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS

According to Morewitz (1996:242) one of the factors, which may contribute to the sexual victimisation of female students in tertiary institutions, is the way these institutions are socially organised. For example, tertiary education, amongst others, places adult women and men of similar ages in close proximity for extended periods of time. Thus, from first year level to postgraduate level, males and females interact on a daily basis in class, during social events and during extra-curricular activities. These situations may foster not only opportunities for friendship and romantic relationships, but may also increase the likelihood of sexual victimisation.

Erhardt and Sandler (1985:300) state that the daily social life coupled with the pressure to engage in sexual relations, among both male and female students centers around the rate of sexual success. Social gatherings such as parties are often facilitated by either male or female groups to maximise opportunities

for members to find partners. This might perpetuate both sexual harassment and rape. Research conducted by Fisher et al. (2000:11), Griggs (1997:23), Johnson and Sigler (1997:55), Mahlobo (2000:15) as well as Stermac, Dummont and Dunn (1998:398) found that in line with the above study, most female students are sexually harassed and raped by their friends, dates and acquaintances in their dormitories and in other social settings such as parties.

2.2.2 SOCIALISATION

Many social scientists such as Domhoff (1983:143), Hare-Mustin and Maracek (1988:43) as well as Parrot and Bechhofer (1991:21) share the belief that society in general is stratified along sexual dimensions. This stratification reflects and maintains differences in power particularly on the basis of gender. According to MacKinnon (1987:34) socialisation into traditional gender roles ensures that this stratification is maintained over time. Central to gender role identity are norms that dictate proper behaviour in heterosexual relationships (Gagnon & Simon, 1973:42). For example, traditional sexual scripts dictate that men are the proper initiators of sexual contact and that the partner in this contact should be a woman in a submissive role (Gagnon & Simon, 1973:88). In this regard Abbey (1982:830) mentions that men may view any form of friendly behaviour from the opposite sex as an indication that she is interested in sexual intimacy. Also, if a woman wears revealing clothing on a date, a male may be more likely to believe or assume that she intends to seduce him and thus engage in sexual intercourse (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993:84).

Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh (1988:876) report that there appears to be some justification for male misinterpretation of female intentions by male students in tertiary institutions. For example, in their study of rape victims on campuses they found that most female students reported that they have said “no” to sexual intercourse. On the other hand, it may be to a female student’s disadvantage to ask for what she wants sexually. This is because she may risk being viewed negatively, (that is “cheap”), by her partner and/or anyone else who might hear about the incident. As a result of this, many female

students learn to be ambiguous rather than direct or clear about their sexual needs. Such behaviour may contribute to misperceptions in a dating situation and could lead to non-consensual sex (Anderson, Stuelb, Duggan, Hieger, Kling & Payne, 1998:133; Day, 1999:217; Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:22).

2.2.3 PATRIARCHY

Various studies conducted by Heise, Raikes, Watts and Zwi (1994:1169), Jewkes and Schrieber (2001:436), Lainer and Thompson (1982:234) as well as Mager (1998:653) contend that many male students in dating relationships espouse a set of attitudes and beliefs that are supportive of familial patriarchy. For example, dating may dictate that it is the male's responsibility to initiate a date, to plan where the couple would go as well as to pay for whatever expenses are incurred during the date (Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987:189). This type of situation is reflective of a relationship based on power where the male takes up an active role as an initiator and the female a passive role as the recipient. Such an attitude may be conducive to sexual victimisation as a male may for example, feel rightfully deserving of sexual gratification and be prepared to obtain it forcibly as a way of recurring his expenses (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993:75; Dekeseredy & Kelly, 1993:138; Green & Sandas, 1983:850; Peplau, Rubin & Hill, 1977:92; Dekeseredy & Schwartz, 1997:107; Xu et al., 1998:179).

2.2.4 ROLE OF ALCOHOL

Alcohol consumption as well as abuse is reported to be common among students in tertiary institutions (Backman & Backman, 1997:134; Dekeseredy & Schwartz, 1997:100; Gallagher, Harmon & Lingenfelter, 1994:40; Kanin, 1985:224; Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:23; Ross, 1993:110). Parrot and Bechhofer (1991:24) found that alcohol is mostly consumed during social events such as parties, celebratory activities such as after sporting events as well as among social networks like male and female groups residing in campus residences. Although alcohol use is viewed as a form of

entertainment, it also provides the opportunity for various forms of abuse to take place.

A survey conducted by Dekeseredy and Schwartz (1997:101) on the relationship between the role of alcohol abuse and sexual victimisation, indicated that among some male groups, alcohol may be strongly associated with sexist conversations about women's sexuality and social status. According to these authors male groups often gather at male residences and pubs to drink as well as discuss problems they have in their dating relationships. This female exclusion is often used by males to sustain masculine superiority, solidarity as well as dominance and they use these gatherings as an opportunity to prove and show that they are not controlled by their female partners (Bohmer & Parrot, 1993:27; Cammaert, 1985:396; Dekeseredy & Schwartz, 1997:106; Hey, 1986:66). Levinson (in Dekeseredy & Schwartz, 1997:108) concurs by stating that when men bond together, there is an increased risk that they will see women as the "other" as well as the weaker sex who deserve abuse. In addition women or female students who drink in the same bars are often seen as less deserving of respect. This alludes to the existence of traditional gender stereotypes in respect to alcohol use by women in society in general.

In this regard, Dekeseredy and Schwartz (1997:100) state that men who drink alcohol tend to be viewed more positively than their female counterparts, while women who drink alcohol are often perceived as promiscuous and thus less deserving of respect. Studies conducted by George, Govinic and McAfee (1988:196) as well as Ross et al. (1996:146) found that students in tertiary institutions share this view. These researchers indicated that female students who use alcohol are viewed as more willing to be seduced, favourably disposed to sexual advances and thus more willing to engage in sexual intercourse. Such views make women more vulnerable to sexual victimisation (Kanin, 1985:224; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987:186).

2.2.5 VICTIMS' FAILURE TO REPORT VICTIMISATION

A number of studies indicate that there are several explanations concerning victims' refusal to acknowledge that they have been sexually victimised even though the act as well as the circumstances qualify what have happened as either rape or sexual harassment (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993:63; Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:11; Rodabaugh & Austin, 1981:147; Ross, 1993:15). Such reasons range from the fear of not being believed, being blamed for their own victimisation, the stigma attached to being rape victims as well as the fear of bringing the perpetrator to justice.

According to Ross (1993:16) victims' fear of being disbelieved stems from the stereotypes held in society in general in as far as victims of sexual abuse are concerned. In cases of acquaintance and/or date rape, for example the accusation of rape is considered a charge a woman brings against her partner if she wants revenge or feels guilty about having consented to sexual intercourse with another partner (Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:11). Also women are said to provoke and enjoy sexual attacks when they wear revealing clothes, exhibit flirtatious behaviour or when they are not resolute enough to resist the rape.

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" women (Hubbard, 1991:88). Furthermore, friends as well as family and in particular those intimately involved with the victim, often have difficulties relating to the victims especially in cases of rape (Ross, 1993:15). For example, in some cases family members may choose to suppress all knowledge that victimisation had occurred. This might create the impression that what had happened was disgraceful and that the victim should be ashamed of her victimisation. In circumstances such as these victim-blaming is not uncommon and the secrecy surrounding the incident often results in society disbelieving that it

had actually occurred (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993:5; Shoop & Heyhow, 1994:59).

The process of bringing the perpetrator to justice is also a traumatic chain of events for the victim. The victim has to report the incident to the police and also be examined by a medical doctor. In this way, her victimisation becomes public knowledge. In addition to this, the victim might be required to repeatedly relate and consequently relive the experience to unsympathetic strangers who may be reluctant to believe that the victimisation occurred (Hubbard, 1991:188; Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:11). In respect of tertiary institutions, the victim may be required to report the matter to the security personnel, the Student Representative Council (SRC) or administrators on campus. This may lead to her rape or sexual harassment coming to the attention of other students.

2.2.6 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 of the fear that should it come to the public attention, the image or reputation of the university would be tarnished (Fisher & Sloan, 1995:167). Third, there are often neither formal nor informal sanctions in place on campuses where sexual victimisation of female students occurs. According to Bernstein (1996:8) disciplinary cases including cases of sexual victimisation are often 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

being 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.

From the above discussion, it is apparent that society's attitudes tend to give considerable benefit of the doubt to the perpetrators of rape and sexual harassment. In a more or less sanction-free environment, sexual victimisation of female students may become relatively easy.

2.3 NATURE OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND RAPE

The aim of this section is to investigate the ways in which sexual harassment and rape manifest itself as well as to describe the circumstances within which they occur.

2.3.1 SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Sexual harassment is not a new phenomenon. It has been recognised in the USA for over 20 years as a form of sex discrimination (Russell, 1984:270). Allegations of improper behaviour in the work place have become commonplace in today's society. Inevitably, this has resulted in a heightened public awareness about sexual harassment. The various forms of sexual harassment, the myths surrounding sexual harassment, the profiles of both the victim and the perpetrator as well as the consequences of sexual harassment, will be discussed next.

2.3.1.1 Forms of sexual harassment

Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favours as well as other visual, verbal and physical conducts of any sexual nature constitute sexual

harassment (see section 1.2.1). However, sexual harassment is not only limited to these factors hence determining what constitutes sexual harassment depends upon the specific facts and context in which it occurs. In this regard Sandler and Shoop (1997:5) as well as Shoop and Heyhow (1994:16) identify two forms of sexual harassment namely, *quid pro quo* and hostile work environment harassment.

- ***Quid pro quo* harassment**

Quid pro quo harassment can be loosely translated as “something for something” (see section 1.2.1). According to Paludi (1996:61) this form of harassment occurs

when submission to unwelcome sexual advances or other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature is a term or condition, implicitly or explicitly of an individual's employment.

This means that an individual is required to choose between submitting to sexual advances or losing a tangible job or benefit or failing an examination or test. However, there is no requirement that these requests be expressed overtly by demanding sexual favours. The advances may be implied by the circumstances and actions, for example, offering individual sexually explicit magazines or asking an individual out on a date in return for either a promotion, a letter of recommendation or a bursary (Sandler & Shoop, 1997:8; Sutherland, 1991:1; Welzenbach, 1986:4).

This type of harassment often occurs between a supervisor and a subordinate. An essential aspect being that the harasser has power and control over the employees in the work situation, or a student's benefits in an educational context (Shoop & Heyhow, 1994:16).

- **Hostile work environment harassment**

This type of harassment occurs when unwelcome sexual advances or other conducts are so severe and pervasive that it results in a change in an individual's work performance thus creating an intimidating, hostile or offensive environment (see section 1.2.1). Examples of this type of harassment include amongst others gender-based actions such as calling an individual derogatory names including names referring to body parts, insulting remarks or threats as well as the display of sexually explicit materials such as posters and magazines (Sandler & Shoop, 1997:6).

Hostile work environment harassment does not only occur between a supervisor and a subordinate. It may happen between co-workers and even fellow students (Salkind, 1986:62). Furthermore, unlike *quid pro quo* harassment, wherein victims may only experience unwelcome sexual advances once, Shoop and Heyhow (1994:17) state that victims of hostile work environment harassment may be subjected to a repeated number of incidents.

Research conducted by Graueholz (1989:800), Salkind (1986:63) as well as Sandler (1993:7) reveal that sexual harassment in tertiary institutions may take three forms, namely staff members to students, students to students also known as peer harassment and harassment of members of staff by students. The first form, namely staff members to students, fit into the descriptions of both *quid pro quo* and sexual harassment in a hostile environment, particularly if the student's performance, progress or benefits are severely affected. Peer harassment on the other hand includes threats and demands by fellow students, for example female students being coerced into either cooking or washing clothes in return for rewards such as being taken out on a date (University of Cape Town, 1991:190). Besides the obvious remarks, touching et cetera, this type of sexual harassment also includes *quid pro quo* as well as sexual harassment in a hostile environment because failure to submit to sexual demands means that a student will not be taken out on a date. The

third form of harassment may take the form of, for example, pornographic material posted on a female lecturer's office door, explicit sexual propositions and/or obscene phone calls from students (Graueholz, 1989:800; Sandler, 1993:7; Sandler & Shoop, 1997:14). This fits into the category of sexual harassment in a hostile environment. Although all three forms of harassment discussed above are crucial in understanding the nature of sexual harassment, this last form of harassment does not form part of the current study as the focus of the current study is on female students.

It is clear from the above discussion that sexual harassment differs from other kinds of interaction in that the behaviour is unwelcome and unwanted. As this harassment does not leave any visible scars or injuries, and most importantly, the victims are concerned about the loss of their jobs or failing at university, sexual harassment is less likely to be reported. There are various social myths surrounding sexual harassment in general which may also contribute to non-reporting of sexual harassment. These are discussed next.

2.3.1.2 Myths about sexual harassment

A number of complex and contrasting perceptions about sexual harassment are prevalent in society in general. These myths are mostly directed towards the complicity of the victims in their own harassment.

- **The beauty myth**

This myth denies the role played by a person, who by virtue of being in a superior position subjects a subordinate person either implicitly or explicitly to unwelcome sexual advances. It suggests that individuals become victims of sexual harassment because of their appearance. The implication is that beautiful women, are subjected to sexual harassment because of the way they look (Dziech & Weiner, 1990:63).

In this way, there is a denial of responsibility on the part of the perpetrator, thereby shifting the blame to the victim (Sutherland, 1991:3). Research conducted by Dziech and Weiner (1990:64) however, reveals the direct opposite of this belief. They indicate that university officials dealing with complaints about sexual harassment did not consider the victims of sexual harassment as good looking. Furthermore, according to Dziech and Weiner (1990:64) perpetrators of sexual harassment are hesitant of asking beautiful women out on a date due to fear of rejection as well as the uncertainty of the woman's reaction.

- **The clothing myth**

The cultural, sociological as well as psychological implications of women's style of dressing are very complex. For example, from infancy, clothing is used to express sexual identity among females. Little girls are dressed by their mothers like dolls. As they grow up they learn to dress themselves and for them, being dressed in a particular way is an expression of a woman's self-confidence. However, some individuals may view some styles of clothing as provocative and thus indicative of sexual intent or expression. For example a woman who wears low cut tops, tight jeans or short skirts, may be misinterpreted as inviting a sexual reaction (Shoop & Heyhow, 1994:58). Hence the notion that the victim provoked the perpetrator by wearing seductive clothing and is thus responsible for her own victimisation.

- **The unfit for university myth**

The motivation of female students pursuing tertiary education is questioned in this myth. Underlying this myth is a perception that female students in particular go to these institutions to attract men. These students are seen to be unfit both intellectually and psychologically to withstand the pressures of academic life (Dzeich & Weiner, 1990:70). However, a study conducted by Paludi (1996:185) shows that women's reasons for pursuing tertiary education

are to obtain education and advance themselves academically in order to occupy better positions in the labour force.

- **The galatea/pygmalion myth**

Underlying this myth is the assumption that women tend to turn to men for guidance and advice. Thus, a woman is seen as the weaker sex, who can not make her own decisions, but will turn to a male figure for intellectual, physical, psychological as well as sexual support. This allows men to view themselves as pygmalions whose role it is to give guidance to a lifeless creature, a galatea (Dzeich & Weiner, 1990:70). Galatea refers to a female used by a male (pygmalion) for the fulfilment of his needs. The pygmalion role also enables a man to assume more power thus encouraging them to discount any ideas that do not match their own. Thus, female learners who seek for guidance from men (students or lecturers) could be seen as not capable of making their own decisions and be subjected to sexual harassment.

- **The consenting adult myth**

This myth also shifts the blame of harassment to the victim in that she is seen as capable of either consenting or rejecting unwanted sexual advances. Thus, the fact that the harasser could have more power over the victim is not considered (Shoop & Heyhow, 1994:416). A lecturer and a student will never be equal because of the superior position a lecturer occupies. This role disparity could render it impossible for a student to reject sexual advances openly as failure to submit to sexual advances could affect her performance.

The myths discussed above push the blame towards the victim, thereby denying the role of the perpetrator in the harassment. In the subsequent sections the profile of the victims and perpetrators of sexual harassment will be discussed respectively.

2.3.1.3 Profile of the victim

Research conducted on sexual harassment indicate that it is a complex phenomenon and that men and women of all ages, gender, race, marital status and social class can be subjected to sexual harassment (Russell, 1984:274; Sandler & Shoop, 1997:8; Shoop & Heyhow, 1994:53). Kotak and Glutek (1986:427), however, state that women are more vulnerable to sexual harassment than their male counterparts. But, not all women are equally susceptible to sexual harassment. In this regard, Russell (1984:274) in her study of sexual harassment in the workplace, found that single, highly educated young women between the ages of 15 and 25 years, in superior positions such as managers, as well as women who work in male dominated workplaces and/or under the supervision of a male, are more vulnerable to sexual harassment than women in general.

Sandler and Shoop (1997:8) in their study dealing with sexual harassment in tertiary institutions concluded that not all female students are equally likely to fall prey to sexual harassment on campuses. They provide the following profile of female students that are vulnerable to sexual harassment:

The age of female students who are in their first year of study render them vulnerable to intimidation, manipulation and exploitative relationships. The fact that they are separated from their parents and have not yet established friendships add to this vulnerability. Active participation of female students in class also makes them susceptible to sexual harassment as they may be seen as attracting attention. Those who are class representatives, especially in male dominated classes are also vulnerable to harassment. Being enrolled in faculties such as engineering, which are considered male fields of specialisation, causes female students to be treated as outsiders and intruders. Postgraduate female students who work closely with their promoters are also vulnerable to sexual harassment. This could be attributed to the direct contact these students have with their supervisors. Xenophobia, whereby students of color or those who belong to certain cultural groups, are

seen as more sexually active, makes them more susceptible to sexual harassment. Physically disabled students, due to their physical weaknesses and appearance, are according to Sandler and Shoop (1997:8) also vulnerable to sexual harassment.

2.3.1.4 Profile of the perpetrator

Although most reported incidents of sexual harassment involve men as perpetrators, Sandler and Shoop (1997:14) emphasise that not all men subject women to unwanted sexual behaviour. Of those who do, the most likely are men who occupy superior positions in the work hierarchy or who are older than the victim (Russell, 1984:272). This could also be applicable in cases involving a lecturer and a student.

Sandler and Shoop (1997:4) state that in cases of peer harassment, the perpetrators are likely to be senior students. These students may, for example, be members of the SRC or student assistants helping out during registration. An inexperienced first year student may fall prey to these students as they are in a position to be subjected to unwanted sexual advances or requests in return for accommodation in the residences or registration of a specific course. According to Braine et al. (1995:148) students who abuse alcohol are also more likely to perpetuate sexist attitudes, particularly the sexual objectification of women thus encouraging sexual harassment.

It is important to note that few studies have been conducted in SA in respect of the profile of victims and perpetrators of sexual harassment. It is, therefore, impossible to ascertain the extent to which some of these factors are applicable to the SA context. However, the studies cited above indicate that sexual harassment is a major problem in society.

Most victims, for example, do not report the incident for reasons ranging from fear of not being believed, or being accused of provoking the harassment to

being blamed for their own victimisation and also losing their jobs if they report the incident (Adams, Kottke & Padgitt, 1983:486; Fitzgerald & Omerold, 1991:290; Rubin & Borgers, 1990:406). A common strategy victims employ to deal with sexual harassment is to ignore and avoid the perpetrator (Cammaert, 1985:396). Whichever way they decide to deal with the situation, sexual harassment has psychological, emotional as well as educational consequences for the victims thereof.

2.3.1.5 The consequences of sexual harassment

According to Paludi (1996:189) emotional responses following an incident of sexual harassment depend on the number of experiences of harassment, the victim's history of sexual abuse, the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator as well as the availability of social support. Identifiable stress-related symptoms that are typical of the Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) are often experienced by victims following the incident (Sandler & Shoop, 1997:16).

DSM-IV (1994:424) defines PTSD as the symptoms that develop following a direct personal experience or exposure to an extreme traumatic stressor such as a sexual attack. An individual response to such an event must involve intense fear, helplessness, avoidance of stimuli as well as distress. Individuals suffering from this disorder often exhibit symptoms ranging from nightmares, sleeping irregularities, biological changes as well as psychological symptoms. PTSD manifests itself in two stages namely the acute phase as well as the recovery or adjustment phase. The symptoms of this disorder may be visible long after the incident has occurred and such symptoms may or may not be similar to the immediate reactions experienced in, for example, rape (Shoop & Heyhow, 1994:68).

- **The acute phase**

The most commonly experienced symptoms during this phase are fear, shock, disbelief, anger, guilt as well as changes in sleeping patterns. This phase may last for weeks or months following the sexual harassment. Victims may, however, repress some of these symptoms due to high levels of stress. This may lead to a delay in the recovery process (Voigt, Thornton, Barrile & Seman, 1994:112). Female student victims of sexual harassment may have problems concentrating in class. This could result in non-attendance of classes thus leading to poor performance.

- **The recovery phase**

This phase may last for several months to years after the incident. The recovery phase is characterised by changes in the victim's social lifestyle and functioning (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1988:983). For example, victims who are subjected to obscene phone calls or posters may decide to change their telephone numbers or even relocate from their homes (Hamilton, Alagna, King & Lloyd, 1987:60; Sandler & Shoop, 1997:16). Female students may minimise the development of relationships with academic staff members, change their fields of study and in some instances leave the institution (Sandler & Shoop, 1997:15; Shoop & Heyhow, 1994:68).

Some victims believe that they can cope with these emotions on their own and this may have serious emotional consequences such as depression. A depressive state may manifest itself in a number of ways such as feeling unmotivated to, for example participate in class, uncontrollable rage such as irrational outbursts, feelings of inferiority, self-criticism and doubt. Furthermore, a particular place or event may suddenly re-create aspects of the harassment thus resulting in anxiety, panic or emotional reactions (Sandler & Shoop, 1997:15). Such places may be avoided by the victims resulting in non-attendance of both formal and informal activities. This is typical of the PTSD symptoms.

As mentioned earlier, factors such as the length of the harassment, the victim's history of sexual abuse, the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator as well as the social support from the victim's family and friends are important during this phase (Paludi, 1996:189; Quinna & Carlson, 1989:29). A victim who has been subjected to repeated unwanted sexual requests may experience stress-related symptoms such as an inability to sleep. Fear, loss of control as well as disruption of victims' lives have also been reported in these instances.

Sexual harassment can also revive wounds from the victim's past, such as prior incidents of rape or incest (Hamilton et al., 1987:160; Holgate, 1989:26; Schneider, 1987:60). The victim may then re-experience the symptoms of the Rape Trauma Syndrome (see next section).

The relationship between the victim and the perpetrator also plays an important role in the aftermath of sexual harassment. In this regard, most studies (Holgate, 1989:26; Quinna & Carlson, 1989:30) indicate that the victim and the perpetrators of sexual harassment are usually acquainted with each other. This could lead to the violation of trust, dignity as well as status degradation. According to Quinna and Carlson (1989:30) the violation of trust creates a range of emotional problems such as isolation. Victims often distance themselves from friends and family and experience difficulty in future relationships. Victims also report feeling degraded and humiliated. The degradation occurs when perpetrators subject their victims to unwanted touching or uttering derogatory names. During sexual harassment victims often feel as if they are the property of the perpetrators. Therefore, following the incident, victims feel stripped of their dignity and tend to blame themselves developing self-hate and personal shame (Voigt et al., 1994:114).

Also important after the incident of sexual harassment is the support of family, friends and partners. This social network may be supportive and sympathetic towards the victim thus making it easier to recover. However, this support may also be uncaring and hurtful as attempts to talk about the victim's

experiences are frustrated. Lack of this support becomes an additional source of stress which may result in victims isolating and blaming themselves. Unable to share their experiences, victims may be severely depressed and in extreme circumstances it may result in suicidal tendencies and attempts (Sandler & Shoop, 1997:4; Shoop & Heyhow, 1994:57; Quinna & Carlson, 1989:33).

In spite of the above information on the consequences of sexual harassment, no SA study has been done to explore the experiences of female students.

2.3.1.6 Prevention of sexual harassment on campuses

As mentioned in section 2.2.1, when students enter university, they are at the stage of experimenting as they are coming to terms with the freedom from their parents. This stage however, makes them vulnerable to sexual harassment. It is thus imperative that proper legal, emotional and medical structures be developed to deal with incidents of sexual harassment on campus. University management also has to put measures in place to prevent sexual harassment on campuses.

2.3.1.6.1 Victim support services

Support groups for victims should be established so that they can be able to share their experiences. Braine et al (1995:148) concurs by stating that after the harassment, victims need emotional treatment for the shock. The services of counselors or other trained professionals to help victims deal with their emotions are therefore required. The role of these professionals should be to provide support to the victims. Victims need legal, emotional and medical structures. In addition to this, they should help the victims realise that they are not to blame for the rape. These therapists should also help victims with legal processes by encouraging them to report the crime and helping to prepare them for the trial and avail themselves to testify, should the victim decide to report the incident.

2.3.1.6.2 Educational campaigns

According to Dekeseredy and Hinch (1991:59) education and awareness on what constitutes sexual harassment is necessary for students on campus. Educational campaigns and awareness programmes should be aimed at sensitising the university community on various aspects of sexual harassment such as the extent of the problem, forms of sexual harassment, dispelling myths about sexual harassment, consequences for the victims as well as the effects of the abuse of alcohol on campus. Day (1994:750) also state that these programmes should be made compulsory for all students on campus. The university management and administration should be involved in the running of these programmes as their intervention would create awareness of their commitment towards the safety of students on campus.

2.3.1.6.3 Encourage reporting

The literature reviewed in section 2.2.5 indicates that most victims do not report sexual harassment. Universities could create a way of reporting that will enable all students to report the incidents without fear of secondary victimisation from the perpetrator or co-students. Edwards (1995:265) suggests that a center, where the victims' cases will be treated with sensitivity and confidentiality be established. This section could also provide counselling for the victims.

2.3.1.6.4 Disciplinary measures

Day (1994:576) as well as Schwartz and Leggert, (1999:261) are of the opinion that in order to prevent sexual harassment, strict policies and regulations on how to deal with cases of sexual harassment, should be developed. These should include expulsion of the perpetrator as well as any other form of criminal prosecution deemed suitable when the perpetrator is found guilty. This could serve to reassure victims that sexual harassment and rape on campuses will not be tolerated and that when such incidents are reported, they will be treated with the seriousness they deserve. This information should be disseminated to the university community.

2.3.1.6.5 Improve security measures

University administration and management should ensure the safety of students on campus by providing enough well-trained security personnel. Information about security on campus should be given to current as well as prospective students. Bordner and Peterson (1983:198) are also of the opinion that security personnel should be deployed around campus areas and in the residences.

2.3.2 RAPE

In chapter 1 it was illustrated that rape dates back to prehistoric times. In the following section various types of rape, the myths surrounding rape, profiles of both the victim and the perpetrator as well as the consequences of rape will be discussed.

2.3.2.1 Types of rape

Rape can be classified according to the degree of acquaintanceship between the victim and the perpetrator as well as the number of assailants. It is within this context that four types of rape namely, stranger, acquaintance, date as well as gang rape can be identified.

2.3.2.1.1 Stranger rape

Stranger rape occurs when a victim and an assailant are not acquainted (see section 1.2.2.1). Allison and Wrightsman (1993:55), Dean and De Bruyn (1982:44) as well as Groth (1979:13) distinguish between three types of stranger rape, namely anger, power and sadistic rape.

- **Anger rape**

Anger rape can be described as an expression of anger, rage, contempt, hatred and frustration. The perpetrator's frustrations may exist as a result of being angered by a mother, girlfriend or wife (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993:55).

Sex is used as a means to degrade the victim. Consequently, the offender, in trying to vent out his anger, may start by physically and verbally abusing the victim through the use of excessive force such as beating, tearing the clothes of the victim, using abusive language and ultimately sexually abusing the victim by raping and subjecting her to various degrading sexual acts (Burchell & Milton, 1997:487; Dean & De Bruyn, 1982:45; Groth, 1979:14; Johnson & Sigler, 1997:55). Rather than to seek sexual gratification, the perpetrator wishes to hurt, punish and humiliate the victim.

- **Power rape**

Power rape is motivated by a strong need to control and exert power over the victim. Here, the perpetrator sees rape as a form of sexual conquest as well as a way of proving his manhood (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993:45). To achieve this, the offender uses whatever amount of force he deems necessary to overpower his victim. This may involve verbal abuse as well as threats of physical force (Groth, 1979:43). In this type of rape, sex is used to express strength, control and power over the victim and thus becomes a means of compensating for the perpetrator's feelings of insecurity (Burchell & Milton, 1997:488).

- **Sadistic rape**

The motivation for this type of stranger rape is of a sadistic nature. The offender is an individual who cannot achieve sexual satisfaction unless his victim physically resists him. He becomes aroused or excited only through aggression or violence, finding pleasure in taking a woman against her will and tormenting her (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993:56; Groth, 1979:43; Heilburn & Seif, 1988:56).

In tertiary institutions, the stranger rapist can either be a person from outside the campus or a fellow member of the university community (Bohmer & Parrot, 1993:25). The rapist may for example, notice the victim during a

campus sporting event or a party. In other instances a female student might be raped by a stranger who entered the university on false pretences such as posing as a delivery man (Bohmer & Parrot, 1993:25). It is also possible that a female student could be raped by a male student unknown to her.

Generally, stranger rapes are more likely to be reported by victims. This is because the victim and the perpetrator are unknown to each other. Secondly, because stranger rape is often accompanied by the use of physical violence, the victims are more willing to report the rape. The reason for this is that the existence of physical injuries such as scars or bruises could be used as evidence against the perpetrator.

It is however, important to point out that the three manifestations of rape discussed above are not limited to stranger rape as they also occur in other categories of rape in which the victim and the assailant are known to each other. This is known as acquaintance rape or date rape and will be the focus of the discussion in the subsequent sections.

2.3.2.1.2 Acquaintance rape

The nature of acquaintance rape is complex as it refers to rape in which the victim and the perpetrator have had prior contact before the incident (see section 1.2.2.2). The relationship and/or acquaintanceship between the victim and the perpetrator may be a very brief encounter wherein, for example, they only know each other through attending the same course as students, or belong to the same study group. In other instances, this acquaintanceship may be situational. For example, a female student who is invited to a party and is escorted to her room following the party by a male student. In such cases, the attacker could manipulate the situation to his advantage and thus have the opportunity to rape the victim (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974:983; Dean & De Bruyn, 1982:47; Koss, 1985:194).

Acquaintance rape is generally imposed through verbal coercion, intimidation as well as physical threats. The use of physical violence, which involves weapons such as knives, is limited. This means that victims of this type of rape rarely have any bruises, wounds or scars resulting from the rape (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974:983).

Research done by Bohmer and Parrot (1993:20) in tertiary institutions reveals that amongst others, there are two factors that could increase female students' risk for acquaintance rape. These include the number of men a woman dates as well as the degree or level of intoxication. In the first case, a female student who is involved with a number of men might be seen as less deserving of respect. As a result of this reputation, some men may invite her for a drink, with the intention of having sex with her. The second instance involves a female student drinking alcohol at a party, which could result in influencing her decision of whether she wants intercourse, or not. Being served with what she believes to be a soft drink, whilst it has been spiked with alcohol and/or date rape drugs, such as Rohypnol, Ecstasy, Gamma Hydroxy Butyrate (GHB) and Ketamine Hydrochloride could also place a student at risk of rape. Date rape drugs are undetectable, tasteless, odorless and colourless. Consequently, when slipped into drinks or food, they render the victim unconscious, but responsive with little or no memory of what happens while the drug is active in the system. These drugs also make the victim act without inhibition, often in a sexual or physically affectionate way. In this way the victim could be too disoriented to assert a lack of desire for sexual intercourse. Without any recollection of events, the victim is often unaware that she has been raped and even if she suspects that she has been raped, she often makes a very poor witness in court.

2.3.2.1.3 Date rape

Research on the nature of date rape has increased over the years with a number of studies shedding some light on the phenomenon (Bohmer & Parrot, 1993:58; Bopp & Vardalis, 1987:13; Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:10, Russo,

2000:11). Studies indicate that in date rape a more defined relationship than mere acquaintanceship exists between the victim and the perpetrator (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993:64).

Shortland (1989:250) provides a framework for a more consistent explanation of a dating relationship that might lead to rape in tertiary institutions. He proposes that, depending on when the rape takes place in the dating relationship, this type of rape can be classified into three different categories namely, beginning, early and relationship date rape.

Beginning date rape occurs during the first days of the relationship. In this case both partners find themselves caught between peer pressure as well as parental restrictions (Bopp & Vardalis, 1987:13). This is mostly true of learners who have just graduated from high school and are entering university for the first time. What typically happens is that the female student enters the relationship without the intention to have sexual intercourse. The male, on the other hand, may have started the relationship with the purpose of having sexual intercourse with her. Forced sexual intercourse in these circumstances may not be seen by significant others as rape because of the prior relationship the victim and the offender had (Shortland, 1989:250).

Early date rape characteristically occurs when the couple has been dating for some time, but is still establishing the rules of the relationship. It is during this stage that certain miscommunications and misinterpretations manifest themselves. For example, on the one hand a man may perceive certain verbal and non-verbal cues as well as the wearing of revealing clothes by his partner as a declaration of sexual intent while the woman on the other hand might not be sharing the same sentiments (Abbey & Harnish., 1995:166; Muehlernhard & Linton, 1987:189). Consequently, a man may, acting on his judgement, make more sexual advances and attempts at intercourse. When the female tries to resist intercourse, frustration, anger and embarrassment may build up in the man thus leading to rape (Shortland, 1993:251).

In relationship date rape the couple has been dating for an extended period of time. Both partners believe they have established the rules of the relationship. However, the male may begin to feel shortchanged if the relationship continues without having sexual intercourse with his partner. It often happens that the male may be unwilling to just end the relationship because he has invested both time and money in trying to impress the female. As a result of peer pressure and male bonding, a man may assume that in other relationships men are involved sexually with their partners. Following from this, the male may compare himself with the woman's prior relationships as a way of obtaining rewards for his investment. Thus, during the couple's usual petting, the male may force sexual intercourse (Shortland, 1989:254). It should be noted that the relationship may still continue after the rape as the victim is unlikely to label what had happened to her as rape.

Misconceptions do not only result in a female being subjected to rape by her partner but may also lead to her being raped by a group of men who subscribe to these misperceptions. This is known as gang rape which is the fourth type of rape to be discussed.

2.3.2.1.4 Gang rape

The motivation for this type of rape is different from rape which involves only one perpetrator. This is due to the fact that a group rapes a woman to prove their manhood and thus to be accepted by the group (Benedict, 1985:8). However, not all members of the group might willingly participate in the rape. Some may, due to peer pressure and fear of other members' disapproval in not participating in the rape, unwillingly take part in the rape (Mauro-Cochrane, 1993:24).

The level of a female's intoxication can be a precipitating factor which may, in the eyes of the perpetrators, make her a suitable target for gang rape. In this case, perpetrators take advantage of the victim's high level of drunkenness to rape her. A woman, who has a bad reputation of dating a number of men, is

also often the victim of a gang rape. Such perpetrators may feel that the victim deserves to be punished and that gang rape serves as a good means of punishment to teach her a lesson (Bohmer & Parrot, 1993:28, Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:140).

From the above subsections on the various types of rape, it can be deduced that numerous social misperceptions and misconceptions, which have grown into myths, are held about rape. A comprehensive review of these cultural myths follows in the next section.

2.3.2.2 Rape myths

Burt (1980:217), Parrot and Bechhofer (1991:26) as well as Vogelmann (1990:61) describe rape myths as false views of what rape is and why it happens. These myths entail stereotypes and false beliefs about rape, rape victims as well as perpetrators. Although myths of rape misrepresent reality, they have been internalised by some members of the society (Labuschagne, 1986:103).

- **Sexual consent and coercion myth**

Lack of sexual consent is central to the current legal definition of rape. Thus, sexual intercourse forced on either a date, partner or stranger constitutes rape. However, according to Russo (2000:2) the society is reluctant to accept and acknowledge the fact that sexual consent can be denied even if a couple is in a relationship. This may be attributable to the fact that consent or lack thereof between people who are familiar with each other is not always communicated clearly. This might lead to miscommunication as well as misinterpretation which may lead to adherence to rape myths. In this regard Pineau (1989:217) states that clear communication regarding sexual consent is crucial in order to neutralise ambiguous messages.

The normalisation of sexual coercion, particularly in date and acquaintance rape, is one of the major reasons why such rapes are often regarded as not criminal. For example, in some stranger as well as gang rapes, sexual consent might be obtained through the use of physical and violent force. Physical scars or injuries suffered during the attack thus often serve as evidence that the victim was indeed raped. However, in date and acquaintance rape, consent to sexual intercourse might be obtained through verbal coercion. This often results in the society questioning the fact that the rape had actually occurred and adds to the trauma experienced by victims.

- **The impossibility of rape myth**

This myth rules out the occurrence of rape thereby promoting the idea that women falsely accuse men of rape. For instance, women are said to report rape to cover-up an extra marital relationship or pregnancy or even to take revenge on someone who refused their advances (Parrot & Bechhofer, 1993:20). Such beliefs invariably tend to have the effect of negating a claim of rape especially if the perpetrator and the victim are acquainted with each other such as a classmate, boyfriend or ex-lover (Schwendinger & Schwendinger, 1983:19).

Abbey and Harnish (1995:309) as well as Schwendinger and Schwendinger (1983:19) highlight another widely held belief which falls in this category, namely that even a strong man cannot rape a healthy woman. Schwendinger and Schwendinger (1983:19) elaborate on this widely held belief by stating that the myth exists that rape cannot be perpetrated by one man alone on a woman of good health and vigour. According to this myth healthy women can successfully resist rape, especially if it is perpetrated by someone known to the victim (Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:31). The perception is that if the woman does not try to resist the attack, then it does not constitute rape. Individuals who adhere to this belief also tend to compare rape to voluntary sexual intercourse. In this instance, rape is believed to be an act that the victim “asked” for.

- **Women ask and deserve to be raped myth**

An act of rape is denied in this instance by asserting that women, in one way or another, ask and deserve to be raped. The implication is that a woman provokes rape by either wearing revealing clothes, inviting a man to her home and/or accepting an invitation to a man's apartment. Such women are thus perceived as inviting sexual intercourse and the contention is that the resultant forced sexual violation is their own fault (Paludi, 1996:187; Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:31, Vogelmann, 1990:67). Underlying this kind of reasoning and attitude is an assumption that women are shy, passive and manipulative. In this case, it is believed that men use rape to "cure" such women (Scully, 1990:102; Quinna & Katharin, 1989:36). Rape is therefore made to resemble any normal consensual sexual encounter. The fact that violence and power are used during the rape is disregarded.

Women are also said to be asking for rape in cases where routine activities such as working or attending classes at night or even hitchhiking, makes them vulnerable to victimisation (Holcomb, Sondag & Williams, 1991:439; Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:32). This blaming of the victim is especially peculiar to rape cases. For example, if a woman is robbed of her belongings in an area with a high crime rate, no one denies the fact that a crime was committed. It will be rarely suggested that she asked to be robbed. In the case of rape, however, the myth that the woman deserved to be raped operates to blame the victim even when the facts show that the majority of perpetrators premeditated the attack.

- **Women should relax and enjoy rape myth**

According to Scully (1990:105) perpetrators of rape believe that when forced sexual intercourse commences, the victim starts to relax and enjoys being raped. In contrast to this stereotype, Burgess and Holmstrom (1979:650) indicate that far from enjoyment, rape victims experience adverse psychological consequences. There are also adverse physical effects with

victims often feeling nauseous while being raped (Vogelman, 1990:65). For a further discussion on the consequences of rape see section 2.4.2.5.

- **No harm was done myth**

This myth implies that rape is not different from consensual sexual intercourse particularly if the victim is not a “virgin”. This means that if a woman agrees to sexual intercourse with her boyfriend, for example, she then is not in a position to refuse sex with any other man. Thus, because she has had sexual encounters prior to the rape, she is not considered valuable and therefore sexually available (Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:30). As a result of this stereotype the public is less likely to believe that the victim was actually raped. Moreover, if the woman is raped after frequenting a bar or other places associated with promiscuity by society, the report of rape is often not accepted. This usually leads to the victim being blamed and assertions that the victim asked for it and thus deserves what had happened to her. The harmful nature of forced sexual penetration is, in these cases negated.

- **Uncontrollable passion myth**

Burgess and Holmstrom (1979:22) state that there are two widely held beliefs in this category. The first myth being that rape is perpetrated by healthy, sexually aggressive men whose offence is a result of the behaviour of provocative and seductive women. The implication here is that a rapist is a normal individual who happens to be a victim of circumstances. For example, a woman who wears revealing clothes which is believed to sexually excite the perpetrator is then “obliged” to finish what she started by having sexual intercourse with the assailant (Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:32; Vogelman, 1990:62).

Rapists are also believed to be oversexed, sexually perverted, crazy individuals. In this case, a rapist is seen as an inhumane person who under stress might react with increased sexual aggression. The significance of this

classification is that male sexual passion is uncontrollable (Schwendinger & Schwendinger, 1983:25). However, research shows that perpetrators of rape come from all backgrounds, classes and are rarely if ever mentally ill. Research conducted by Parrot and Bechhofer (1991:32) concur by stating that rapists are normal individuals who in some instances admit to have raped when, or are likely to rape if, they could get away with it.

- **Legalisation of prostitution myth**

Finally, a popular myth proposed by some people seeking a solution to the problem of rape concerns a possible relationship between rape and prostitution. According to Schwendinger and Schwendinger (1983:28) this stereotype suggests that rape would decrease significantly if prostitution were legalised. Underlying this belief is the notion that rape is a crime of sexual passion and thus can be prevented by some commercialised sex practices. However, as already noted above, this belief is false as rape is not a crime of sexual passion.

An understanding of the issues relating to rape highlights that there exists a link between traditional sex stereotypes and the occurrence of rape. To dispel some of the myths discussed above, it is important to look at the profiles of both the rape victim and the perpetrator.

2.3.2.3 Profile of the rape victim

According to Johnson and Sigler (1997:58) women and men belonging to all age groups can be victims of rape. This means that there are no prerequisites for becoming a victim of rape. Research conducted by Johnson and Sigler (1997:55), Labuschagne (1986:94) as well as Rodabaugh and Austin (1981:44) show that there are various factors which make some people more vulnerable to rape. Elderly people, women in particular, as well as the very young may, for example, be at risk of rape because of their age. Women who work in institutions requiring them to render services at night such as nurses,

telephone operators, students attending night classes and prostitutes may also be highly susceptible to rape. The physically ill and the mentally handicapped, who may be unable to resist the rape, are also vulnerable to rape. People, who lead deviant lifestyles such as alcoholics and drug addicts, may also be suitable targets as their lifestyles and weakened states place them in risky situations such as drinking in bars at night. The vulnerability of these individuals is further increased by the perpetrator's knowledge that victims are unlikely to report the crime. In addition, if, and when, they do report it, the victims may not be taken seriously by the police. Since the focus of the current study is on female students at tertiary institutions, the profiles of children and men who are also vulnerable to rape will not be discussed.

Ageton (1983:34), Clark and Lewis (1977:58), Katz and Mazur (1979:33), Powell (1980:9) as well as Russell (1984:81) point out that although women of all age groups are vulnerable to rape, various studies show that women who belong to the adolescent and young adulthood group are more susceptible to rape. Clark and Lewis (1977:58) report that an estimated 58,3% of the 20 victims in their study were between the ages of 14 and 25 years. Amir's pioneer study in 1971 indicates that almost one quarter of the victims in his study were between 15 and 19 years of age. Consistent with the findings of Katz and Mazur (1979:33) and Russell (1984:81) the high-risk groups are between the ages of 18 and 30 years.

Women in the above category are usually not married. These women are vulnerable to rape by virtue of their lifestyle which often enables them to go out alone at night. Their relations with men have frequently been limited to the trusted, caring figures of their childhood or the young men dated in high school. They thus enter the adult world with little sophistication and may easily be confronted with unwelcome sexual advances.

This description is typical of female students who have just graduated from high school and are entering university for the first time (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974:983; Koss et al., 1987:164). Research conducted by

Bohmer and Parrot (1993:18) as well as Russo (2000:5) in tertiary institutions in the USA buttress the above by pointing out that university female students are more likely to be raped during their first year of study as they are still breaking away from the control of their parents and familiarising themselves with the norms of the university. It is not unlikely that these students may be subjected to rape during the course of their studies by perpetrators they know (Bohmer & Parrot, 1993:24; Koss et al., 1987:168; Powell, 1980:128). Young victims are also more manageable and easily mobilised by fears and threats (Bohmer & Parrot, 1993:23). In addition, they are more accessible than an experienced adult who might shy away from a potentially dangerous situation.

2.3.2.4 Profile of the perpetrator

The rapist is described by Rodabaugh and Austin (1977:38) as a normal man found among a wide sphere of men. This means that there is no distinct profile of a typical rapist. However, a number of factors could be utilised to draw up a profile of a rapist. These include, inter alia, childhood development, age, social class and a variety of other factors such as group membership.

Childhood developmental factors may be related to sexually aggressive behaviour which manifests itself later during the adolescent or adult stages. These factors could include parental rejection, inadequate mothering, domestic violence and domination. A child who is deprived of motherly affection, for example, may still feel a need for such affection even as an adult. Consequently, every woman might be viewed in the context of the mother. In such cases rape could then represent an attempt to deny this need which may be viewed as a sign of weakness by the rapist or his peers (Rodabaugh & Austin, 1977:38). Children growing up in violent homes, where at least one parent behaved violently towards the other, may also exhibit violent behaviour (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993:29).

Although a male of any age group is a potential rapist, research conducted by Katz and Mazur (1979:101) suggest that most rapists come from the age

group 15 to 24 years and are single. Russell (1984:89) estimates that rapists fall in the age group of 21 to 25 years. She indicates that most women included in her study did not know the exact age group of their rapists, but flowing from the description of the rapists, she made the above estimate.

Widely reported is also a significant relationship between social class and rape. It has been, for example, indicated by various studies that rape perpetrators tend to come from a poor or lower class background (Brownmiller, 1975:18 & Katz & Mazur, 1979:10). Schwendinger and Schwendinger (1983:220) suggest that rape may be consistent with other violent crimes when social class is considered. They state that other violent crimes such as murder and robbery are also more prevalent among the poor and that the social class of rapists is likely to be similar to the status of most apprehensible criminals.

Parrot and Bechhofer (1991:23) indicate that in general, rapists may be more sexually active than other males. Such individuals are likely to be possessive and to treat women as their property, thus getting angry when other men pay attention to the female. These rapists are more likely to subscribe to myths surrounding rape. They may also excessively espouse views such as that woman should submit to sexual intercourse.

Research conducted by Bohmer and Parrot (1993:21), Dekeseredy and Schwartz (1997:100), Koss et al. (1987:169) as well as Sandler and Shoop (1997:55) in tertiary institutions indicate that certain characteristics may be predominant among perpetrators of rape on campuses. Such characteristics range from individual to group characteristics. The individual who rapes a fellow student may exhibit characteristics already attributed to the typical rapist above such as age and childhood experiences. Such individuals may have some traditional attitudes such as regarding a relationship with a woman as an adversarial one in which women are subordinate and inferior to men (Sandler & Shoop, 1997:55).

Men who belong to specific groups such as sport teams, student representative councils and political parties are also more likely to be perpetrators of rape on campuses. Members of sport groups such as soccer and rugby teams, for example, have a relatively high likelihood of committing rape after a game while celebrating a victory. Parties during which alcohol is consumed are often arranged as part of the celebration. Female students who are celebrating with such sport teams are vulnerable to rape as male students may misconstrue their friendliness for sexual willingness (Bohmer & Parrot, 1993:23). The need for male students to prove their heterosexuality or manhood thereby ensuring their status within a group could also perpetuate rape (Dekeseredy & Schwartz, 1997:102). It is, however, important to note that not all members of these groups are perpetrators of rape.

Having discussed the various myths surrounding rape as well as the profiles of both the victim and the perpetrator, the subsequent section will focus on the consequences of rape.

2.3.2.5 The consequences of rape

Rape is a life-threatening act after which victims experience intense emotional, psychological as well as behavioural effects. They manifest symptoms typical of the PTSD such as fear, shock, disbelief (DSM-IV, 1994:424). Victims may also be at risk of unwanted pregnancy as well as contracting sexually transmitted diseases such as the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV), which causes Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS) (Russo, 2000:5). Following the rape, victims often struggle to regain a level of functionality similar to the one they had prior to the incident of rape. In most cases victims' reactions after rape is typical of the Rape Trauma Syndrome. Knowledge of this syndrome is essential for understanding the experiences of the rape victim.

2.3.2.5.1 Rape Trauma Syndrome

The Rape Trauma Syndrome is an acute stress reaction by the victim to the life-threatening situation of rape which results in various behavioural, somatic and psychological reactions (Green, 1988:76). It has three phases namely, the acute crisis reaction, the outward adjustment and the re-integration and resolution phase. All victims of rape experience these phases to a lesser or greater degree.

- **Acute crisis reaction phase**

This phase covers the period from, and including, the precipitating event and may last for about two to twelve weeks after the rape (Green, 1988:68; Rodabaugh & Austin, 1981:49). During this phase, rape victims experience a number of reactions ranging from the awareness of danger or threat of an attack to emotional, sexual as well as somatic reactions.

The immediate reaction before the rape is the realisation of danger. This may be cognitive and perceptual with the victim describing or feeling impending danger. The victim at this stage reacts quickly to this warning (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1976:414; Maguire, 1988:68; Twiggs, 2003:86). They sometimes experience some sense of guilt, if for example they had been walking in a dark alley alone, at night, however, at this stage they do not react to these feelings. The victim tries to protect herself before the rape by using a combination of defences that maintain an illusion of invulnerability, in order to protect herself from real danger (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1976:414; Rodabaugh & Austin, 1981:50, Russo, 2000:6). The victim's reaction during the rape depends on the type of intimidation strategies used by the rapist, the amount of force or violence used and how the victim generally reacts to threatening situations (Russo, 2000:6).

During the first weeks following a rape the victim may experience various somatic reactions ranging from physical trauma, skeletal muscle tension and

genitourinary disturbance (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974:981). Physical trauma includes general wounds and bruises from the attack. These may be visible on various parts of the body such as the neck, throat, thighs, breasts, arms and legs. For women who were, for example, forced to have oral sex, irritation to the throat may occur (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974:982). A rape victim might also suffer from symptoms such as tension headaches, fatigue as well as sleep disturbances. Victims often become edgy and jumpy over minor incidents (Green, 1988:76, Twiggs, 2003:87). The rape victim may also complain of stomach pains resulting in the loss of appetite, disturbed eating patterns and nausea. This is known as gastrointestinal irritability. Gynaecological symptoms such as vaginal discharge and infection may also prevail following the rape (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974:983; Rodabaugh & Austin, 1981:49).

Directly following the incident of rape the victim may experience a wide range of emotions, which may either be controlled or expressed. For some victims rape may have such an emotional impact that they experience a shock reaction, giving the outward appearance of control, calmness and composure (Rodabaugh & Austin, 1981:50). This type of reaction may be experienced during the attack and afterwards during the interview, for example, when the incident is reported to the police (Green, 1988:68). This however may pose serious problems, as the police may not take the report seriously. Other victims may express their fear and anxiety by sobbing, crying and smiling in an anxious manner when certain issues are mentioned. The victim may also experience a number of feelings such as fear and anxiety but little direct anger. This is because the victim's anger may be repressed and experienced as guilt and shame, despite her feelings of vulnerability and helplessness. The reason for this can be attributed to the cultural restrictions and expectations of passivity and greater compliance of women in society. Despite the varying degrees of violence and degradations involved in the rape guilt and shame are universal. In this regard, the rape victim feels that she should have and could have, handled the situation differently (Green, 1988:76; Maguire, 1988:68; Russo, 2000:5).

- **Outward adjustment phase**

In the outward adjustment phase, the victims may resume their normal activities, often pretending as if everything is normal, as a means of reassuring themselves. Since their well-being at this stage depends on the belief that they have successfully recovered from the rape, the victim may decide to drop charges, reject any offer of assistance and even discontinue counselling (Rodabaugh & Austin, 1981:50). As victims deal with the reality that they had in fact been raped, defence mechanisms as well as emotional symptoms, however, still remain. This phase may last for weeks, months or years after the rape.

Furthermore, indoor or outdoor fears may suffice largely depending on where the rape was committed. Victims may also fear being alone or with people and become paranoid about their physical safety. A fear of people walking behind them as well as a fear of sexual relations or activities may also occur (Maguire, 1988:78; Morewitz, 1996:253).

- **The re-integration and resolution phase**

After a period of weeks, months or even years following the rape, most victims again experience feelings which constitute the acute phase. This is often precipitated by the court trial if the rape was reported. The rape victim starts to relive the rape incident. This often leads to severe forms of depression which may last until the victim's fear, anger and/or guilt are dealt with. It is during this stage that some victims may seek counselling in an attempt to deal with their depression. However, some victims prefer to resolve their feelings on their own thereby withdrawing from counselling (Green, 1988:78; Medea & Thompson, 1974:103).

After this period, victims resume control of their lives. They begin to integrate the rape into their life experiences. Despite this, Maguire (1988:69) highlights that various symptoms following the rape do not disappear and may persist for

the rest of the victim's life. These generally include sexual disturbances, phobic reactions to situations resembling the rape as well as a mistrust of men. The latter is especially evident where the victim and the perpetrator were acquaintances.

The reactions mentioned above are solely those experienced by the victim. Apart from reporting the incident to the police and going for counselling, the victim must decide who to confide in (Easteal, 1994:135). Important people in the victim's life such as the family, friends as well as a sexual partner come into the picture. The reactions of these important people might influence her reaction to the rape incident. If, for example, the relationship between the victim and her parents is strong, there is a greater chance that she will be supported after the rape and will thus, adapt quickly. If, on the contrary there are conflicts in the family about the rape (such as a victim's father blaming the mother for the rape, or the family deciding not to talk about the rape), the victim might not recover quickly. The latter, for example, might restrict the victim's ability to vent her feelings, thereby confirming that what happened to her is too terrible to talk about (Green, 1988:71). Some parents become quite angry and often express their anger with the victim, blaming her for the rape (Medea & Thompson, 1974:103).

Rape also presents a crisis situation for the sexual partner. The partner may experience intense feelings of anger but suppress them so as not to upset the victim anymore. These feelings of anger may be due to the fact that someone hurt the woman he loves. He may also feel guilty for failing to protect his partner and may decide to take revenge. Due to the sexual dysfunction women suffer after the rape, women may refuse to have any form of sexual contact with their partners. These feelings may lead to estrangement. Consequently, the partner might feel rejected, causing him to blame her and even believing in rape myths, instead of supporting and sympathising with her. In short, when the victim's family, partner and close friends are supportive and sensitive to her needs, the existing bonds are likely to be strengthened and the woman's recovery facilitated.

Research conducted in tertiary institutions reveals that most female students are raped by people they are familiar with, namely, acquaintances and/or dates (see section 2.4.2.2.2). This does not make their experiences of rape any less traumatic than being raped by strangers. Russo (2000:5), for example, states that female victims of rape on campuses experience a wide range of the same symptoms discussed in the sections above. Most importantly, rape results in a violation of trust. A problem specific to both date and acquaintance rape is the confusion over whether sexual coercion is acceptable behaviour and a failure to define this as rape. This leads to self-blame by the victim and a delay in seeking treatment, which can also impede recovery (Schwartz & Leggert, 1999:257). It may also lead to poor academic performance. Some female students leave the university (Gidycz & Koss, 1990:325; Morewitz, 1996:255; Quinna & Carlson, 1989:33) because they are forced by circumstances to see the perpetrator on a daily basis which often triggers the memories of the incident of rape.

Female students may also change their lifestyle as a consequence of rape. They may, for example, avoid going to the library at night or participate in any other night time activities. This may result in a loss of work as well as educational, social and leisure opportunities (Day, 1994:743).

Since no SA research has been conducted on the effects of rape in female students, the researcher will focus on the emotional, psychological, physical, social as well as financial consequences suffered by female students after the rape, in order to provide effective support services to cater for the needs of victims.

2.3.2.6 Prevention of rape

It is clear from the literature reviewed above that universities need to put some measures in place to prevent rape on campuses. A number of suggestions have been made by researchers such as Dekeseredy and Hinch (1991:148) as well as Labuschagne (1994:43). Amongst others, victims of rape on

campuses need support services which can provide medical, emotional and legal services after the rape. There is also a need for education about rape, the university needs to have some disciplinary measures for perpetrators as well as the provision of adequate security on campus.

2.3.2.6.1 Victim support services

The university administration or management should provide victims of rape with medical services to offer treatment for those who suffered physical injuries as a result of the rape (Braine et al., 1995:148). Coupled with this professional help should be available to assist the victims to deal with their emotions after the rape. Thus, a qualified counsellor or therapist should be available for the victims (Labuschagne, 1994:43). Braine et al. (1995:148) as well as Day (1994:145) emphasise the value of these professionals by stating that they should offer services that increase the level of disclosure for the victims. In addition to this, they should help the victims realise that they are not to blame for the rape. These therapists should also help victims with legal processes by encouraging them to report the crime and helping to prepare them for the trial and avail themselves to testify, should the victim decide to report the incident.

2.3.2.6.2 Educational campaigns

Dekeseredy and Hinch (1991:147) are of the view that there is a need for education about various aspects of rape on campuses. These should include aspects such as the legal definition of rape, dispelling the myths about rape, the consequences of rape for the victims, what victims should do when they are raped as well as the procedures for reporting incidents of rape. Day (1994:576) emphasises the importance of education about rape by stating that if students are not educated, they will continue believing in stereotypes thereby not reporting the incidents.

The information about rape could be disseminated to students through workshops during orientation as well as posters and pamphlets to be made

available to all students and staff members. The attendance of these workshops should be made mandatory to all students in order to assist in the prevention of rape.

2.3.6.2.3 Disciplinary procedures

The university management should implement strong policies and procedures for dealing with perpetrators of rape on campus (Twiggs, 2003:89). These should include procedures for reporting the incident as well as a description of the ways in which the reported cases will be dealt with (Day, 1994:576). Examples of disciplinary measures that could be implemented include expulsion from the university for a specified time and participation in a community project such as conducting and organising workshops against victimisation of women on campus (Erhart & Sandler, 1985:10). These policies should be publicised and made available to the university community at large. Furthermore, according to Bohmer and Parrot (1997:143) there should be an ongoing evaluation of their effectiveness to ensure that they are in line with the new developments in the criminal justice system.

2.3.2.6.4 Security measures

There is a need for proper security measures to be put in place to prevent rape on campus. These should include adequate, well-trained security officers who are visible at all times in designated areas such as dormitories, residence halls and campus surroundings (Bordner & Peterson, 1983:198). These officers should also be educated on how to deal with incidents of rape on campus. They should be able to advise victims on what to do after the rape incident. Lighting should also be constantly upgraded. Strategically placed telephones directly linked to security offices should be installed so that students could call for help when they are in danger.

2.4 SIMILARITIES BETWEEN SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND RAPE

According to Paludi (1996:183) sexual harassment and rape share some common elements or characteristics. Although sexual harassment is less physically violent in nature, it is not so different from rape. Quinna and Carlson (1989:11) highlight three major similarities.

2.4.1 POWER DYNAMICS

According to Quinna and Carlson (1989:11) the perpetrators of neither rape nor sexual harassment are motivated by sexual desire despite the fact that in rape a sexual act is implied. These researchers state that both forms of sexual victimisation represent a demonstration of power. Power in this case is manifested by dominating, humiliating and degrading the victims (Fitzgerald, Weitzman, Gold & Omerold, 1988:328; Reitz, Lott & Gallogly, 1996:338).

2.4.2 GENDER ROLES AND RELATIONSHIPS

Paludi (1996:186) highlights a link between rape and sexual harassment in terms of the cultural roles and expectations that are held in society. Women are, for example, expected to be passive and powerless while men on the other hand are supposed to be strong, powerful and aggressive. These expected gender roles may be acted out in sexual aggression.

2.4.3 CULTURAL STEREOTYPES

According to Pryor (1989:12) victims of rape and sexual harassment are subjected to cultural roles and the context in which their behaviours are viewed. The victims in both crimes are likely to be blamed for their own victimisation (see sections 2.3.1.2 and 2.3.2.2).

2.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the extent of sexual harassment and rape in general (but also in tertiary institutions) were highlighted by extracting literature from both overseas and SA. Despite the underreporting of these crimes, the available statistics indicate that rape and sexual harassment are rife on campuses. Even though no national studies have been undertaken to indicate reasons for the increase in these crimes, various researchers (Fisher et al., 2000:11, Mahlobo, 2000:15, Morewitz, 1996:242) are of the opinion that social organisation, socialisation, the use of alcohol and drugs, patriarchy, non-reporting as well as the absence of deterrence are possible reasons for the occurrence of sexual harassment and rape in tertiary institutions.

Existing literature on the profiles of the victims and perpetrators of sexual harassment and rape on campuses, indicate that both victims and perpetrators belong to the age group of 18 to 25 years and are usually acquainted with each other. Underreporting as well as belief and adherence to myths and stereotypes often justify the occurrence of these acts. Sexual harassment and rape also result in behavioural, physical and psychological reactions and victims of these crimes often suffer from PTSD as a result of the incident. The measures which could be taken to prevent sexual harassment and rape were also discussed.

In the last part of the chapter, it was indicated that although sexual harassment is less physically violent in nature, it is not so different from rape as these crimes share common elements in terms of power dynamics, gender roles and cultural stereotypes.

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.

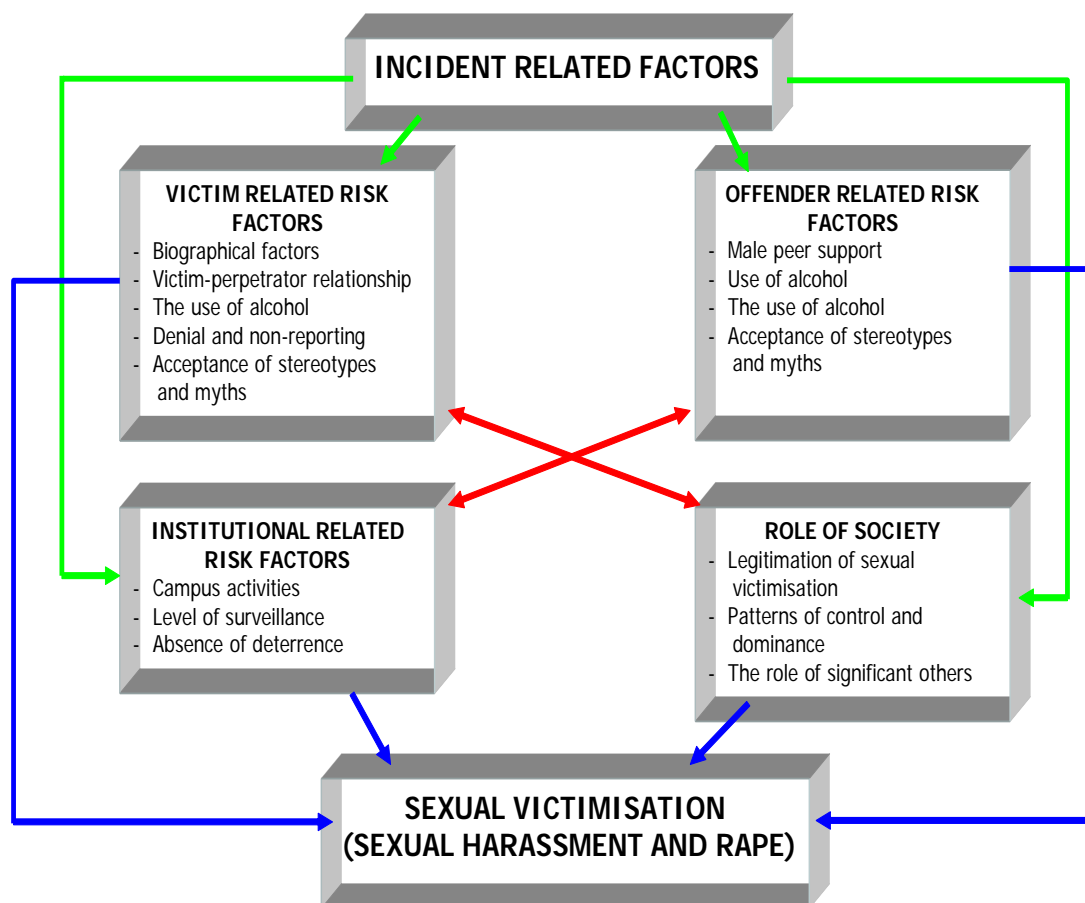
3.4 INTEGRATED MODEL OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND RAPE ON CAMPUS

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 Legitimisation 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.

4. RESEARCH DESIGN

In this chapter the research design used in the current study, as well as the procedures and techniques of data collection and analysis will be outlined. Fouchè (2002:271), Hagan (2000:68), Huysamen (1993:10), Marshall and Rossman (1989:78) as well as Mouton and Marais (1993:32) define a research design as “the plan or blueprint of the study”. This includes the who, what, where, when and how of the subject under study. From this it is clear that a research design is the guideline according to which a choice about data collection methods has to be made. In choosing such methods, the researcher needs to provide the reasons for the choice of such methods by detailing the advantages as well as disadvantages of each method selected (Mouton & Marais, 1993:33).

4.1 METHODOLOGICAL JUSTIFICATION

Hagan (2000:14) postulates that methodology entails the philosophy of the research process which includes assumptions and values that serve as a rationale for research as well as the criteria used for interpreting data.

4.1.1 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

For the purpose of this study, a qualitative research methodology was selected as this type of research defies clear definition and is mainly concerned with the role of interpretation. Interpretation as the core of qualitative research focuses on the meaning of human experience. The focus thus understands human experience rather than explaining and/or predicting behaviour (De Vos, 2001:80; Fouchè & DeVos, 2002:79; Marshall & Rossman, 1989:78).

Schurink (2001:240) states that in a qualitative study different techniques and data collection methods are utilised in order to “describe, observe, make sense of or interpret the phenomenon under investigation from the

perspective of the subjects". This is achieved by the interaction the researcher has with the research participants.

The choice of using a qualitative research method was influenced by two characteristics of this method identified by Fouchè and Delport (2002:79), Marshall and Rossman (1989:79) as well as Streubel and Carpenter (1999:20). The first characteristic of qualitative research is that qualitative researchers make use of multiple methods such as interviews and observation in an attempt to understand the context of what is being researched. Secondly, qualitative researchers explore the subject's or respondent's view with respect for the individual or the phenomenon under investigation. In view of the above and since the aim of the study is to explore and understand victims' experiences of rape and sexual harassment on campus, it was decided that a qualitative research methodology would be used for the current study.

According to Streubel and Carpenter (1999:20) the researcher is an important instrument in this type of research. The researcher's involvement adds quality to data collection and analysis. However, it is essential for the respondent's experiences to be reported from the perspective of the people who have lived them (Streubel & Carpenter, 1999:20). The tools and techniques employed by the researcher in order to enhance the current study are discussed below.

4.1.2 CASE STUDY

According to Groenewald (1986:9) a case study is a strategy in qualitative research that involves the description and study of a number of cases, events or phenomena. Such cases are described in terms of the factors which occur in causal relationships to each other. Robson (1993:146) also defines a case study as a strategy which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context. The description of these cases usually takes place through detailed, in depth collection methods such as interviews with participants in each case (Fouchè, 2002:275). After

conducting interviews, the researcher uses the case study method known as a funnel. This case study design is described by Bodgan and Taylor (1982:59) as a method wherein the study begins wide and then narrows down to the data that is relevant to the study. The case study method best suited the purposes of the study as the research participants who were included in the study had first hand experiences of sexual harassment and rape on campus.

4.2 MEASURING INSTRUMENT

Qualitative researchers are not bound by any step by step plan (De Vos, 2001:236). Research instruments are thus employed which best suit the purposes of the study. In this study, the researcher used interviews as a measuring instrument in order to solicit the rich data dealing with participants' experiences of rape and sexual harassment on campus.

4.2.1 INTERVIEWS

Hagan (2000:174) describes an interview as a face-to-face situation in which the researcher orally solicits responses from subjects. In addition Berg (1998:57) defines an interview as a conversation with a purpose. This could range from in-depth interviews, lengthy interviews with one subject to fairly structured surveys of large groups. Bailey (1994:175) and Hagan (2000:174) mention that as with other techniques of data gathering, the advantages and disadvantages of interviewing as a means of obtaining information should be considered. In this regard, Hagan (2000:175) outlines the following advantages of interviews. First, an interview provides an opportunity for personal contact between the researcher and the respondent and to obtain rich data which is not always possible in the case of questionnaires. The second advantage of interviews is that because of the face-to-face relationship, an interviewer can prevent misunderstandings or confusion the research participants could have in interpreting the questions. In addition to this, probing is also possible in order to get research participants to answer in more detail and with greater accuracy (Schurink, 2001:299). Interviews also

provide an opportunity for the interviewer to observe the research participants' body language such as fidgeting with hands or clenching their fists.

Interview studies can, however, be costly when complex research requires small bureaucracies with a number of administrators, field supervisors and in some cases even public relations personnel (Bailey, 1994:175). As the study is limited to one university, the use of field workers was not necessary for the current study. Also, because of the dark figure and the fact that research participants of sexual harassment and rape are reluctant to talk about their victimisation due to the trauma they experienced, the researcher did not foresee a high response rate to the call to participate in the current study. Another reason for the anticipated low response rate is that victims of sexual victimisation often do not define what had happened to them as a crime possibly due to the relationship which existed between the victim and the perpetrator prior to the incident. In addition to this, the stigma associated with being a victim of either sexual harassment or rape might influence the victims' decision to participate in such research.

Another disadvantage of interviews includes the interview bias that can be introduced to the study when the interviewer misunderstands the research participants' answers or understands it, but makes an error in recording it or record answers when the respondent failed to reply. The problem of bias may then be introduced not only by wording, order or format of the questions, but also by the interaction between the interviewer and the respondent (Bailey, 1994:176). To overcome this, the researcher made use of tape recordings and transcribed the interviews from the tapes verbatim.

According to Bailey (1994:176) the interview also offers no assurance of anonymity. In this way the interviewer poses a potential threat to the respondent if the information is incriminating or embarrassing. In the current study, the researcher addressed this criticism by ensuring the research participants that the information provided, will only be used for research purposes. In the informed consent form (see Appendix C) it was stated that

the identity and personal information of the research participants would be kept confidential and their names would in no way be included in the research reports or revealed to anyone.

According to Hollway and Jefferson (2000:34) the interviewer sets the agenda for the interview and is guided by the interview schedule. In order to gain a comprehensive picture of female students' experiences of rape and sexual harassment on campus, the researcher used a semi-structured interview since it refrains from a structured question and answer approach. Researchers such as Greeff (2002:302) state that semi-structured interviews primarily focus on obtaining a detailed picture of the respondent's beliefs, feelings or perceptions regarding a particular topic. In addition to this, this type of interview is not fixed in its ways and the researcher can follow up particular interesting avenues that came up during the interview. Hagan (2000:174), Schurink (2001:298-299) as well as Streubel and Carpenter (1999:23) define these open-ended interviews as a social interaction between an interviewer and an interviewee with the aim of understanding the interviewees' life experiences or situations as expressed in their own words. In addition to this, a semi-structured interview also provides opportunity to conduct the interviews freely through "flexible wording, freedom in the sequence of questions as well as the amount of time the interviewer gives to each question" (Robson, 1993:227).

According to Bailey (1994:188-189) an interview schedule refers to a schedule whereby an interviewer asks questions to a respondent from a list of topics or subtopics within an area of inquiry. Berg (1998:63), Bless and Higson-Smith (1995:107) as well as Greeff (2002:302) also state that this interview schedule serves as a guideline that is compiled to guide the interviewer through the interview process. The use of an interview schedule was considered desirable in the current study since it provides clearly defined purposes during the interview. For the purpose of this study, the interview schedule (see Appendix D) was structured in the following manner:

- **Biographical details**
Biographical data was included to determine the age, marital status as well as ethnic status of female students who fall prey to sexual harassment and rape on campus.
- **Educational and residential status**
The purpose of exploring residential and educational status was to establish the setting where the rape and sexual harassment occurred as well as the year of study the victims were in when they were subjected to sexual harassment and rape on campus.
- **Nature of the incident**
An open ended question, namely “Describe the nature of the incident” was included in the interview schedule to explore and obtain information on the research participants’ experiences and specifically the factors which made these female students vulnerable to rape and sexual harassment on campus.
- **Reaction of victims and response after the incident**
A question on the reaction of others following the incident was important to determine how significant others, the University and the victims deal with the victimisation incident.
- **Consequences of victimisation**
The effects of sexual harassment and rape on the victims were also included in the interview schedule.
- **Prevention**
The opinions of the victims on the prevention of rape and sexual harassment on campus were also asked to obtain firsthand knowledge about their perception of prevention of similar incidents in future.

4.3 SAMPLING STRATEGY

Babbie and Maxfield (1995:173) define sampling as a method of selecting some part of a group to represent the entire population. Strydom and Venter (2002:198, 209) refer to sampling as “taking a portion of that population or universe and considering it representative of that population or universe”.

4.3.1 SAMPLING TECHNIQUE

The researcher decided to make use of a non-probability sampling technique. According to Hagan (1997:136) in non-probability sampling, the probability of selection is not known, in other words, the universum’s boundaries are not known. Due to the high dark figure associated with sexual harassment and rape on campuses (see section 2.1), the researcher decided to make use of this sampling technique. In the researcher’s search for participants, it became clear that research participants are difficult to reach as sexual harassment and rape constitute crimes that are not always reported to the police or authorities. The fact that the perpetrators are often on campus and the associated fear of being subjected to further victimisation by them, as well as the fear of not being believed also contributed to the difficulty in selecting a group of individuals to represent the “entire population”.

In the light of this, the purposive sampling technique, which is one way of doing non-probability sampling, was deemed suitable for the study. Hagan (2000:144) defines this type of sampling as a sampling procedure in which the sample is selected on the basis of one’s own knowledge of the population, its elements and the nature of the research aims. In short, purposive sampling allows the researcher to select a sample based on his or her own judgement and the purpose of the study (Babbie & Maxfield, 1995:206). Streubel and Carpenter (1999:23) also purport that this means that an interviewer is committed to interviewing individuals who had experienced the subject under investigation. The researcher decides what data are to be collected and where it should be collected. Upon collection of this data, the analysis begins until the sample is saturated and no new data develops. The end result of

which is to establish and validate the relationship between different categories and analyse and interpret these accordingly.

4.3.2 COMPOSITION OF THE SAMPLE

On the basis of the above discussion, the researcher gathered research participants who met the purpose of the study. At first the researcher recruited participants through the use of advertisements posted on the notice boards at the University of Venda on the 26th of August 2002 (see Appendix A). In the advertisements the researcher explained the aims of the study and asked research participants who have had experiences or were currently subjected to rape and sexual harassment on campus to call or e-mail the researcher. The advertisements were on notice boards after which the researcher had to replace them after every three weeks with new advertisements since the others had been removed. This continued until the 10th of March 2003.

After a period of five months only one student responded to the advertisements. As mentioned earlier, this could be attributed to the high dark figure (non-reporting) associated with these crimes. Another possibility might be the fear of reliving their experiences, and as a consequence making a decision to rather refrain from participating in research of this nature. As a result of the poor response rate, the researcher decided to conduct a workshop on rape and sexual harassment of female students on campuses which took place on the 3rd of April 2003 in the Auditorium of the University of Venda. To advertise the workshop, the researcher posted advertisements on notice boards with the theme as “The prevalence of sexual harassment and rape of female students on campuses” (see Appendix B). Eleven male and twenty eight female students attended the workshop. At the workshop the researcher discussed a number of aspects with the participants such as the nature (e.g. different types) of rape as well as sexual harassment in general. After the workshop, the researcher explained that she was conducting a study relating to the theme of the workshop and asked anyone who have

experienced sexual harassment and rape on campus and who would be prepared to participate in the research to contact her. Following this, fifteen research participants volunteered to participate in the study. Five of these research participants were deemed not suitable for the study and thus could not be included. Three of these female students were not raped on campus and therefore fell outside the scope of the study. Two were not the direct victims of sexual harassment or rape, but friends of victims who had since left the campus. These two participants were not included as they did not have first hand experiences of rape or sexual harassment. One was a victim of attempted rape and thus fell out of the scope of the study (see operational definition of rape, section 1.2.2).

4.3.3 DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

The final sample consisted of ten female students. Two of these participants had been victims of sexual harassment, while eight had been victims of different types of rape based on the prior relationship with the perpetrator. The ten female students who participated in the study were all raped or sexually harassed in the past two years (2002 and onwards).

4.4 THE PROCESS OF INTERVIEWING

As mentioned earlier, the process of interviewing involves a face-to-face interaction with the research participants. The setting where the interviews took place, how the interviews were conducted, the use of probing, the research participants' behaviour during the interviews as well as the length of the interviews will be discussed next.

4.4.1 SETTING FOR THE INTERVIEWS

Given the fact that a qualitative research methodology was chosen, the place where research participants live and experience life was important to the researcher. In choosing the setting for the interviews in the current study, the researcher followed the requirements highlighted by Greeff (2002:300). This

researcher is of the view that in choosing a setting for the interviews, the researcher must consider privacy, comfort, possible threats in the environment as well as the accessibility of the venue to the participants.

The researcher conducted interviews from the 5th of May to the 10th of June 2003. The researcher asked for permission from the university management to conduct the interviews after hours at the researcher's office. However, two victims indicated that they felt uncomfortable being interviewed here as the incidents took place on campus (in a lecturer's office) and some of the other perpetrators were also still on the premises of the university. The researcher therefore sought out permission from the manager of the Victim Empowerment Center in Sibasa to conduct all the interviews there. The utilisation of this Center was based on its victim friendliness as well as the fact that professional help was at hand to the victims if the need arose. This is supported by Greeff (2002:301) who mentions that if, during the interview, the participant shows any signs of "discomfort" or distress, a referral system, in the form of counselling, should be arranged for the research participant. Greeff (2002:305) justifies this by emphasising that a researcher cannot occupy simultaneous roles, that of being an interviewer and a therapist.

The researcher tried to minimise interrupting the research participants' academic schedule such as attending classes or practicals, by conducting interviews during the participants' free time. The researcher tried to ensure that the setting for interviews was convenient for the research participants and that there was minimum disturbance. This was achieved through putting a "No disturbance" sign on the door. Greeff (2002:300) also emphasises that interviews should be conducted in a "quiet" setting where there will be no interruptions.

4.4.2 PROCEDURES FOLLOWED DURING THE INTERVIEW

Due to the fact that only ten research participants were included in the sample, the researcher conducted the interviews personally. Greeff

(2002:298) refers to this procedure as one-on-one interviews in which the researcher's interest is on "understanding the experiences of other people and the meaning they make out of that experience". According to Neuman (1997:371) this provides the researcher with the chance to observe the respondent's behaviour as well as non-verbal communication. In this way the interviewer could follow-up on certain responses given by the research participants thereby examining underlying feelings. However, Neuman (1997:371) cautions that conducting interviews personally could be time consuming. He stated that research participants may be unwilling to provide information on certain issues, while some could divert the interview by providing irrelevant information. This therefore requires the interviewer to be patient and professional in undertaking these interviews. In the current study, the interviewer overcame this by guiding the participants, without rushing them, to the aims of the research as well as the issues under discussion.

At the start of the interview the participants were informed about the nature and aims of the study. It was also indicated as described in the informed consent form (Appendix C) that only the researcher will have access to the information and that the research will be used for scientific purposes only (such as the writing of a dissertation, the writing of articles for publication in scientific accredited journals and the reading of papers at conferences). After describing the research procedure, the researcher ensured the participants of the confidentiality of their participation in the study. This corresponds with Greeff's (2002:300) view who states that when the researcher has introduced the subject under investigation, aims as well as the procedure to be followed, the researcher should "confirm that the information is to be treated confidentially."

According to Polit and Hungler (1997:137-138) a promise of confidentiality to research participants is a guarantee that any information the participant provides will not be publicly reported or made accessible to parties other than those involved in the research. Anonymity on the other hand occurs when the researcher cannot link a participant with the data of that person. However, the

nature of the technique used to gather data, which is an interview in the current study (face-to-face interaction during the interview), made anonymity impossible. To overcome this, the researcher made every effort to ensure that confidentiality was kept. This included informing the research participants that their identities and personal information would be kept confidential and not be included in any written reports.

The researcher also addressed participants' concerns about participating in the study. Some of the concerns included whether or not the research will in any way affect their academic studies and how the researcher would deal with the information if it became apparent that the participants were victimised by members of staff. The researcher reminded the participants about the aims of the research and also the fact that their names will not in anyway be included in the writing of the research report. The researcher also ensured the research participants that no action in the form of reporting the perpetrators would be taken but that the participants would if necessary be referred for counselling. The researcher then established if they were willing to participate in the interview.

After the introductory comments about the subject under investigation, the researcher asked for permission from the research participants to record the interviews. A tape recorder is a valuable tool during interviews to improve the researcher's ability to recall the information collected during the interview (Mouton & Marais, 1991:64). Greeff (2002:304) states that the use of a tape recorder during an interview aids the researcher to be able to focus on the process of interviewing, thus observing the participants' reactions as well as their non-verbal communication. Using a tape recorder therefore helps the interviewer to record the full context of the interview. However, using a tape recorder has some limitations. One of the disadvantages relates to uncertainty of the participant about being recorded which could lead to the refusal of participation (Greeff, 2002:304). Greeff (2002:294) therefore states that the interviewer should seek permission from the participant to use the tape recorder. This requires the interviewer to clearly state the purposes of

using a tape recorder and when permission is granted, the tape recorder must be placed discreetly so that it does not interfere with the participants' participation or responses.

Nine research participants agreed that the interviews could be tape recorded. One research participant, however, feared that the cassette could be given to the perpetrator and that it would affect her academic career. The researcher reassured her that the role of the tape recorder is to gather all relevant information and to overcome the danger that important aspects of the interview may not be captured. She was also given the assurance that the information would only be used for research purposes and that the recordings (tapes) would be destroyed after the completion of the research. After this explanation, she gave consent for the interview to be recorded on tape.

The researcher used the interview schedule as a guide to frame the interview. The interviews were initiated by taking the participant's biographical details. The researcher then tried to establish a relationship (rapport) with the research participants. This was established by engaging in an informal conversation with the respondent such as asking questions about their performance in examinations. Greeff (2002:301) supports this by stating that at the start of the interview, the researcher should establish rapport. This is achieved by "listening" attentively as well as "understanding and respecting" the research participants' views.

The participants were asked about their experiences of rape and sexual harassment as well as the impact it had on them. The researcher also tried to establish how these incidents, in the opinion of the participants could be prevented on campus. At the end of the interview, the researcher enquired if the participants had received any form of counselling. Four research participants were referred for counselling and even though four of the research participants indicated that they were doing well and did not need counselling, the researcher referred them to the Victim Empowerment Center in Sibasa and the Trauma Center (one participant) in Thohoyandou. The

latter research participant was referred to the center as it was accessible and nearer to her place of residence. One research participant was already undergoing counselling at the Victim Empowerment Center.

4.4.3 PROBING

Probing involves asking follow-up questions to focus, expand, clarify or further explain the responses given by research participants (Greeff, 2002:299; Schurink, 2001:299). Mouton and Marais (1991:64) identify two major characteristics and functions of probing or follow-up questions in qualitative research. Firstly, these authors state that the function of probing is to get the respondent to answer in more detail and more accurately or at least provide a minimal acceptable answer. This means that a follow-up question could be used when the respondent hesitates in answering or gives a vague and /or incomplete answer. This is usually done when the answer to a question does not provide enough information for the purposes of the study. A second function of probing is to structure the respondent's answers and to make sure that all the topics of the research problem are covered and that irrelevant information is reduced.

In the current study probing was used primarily to focus and clarify the responses given by the participants. Two research participants were reluctant to use words such as "penis", "rape" and "sex". They preferred to use phrases such as the "thing" and "he did it." In order to validate their experiences and to reflect the incident as it happened, the researcher confirmed what happened by using the correct words. These are illustrated by means of putting the correct words in brackets in section 6.1.

4.4.4 THE RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS' BEHAVIOUR

Interviews are important in that the researcher can observe and interpret the research participants' non-verbal responses. During the interviews one research participant started to cry uncontrollably and the researcher had to pause and switch off the tape recorder so that the participant could compose

herself. The researcher also immediately arranged counselling for the participant as it became evident that she did not receive any form of counselling and that she had not worked through the trauma. Another research participant could not sit still or concentrate as she focused on irrelevant aspects rather than the traumatic event of the victimisation. It emerged during the course of the interview that this was her way of coping with the incident. The researcher also had to stop and in most instances remind the participant about the value of her responses for the research. She was also referred for counselling.

Three research participants also asked for advice or information on how to deal with their trauma. One of the participants, who were still in a relationship with the perpetrator asked if she should end the relationship and was worried how she would survive financially if she terminated the relationship. The researcher also referred these cases for counselling. Although she explained to the latter that these decisions are not easy and that professional counselling could help her with a decision of this nature, the conversation as well as the non-verbal communication of the research participant nonetheless enabled the researcher to better understand the needs of participants (especially in terms of counselling). Greeff (2002:297) confirms that research participants often verbalise one thing (e.g. that they are doing well and coping with the victimisation incident), while their non-verbal communication such as crying contradict this (non-verbal cues are illustrated in brackets in section 6.1).

4.4.5 DURATION OF INTERVIEWS

The researcher spent between one to three hours with each participant. Two research participants (A, I) had problems expressing themselves in English and as a result these interviews took longer (see limitations in section 6.2.2). The researcher also translated some questions into the research participants' own language and made some cross-validation to ensure that the information received from research participants was correct. The researcher opted for

these long interviews of one session each because all the research participants refused to return for further interviews because it was nearing June examination time. One research participant indicated that it would be too traumatic to talk about the incident again. It was deemed therefore best to make use of the available time to finish the interviews.

4.5 ETHICAL ISSUES

According to Strydom (2002:62) involvement in research requires a general awareness and acknowledgement of appropriate and inappropriate conduct. The fact that research in the human sciences requires the researchers to use human beings as their objects of study, means that the researcher should be bound by these conducts. The ethical principles that guided this study namely, informed consent, no deception, voluntary participation, non-maleficence (do no harm), no violation of privacy as well as the responsibility towards the participants will be discussed next. Counselling of participants as well as the release or publication of the research findings, will also receive attention.

- **Informed consent**

The researcher attempted to obtain informed consent through an open communication process (by reading and explaining the informed consent forms – see Appendix C). Research participation was entirely voluntary and potential participants were fully informed of the aims and processes of the research (see section 4.4.2). Since research on sensitive topics challenges the researcher and participant on many levels (Strydom, 2002:65), especially in terms of the emotional impact on the researcher and participants, participants were also informed that the interview involved the discussion of a sensitive topic and that they could decide the boundaries and parameters of the discussion. Care was also taken to establish rapport, empathy and sensitivity geared at creating an environment that was conducive to safe disclosure.

- **Voluntary participation**

Strydom (2002:65) highlights the fact that some participants may decide to participate in the research because they occupy subordinate positions to that of the researcher. The researcher was thus aware of the fact that the study required the participation of students and that her status and position is superior to them. To overcome this, the researcher did not confine participation in the study to the students in her field or faculty and participation was open to all female students at the University of Venda. It was also emphasised at the beginning of the interviews that participation is voluntary and that the research participants may withdraw from the research at any stage.

- **No deception of research participants**

Strydom (2002:66) states that qualitative researchers sometimes lie by giving wrong information about the aims or goals of the research. This is mainly done to hide what the research participants will experience when they participate in the study. The goals of the study and research procedures followed during the investigation were clearly stated during various phases of the research. Firstly, during the search for research participants, the researcher in the form of an advertisement put posters on campus which clearly stated the objectives of the study (see Appendix A). Secondly, the researcher conducted a workshop and at the end of the workshop the aims of the study as well as research procedures to be followed during the study was emphasised. Lastly, when the researcher was establishing rapport and the voluntary participation of research participants, the informed consent form which clearly stated the objectives of the study and the procedure followed during the research, were explained to research participants. The researcher also allowed the participants ample time to ask questions relating to these aspects.

The researcher also informed the research participants of the fact that the research report, would be made available to them and that they would have access to it if they wanted to verify any aspect of the research. This was done to assure that there were no hidden agendas involved in the study.

- **Non-malificence (do no harm) to research participants**

During research, research participants could be exposed to emotional or physical harm (Strydom, 2002:64). In the social sciences this harm may be of an emotional nature. The onus rests on the researcher to therefore protect the research participants from any form of harm. This requires the researcher to inform the research participants, at the start of the interview, of the possible harm they may suffer as a result of their participation in the study. In this way, the researcher offers the participants an opportunity to make their decision about participation or non-participation in the research.

Due to the sensitive nature of the study, the researcher was cognisant of the fact that some research participants could be unwilling to reveal all aspects related to their experiences. The researcher therefore informed the participants that if they felt uncomfortable or distressed by some issues, the researcher is willing to stop the interview to afford the participant time to collect herself and to continue the session at a time deemed suitable by the participant. However, even though some participants showed some signs of emotional discomfort through their non-verbal communication, the research participants wanted to continue with the interviews due to the reasons explained in section 4.4.4. The researcher also referred these participants for counselling.

- **Violation of privacy/confidentiality**

Privacy implies an element of personal privacy whereas confidentiality means that the information will be handled confidentially. Strydom (2002:67) states that the privacy of the participants could be violated if the researcher uses

tape recorders or hidden cameras without the consent of the participants. Participants' right to privacy was also respected. Before the interviews commenced, the researcher sought out permission with the participants to record the interview (see section 4.4.2). The researcher explained the role of the tape recorder to the participants. When the permission was granted, the researcher informed the research participants that the recorded information would be destroyed at the end of the study and that if they wanted, they could have access to the tapes. Research participants were also told that they could request the tape recorder to be switched off at any time during the interview.

The researcher furthermore informed the participants that they would remain anonymous to everyone but the researcher, that their identities would not be revealed and that their names or identifying details would be excluded from any reports or research documentation.

- **Responsibility towards participants**

This relates to the researcher's responsibility towards participants with specific reference to secondary victimisation if the researcher were to report this to the relevant university structures. Since one of the aims of the research is to suggest preventative measures for sexual harassment and rape on campus, the researcher decided that the research project, in the form of a dissertation would be put in the library for the university community. The university management as well as its relevant structures could therefore decide to implement the preventive measures and conduct its own investigation of the problem.

The researcher also decided that workshops would be conducted following the research in order to sensitise students, lecturers, administrative staff and management about sexual victimisation on campus. In this way, the needs and rights of the participants would not be compromised.

- **Counselling of participants**

The overall aim of any research conducted is directed towards helping the community at large. This, according to Strydom (2002:73) means that any research “is a learning curve in which both the researcher and the participant” as members of the community, gain knowledge of the phenomenon. Research participants should thus not be seen as “just subjects” for the investigation, the researcher should also provide some form of counselling and debriefing to help them deal with their experiences.

As mentioned in section 4.4.4 the researcher referred nine research participants for counselling. This was based on the views of Greeff (2002:304) who cautions that a researcher must not occupy simultaneous roles namely being a researcher and a therapist, since the goals of the research may be compromised.

- **Release or publication of the findings**

This entails the compilation of the research report that is writing down or recording the research results to make it available to other researchers as well as to the research participants. Strydom (2002:72) states that the research report must be “written clearly, objectively, unambiguously and should contain all the essential information”. Furthermore it is emphasised that sources should be acknowledged at all times to avoid plagiarism and that limitations or shortcomings should be elaborated upon.

The researcher followed all the necessary steps stipulated in the scientific research literature in order to produce a clear, simple and unambiguous research report. The shortcoming of the research will be highlighted in Chapter 6, while the list of references is provided at the end of the research report. The researcher informed the research participants that the research project would be placed in the library and at the researcher’s office for their

perusal. Fair and just research practices, with ethical concerns in mind, were thus used throughout the research process.

4.6 TECHNIQUES FOR ANALYSING AND INTERPRETING DATA

Denzin and Lincoln (1994:33) notes that qualitative research involves interpretation, because nothing speaks for itself. Qualitative interpretations are not inherent in the interview texts but are constructed by the researcher. Thus, the role of the researcher as “interpreter” is significant since it should be done in such a way that the reader is able to understand the phenomenon being studied. In short, confronted with field notes, the qualitative researcher faces the task of making sense of the data gathered through the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the data collected (De Vos, 2002:340; Streubel& Carpenter, 1999:40). The aim of analysing and interpreting data in qualitative research is thus to gain insight into and understanding of the phenomena under investigation (Schurink, 2001:175).

Neuman (1997:421) states that the qualitative researcher analyses data by organising it into categories on the basis of themes, concepts or similar features. In addition to this, he also mentions that the qualitative researcher may develop new concepts, formulate conceptual decisions and examine relationships among concepts. Researchers using qualitative techniques conceptualise as they code qualitative data into conceptual categories, which in fact is already part of the data analysis process.

4.6.1 TECHNIQUES USED TO INTERPRET AND ANALYSE THE DATA

A fundamental technique used in the analysis and interpretation of data in qualitative research is that of discovering the classes of things, persons and events and the properties that characterise them (De Vos, 2001:48). Streubel and Carpenter (1999:40) however, caution that during this process, researchers must keep personal biases aside throughout the investigation, especially since qualitative investigation or research such as interviews are

intense and personal in nature. To prevent the development of close relationships between participants and the researcher, these authors suggest the use of a technique called “bracketing”. This technique is defined as the process of putting aside one’s own beliefs, not making judgements about what one has observed or heard and remaining open to the data as it is revealed.

Within qualitative data analysis and to prevent the above from happening, the researcher made use of the analysing procedures identified by De Vos (2002:340). These include the collection and recording of data, managing the data, reading and memoing (writing memos), describing, classifying and interpreting and lastly representing or visualising.

The first step, namely, the collection and recording of data refers to the initial planning which includes how the data will be collected and recorded. At this stage, De Vos (2002:340) cautions that the researcher should plan ahead which instruments are going to be utilised and would be effective for collecting data and also how the researcher will “retrieve” the data gathered. He suggests that if, for example, the use of tape recorders is seen as a useful method for collecting data, the researcher should have cassettes as well as enough batteries to last the interview. The instruments used for collecting data in the current study were already described in section 4.2. The researcher made use of a tape recorder and used notes in order to be able to put together different categories for the interpretation of research results.

Managing data is the second phase in data analysis and interpretation. De Vos (2002:341) states that the researcher must be able to organise data by making it easily “retrievable”. Researchers therefore transcribe the data either by using a machine, computer or writing down by hand an entire story or sentence. The researcher managed the data in the current study by transcribing from the tape recorder the recorded information and writing it down by hand.

The third stage relates to the reading and writing of the collected data. After transferring the data from the tape recorder, the researcher read the transcripts repeatedly to familiarise herself with the gathered information. De Vos (2002:343) concurs by saying that the qualitative researcher “continues analysis by getting a feel for the whole database”.

Fourth, the researcher has to describe, classify and interpret the data gathered (De Vos, 2002:344). Thereafter, groups or meaning units are categorised into themes followed by sub-themes. As the researcher continues with the classification, new relevant information relating to the study, which may not have been covered by other researchers, could be discovered. Upon identification of such information, the researcher should interpret the data offering plausible explanations and descriptions of this information (De Vos, 2002:344). The researcher followed this procedure by categorising and classifying data that were similar or dissimilar with each other in the study. Following this, aspects for further exploration were identified.

Lastly, the researcher presents the data that was found in the text (De Vos, 2002:344). In the current study, the researcher discussed the results of the study and determined whether or not the data was useful in fulfilling the aims of the study. The researcher then summarised and linked data to the literature reviewed, the approaches and models discussed as well as the integrated model of sexual harassment and rape that was developed. In short, the whole process included studying the transcripts from the tape recordings, consolidating field notes taken during the interviews and extracting common themes in the data. This process ensured that the researcher in the current study was able to gain insight into the experiences of the ten research participants chosen for the study.

4.7 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the qualitative research design which was employed to collect data was discussed. The use of this design was based on the fact that its

objectives are mainly to describe, analyse and to interpret the phenomena under investigation. The researcher also used a non-probability purposive sampling technique in order to select the research participants who suited the purposes of the study. Through the use of this method, a sample of ten research participants was chosen and the method of face-to-face interviews was employed to obtain a picture of the participants' experiences of sexual harassment and rape on campus. The ethical principles that guided the study as well as the techniques for analysing and interpreting data were also addressed in the chapter. The following chapter, Chapter 5, will cover the analysis and interpretation of the data using the techniques stipulated in Chapter 4.

5. ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

The interview data was analysed according to the case analysis method, which takes the participants stories or experiences as the objects of investigation (see section 4.1.2). This method was used to gain an in-depth knowledge and understanding of sexual harassment and rape on campus and to create the opportunity for personal involvement and observation by the researcher (Neuman, 1997:29). The interview transcripts were read numerous times and by attending to the content of the participants' stories, the researcher was able to explicate the similarities and differences across and within cases (De Vos, 2001:48).

Due to the sensitive nature of the subject under investigation and the fact that English was not the first language of the ten research participants, the duration of the interviews varied in length (see section 4.4.5). Since some time was spent on building rapport, only those sections of the interviews that focused or centred around the sexual harassment and rape incident are quoted in this chapter. As guided by Streubert and Carpenter (1999:40) the researcher **did not change nor edit** the way the participants verbalised their experiences. The sequence in which the feedback is presented below, is given in the order in which the interviews took place.

5.1 INTERVIEW DATA

For the purposes of the study, the researcher will start with the biographical details of each participant whereafter the nature of the incidents, reporting of the incident, the consequences as well as the participants' opinions on the prevention or reduction of further incidents will be described in the direct words of the research participants. Pauses will be highlighted in brackets and where relevant, the non-verbal reactions of the research participants will also be pointed out.

5.1.1 RESEARCH PARTICIPANT A

Research participant A is a female student enrolled for a Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree in Youth Studies at the University of Venda. She is 24 years old, single and in her 3rd year of study. She is Venda speaking and a non-resident student.

- **Nature of the incident**

“I was subjected to sexual harassment by one of my lecturers in 2000 [pause]. I was in my first year level of study. This started when I was elected as a class representative.

My lecturer called me to his office. At the office we started by talking about what we did in class. He then asked how old I was. He said he thought he could go out with me but the management would say he was abusing me because of my age. He also said if students knew that we were going out he would be in trouble [pause]. I then left his office.

The other day I went to his office to call him because I was the class representative. He stood up and pretended as if he was taking something from the cabinet. He touched, hugged and kissed me next to the door. I moved away.

Maybe if I was wearing a long skirt the professor would not have harassed me. Sometimes when I was in his office, he would leave me in his office and go to the toilet. When he comes back to his office, because I had been sitting down in one of the chairs in his office, I would stand up preparing to leave the office [pause]. He would touch, hug and kiss me. He would sometimes send the vice-class representative to call me after class. This happened on more than one occasion.

He was also conducting some research projects and used students as research assistants. I asked him to include me because my mother is unemployed and a pensioner. However, I realised that he wanted to work close with me which I refused. When I did, he started hugging me

again. The worst part was when I was sitting in his office with my legs crossed. He pushed his legs in between my thighs. I felt so uncomfortable and irritated.

When he pushed his legs between my thighs I remembered what happened when I was young [the victim starts sobbing]. I was between four and five years old when I was raped. My cousin raped me when we were left with him [pause – participant sobbing]. I was sleeping in my bed when I felt something heavy on top of me. I screamed and he threatened to kill me. This thing stayed with me for years. I did not tell anyone.

It's like I'm a dustbin. I still have not told my parents about the sexual harassment and the rape. My mother is very old and I do not want to upset her [pause].

After the harassment I started getting lost. I would board a wrong taxi when going home [pause]. I'm so furious with him. I decided to avoid him and not go to class but it did not help because he would ask from the vice-class representative where I was. The vice-class representative told me that the lecturer is looking for me. Then I decided to attend his classes but not to participate in anything. I was not concentrating at all."

- **Reporting the incident**

"I went to one of the lecturers in the department and asked if I was wearing funny. If there was anything wrong with my clothes or the way I look – in such a way that a person could treat me like this? The lecturer said there was nothing wrong with me. I started explaining what happened and the lecturer said I must try to stay out of trouble. I said I was not asking for any trouble and she said I must not go to his office again.

Then I decided to report the matter to the Chief of Security. He gave me a tape recorder so that I could collect evidence. He asked me to attend

his classes and if he wanted me to go to his office I should, so that I could record our conversation. I kept the tape recorder in my pencil case inside my school bag.

Then the other day, he [the lecturer] called me to his office. He knew that I was selling perfumes and he wanted to know what was in my bag. He said he wanted to see if I still had the perfumes. He forced me to give him my bag and I did because I was scared. The tape recorder was in my pencil case and he could not get it. I was so relieved because I thought he would do something to me had he found it [pause].

The Chief of Security referred the matter to management. When I reported the matter I did not know that he wanted a salary increase. So in a way the collection of the evidence was going to help the university management to turn down his application. Later on I found out that he knew about the tape. The Chief of Security told him everything so that is why he demanded my bag. So I went back to the security and told them what happened and they asked me to give them the tape back but I did not. I said I wanted to make a copy first so that I could have a copy for the hearing. I was scared that maybe the Chief of Security was going to destroy the tape.

I never went to his office again. I even stopped attending his course. When the date of the hearing [his disciplinary hearing as a result of the accusations] was closer, I was informed that he had since resigned and left the institution. I went to the security and they said there is nothing they could do because he was no longer an employee of the University. The tape is now with the security. After that I never heard anything”.

- **Consequences of victimisation**

“I’m fine now. I’m just coping. But you know when you are suffering and there’s someone who can help you but it is the same person who abuses you. I remember one day I did not have money to pay the balance on my school fees, so I went to the finance office to ask for financial aid. I thought I was not going to get the money. The financial aid officer asked

why I was putting my hand in between my thighs [the victim turns her head away from the interviewer]. Then he said maybe he should put his thing [penis] between my thighs [pause].

You know I feel like nothing. [the victim starts fidgeting with her hands]. I know I don't have money but do I have to be abused? It's like everywhere I go men will be like that. They will want to abuse me that's all. I don't think I'm normal. When I go to lecturers' offices, especially males, I don't sit down, I stand. If I sit down I make sure that I put a bag on top of me so that no one will touch me.

You know when you need help on this campus you end up paying for that help. These guys want to have sex – then you can get help. If you report the matter to the security, you are just this pair of junk and it's hard for you to win the case. If the perpetrator has money, the security make a deal with that person. Maybe that's what happened to me because I've heard that it happens to most students. I hate this course I'm doing, but I have no choice because if I change now I won't have money to start all over again.”

- **Possible prevention/reduction of future incidents**

“I feel pity for some female students who come here for the first time. When you get here you know nothing and if you are poor and do not have money like me, then you are in trouble. I think something should be done about orientation because as new students we don't know what our rights are. For instance if you ask for financial assistance, the person there would ask you “what are you going to give me in return?” and you could end up sleeping with these people on the table for the sake of money. Sometimes you go to a specific lecturer's office, male, and you knock and knock and you find a female student on the table. When I asked other students why is that then, they said its because the lady wants to pass a course because if you don't sleep with the lecturer then you'll fail. I think this is true because when I went to his office I used to pass the course but when he heard that I was in possession of the tape, all of a sudden I failed.

Also female students must be taught not to trust a person because the people you trust are the ones who abuse you. Also if male lecturers propose and you say no, you could fail. Some female students end up saying yes because they want to pass the courses. Even some people who are working here also believe this. When I had this problem with my lecturer, I also took up the matter with some administrative staff in the library. They asked why I was refusing. They said I was chasing manna from heaven because he had money – he would give me money to buy clothes and food.

There should be awareness campaigns and meetings or workshops so that we could discuss problems that we experience on campus. If you have a problem its yours alone. Even if you don't get advice from other people – just to know how they solve and deal with their problems.”

5.1.2 RESEARCH PARTICIPANT B

Research participant B is a female student, single and 21 years old. She is enrolled for a Baccalaureus Legum (LLB) degree and is in her 3rd year of study. She is residing in one of the residence and is Ghanian speaking. The incident took place in her first year of study.

- **Nature of the incident**

“In general men from this area, in particular, do not respect women [the participant turns her head away from the interviewer]. Women no matter what class, creed as long as they have reproductive organs could be subjected to sexual harassment by any man [the participant looks around the researcher's office]. It's not only sexual harassment by other students – even by lecturers. As a student I like to have contact with my lecturers so that if there is something I do not understand in class I would not have a problem asking. Also if a lecturer knows me, at least he or she would be able to recognise me even outside the classroom and would offer some help if I need assistance. This is when one lecturer sexually harassed me [the participant starts playing with her hands].

I went to my lecturer's office pertaining to questions I had in his course. It was not for the first time that I had gone to his office. From then it grew up to be more of a casual relationship. He enquired about my residential status and I told him I lived in the residence, but I did not give him my room number [pause]. He sounded a bit weird because I thought where I lived was none of his business. Irrespective of this, I did not bother myself. He advised me not to go to class again as he would give me all the information I needed from his office. I stopped attending [pause].

When I went to his office again my pen fell down and I had to pick it up. I was wearing a trouser and as I bend down my G-string was visible and he touched it. He then asked for my room and cell-phone number and he said he would like to visit me. I gave him the wrong room number because I did not want him to come to my room. The following day, after I gave him false information, he saw me coming out of my room. He confronted me about it and I did not know what to say [pause].

His attitude towards me started to change. He stopped giving me notes because I was apparently no longer in his good books. When I failed to write his test because I had some family matters to attend to, I asked for a special test. He did not give me the date for the test – as a result I missed it. When I asked him about the special test, he said I was not special. He refused to give me a chance to write, saying that I thought I was better than other students. He told my friends that he would make life difficult for me. My friends also said that he said he was going to fail me because I had refused when he wanted to visit [pause]. Also if he was still the lecturer of the course I would fail. He said I thought I deserved special attention and that I was not that special after all.”

- **Reporting the incident**

“During this time I stopped going to his office. He then called my father and told him that I was unruly and that I don't attend classes. I thought my father would want to know my side of the story. However, he asked me to apologise to him but I did not. He blamed me for not respecting my

lecturer and not attending classes. I felt so bad because he did not believe any word I said. He said that I should not have gone to his office. My father did not want to give me a chance to say anything.

I then told my boyfriend who confronted him and this worsened my problem. He no longer called me by my name, he used my boyfriend's name in a sarcastic way. He said I thought I was better because I had someone who could protect and fight for me. When I complained about his attitude, he said it was always me and my big mouth –meaning that I should shut up.”

- **Consequences of the incident**

“I failed the course and had to repeat it last year, but I still failed. I passed all my other courses and this is the only course I failed. I was even told by other students that he said I would never pass. I just got so angry and de-registered the course.

I'm so angry at myself. I mean I am to blame. If only I had gone to class like other students and never bothered myself about being known by him, none of this would have happened. I gave him the opportunity to harass me and I did not even report him. I felt if my parents did not believe me then no one would. I thought it was just a waste of my time [pause]. I told myself I would fight by never going to his office again.

I hate men in this area. They are bastards. I think he wanted to sleep with me. I hate this subject. Female students pass it because they sleep with him. I feel dirty, him touching me. I hate him so much. I can't even look at him.”

- **Possible prevention/reduction of future incidents**

“At this University it is not taboo rather a norm to go out on a date with a lecturer. In other universities I don't think it's done. I think most female students need to be empowered and learn to work hard. Female

students here think that they can just sleep with the lecturers and pass the course. For those of us who will never do such a thing - its tough luck. We'll maybe be stuck here. What I don't understand about our university is how we always talk about affirmative action or gender and yet most female students are subjected to sexual harassment daily. There is no open discussion in the university for women – like women doing something for themselves. As a woman you feel like you are in double jeopardy [pause – the participant turns her head away from the interviewer]. I mean you are black and a woman. You just have to stand for yourself. Even the management doesn't put any kind of provision for female students and staff. Sometimes you see some female lecturers struggling to have control of students in class. The students would be unruly – some even drunk in class. Yet there's no security for them. Its worse for female students.”

5.1.3 RESEARCH PARTICIPANT C

Research participant C is a Northern Sotho speaking, 25-year-old, single, female student residing in one of the residence. She is in her 3rd year of study, currently studying towards a Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree in Social Work.

- **Nature of the incident**

“I had been going out with my boyfriend for a year. Around March 2002 I ended the relationship because he was abusive. If for instance, he wanted something he had to get it. If he felt like having sex he would force me without my permission. He also was cheating on me with other girlfriends and when I asked him about this, he would beat and swear at me.

After I broke up with him he came to my room looking for me [pause]. I got scared because I knew that he was abusive. He said I should go with him to his room because if I refused, he would have sex with me in front of other students. I went to his room [in another residence] and when we

got there, he asked why I had broke up with him. I told him that he was abusive and had many girlfriends. He threatened to kill us both if I did not take him back [pause]. I was scared and I lied to him and said he should let me go because I had to prepare for a test. He said he did not care and there was no reason for me to write a test because he was going to kill me. Then I stood up and tried to get out of the door. He took out a gun and fired a shot up. He came to me and said I should repeat what I said. He then started beating me [pause]. I told him to just shoot and kill me. He said he wanted to scare me because he loves me and wanted me back into his life. I told him that I did not want him in my life.

I then said I wanted to go back to my room and he suggested that we should go back to my room together. Before we left his room he took a bath [pause]. While he was bathing he locked the door and I was too scared to even try to escape. After having a bath he asked me again if I did not want him in my life. I said yes and said there was no way I could end our relationship.

On the way to my room he started shouting and swearing at me. He threatened to drown me in the water under the bridge. I begged him not to do it and he said I should take him back. I did not want to die, so I said I would because I did not have any choice. It was already around eight in the evening and he said we should go back to his room. When we got there, I felt I could not take him back. I just said it because I thought he would let me go. I told him I was lying and he said I was playing games with him. He said he would have sex with me and he did not care even if I reported him to the police. I screamed thinking that someone would come and help me.

He took out a gun and I was scared. He then started taking my clothes off and raped me [long pause - the participant looks down]. After raping me he beat me and told me to get out of his room. I opened the door but he said I should not go because it was already eleven in the evening. I was so scared and again started crying. He said I should sleep in the bed and he would sleep on the floor. I knew that if he wanted to, he would rape me again because he had a gun. I was bleeding and crying a lot

because he beat me after the rape. I had bruises on my face, neck and my body was aching. I felt I did not have the energy to walk out of that room. I left the following morning.”

- **Reporting the incident**

“The following day he asked if I was going to lay charges against him. He told me that even if I report it he would deny everything. He also said that the police would not believe me because of our relationship. Irrespective of this, I went to the police station to report the incident.

I related the incident and the policeman who attended my complaint said he was my boyfriend and they do not entertain those things [the participant plays with her hands]. He suggested that I sit down with my ex-boyfriend and we sort out our problem. He was so rude and did not want to listen to me. Then I went to the Magistrates Court and the Magistrate gave me a protection order so that I could give it to him. I told them that I could not go to my ex-boyfriend because I was scared of him. Then they asked me to call him so that he could come to the Small Court [A division of the Magistrates Court] to be served with the protection order. I called him and he said he was no longer on campus. I decided to stop the whole thing. I never pursued the matter any further because I was irritated, embarrassed and I was in pain.” [the participant turns her head away from the interviewer].

- **Consequences of victimisation**

“After that I was very angry. I was so scared that day that I did not even want to sleep alone in my room. I begged my friends to stay with me most of the time. I thought he would come back because I knew that he had a gun [pause]. My life was so messed up. My face was bruised and swollen [pause].

It was very difficult for me to have any sexual relations after the rape. I felt dirty. In my room I had to make sure that the door was locked all the

time. Whenever someone knocked on my door I would ask who they were before I let them in. During the day I would make sure that I'm either in class or in the library just to keep myself occupied. On weekends I would lock myself in my room the whole day. I began to relax because I never saw him on campus again. My studies were not affected though, because I spent all my time studying just to deal with the frustration.

- **Possible prevention/reduction of future incidents**

“Now whenever people talk about rape or even in class I remember that I was also a victim of rape. I don't think that will ever go away. I never went for counselling. I just talked to my friends who were very supportive and understanding. They told me that it was not my fault. I never blamed myself for the rape.

Now I don't have a problem. I'm just continuing with my life but I would not want any other person to go through that. I don't even trust anyone now. I mean my ex-boyfriend was abusive and all that I thought when I broke up with him, was that I was free of that [the participant starts sobbing]. I think there should be awareness campaigns and forums where we could share our experiences. Female students should be warned and be careful about ex-boyfriends. My ex-boyfriend abused me but I never even report it. I did not know who to talk to about my problem.”

5.1.4 RESEARCH PARTICIPANT D

Research participant D is a single, Venda speaking, 19-year-old female student. She is in her 1st year of study and a non-resident. She is studying towards a Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree.

- **Nature of the incident**

“I went to my lecturer’s office to ask for a course outline. He asked how old I was. I told him I was 19. He told me I was beautiful and he liked me. I left his office. The following day he called me after class to his office and gave me his cell-phone number and some money (R10-00). He said I should call him [pause]. I did not call him because I had nothing to say to him.

When he saw me again, he asked why I did not call and I said I would call him. He asked me to come to his office after work - he would like to know where I stayed so that he could visit me. It was after four in the afternoon when I went to his office. He told me how much he liked me and that he would make me his second wife. I kept quiet and he said he would only take me home if I accepted his proposal and he locked the door [pause]. He touched me. I was scared of him and I asked him to take me home. It was late and I was worried that my parents would ask where I had been. Before we left his office, he started kissing me [the participant starts turning her head away from the interviewer]. I pushed him, but he did not stop – he was stronger than me. I could not fight him and he started taking off his trousers, mine and my underwear. He had sex with me. I was crying and so scared and shaking. He then took me home [pause].

On the way home I was crying and he said I should not tell anyone what happened because if I did he would be fired from work. He said I should not worry about my tests and assignments in his course because I will pass them. He gave me money to buy clothes – R200-00. He also said that he would make me his second wife so I should not tell my parents because he would come and pay the bride price. When I got home my parents asked where I was – I lied and said I was writing a test. I went to my room, locked myself and cried [the participant starts sobbing]. My mother wanted to know what was wrong and I said I had a headache. I lied to her because I thought if I told her what happened, I would fail the course.

The following day I did not go to campus because my body was so sore. I had a terrible headache and there was fluid coming out of my vagina. I had pains all over my body and was bleeding. I thought other students would notice [the participant starts crying again]. He then called and asked me to come to school – he would give me money. I was scared and I went to his office [the participant drinks water]. He wanted to know if I had told anyone about the incident. He gave me money to buy food and clothes.

From this time he would often ask me to come to his office, give me money and have sex with me. I did not tell anyone – even my friends. In fact every time he gave me money after sex he would say he would make me his second wife and that if I told anyone, I would fail.”

- **Reporting the incident**

“I remember the other day my friends told me they saw me in his car and I said it was not me. Even though I kept quiet about the rape my mother found out. The other day when he dropped me at home, my mother was already home. She asked me who dropped me and I said it was just someone I got a lift from [the participant cries again]. My mother said I was lying because she heard from my friends that I was going out with him. My mother asked me to tell the truth or else I should go and stay with him. I cried but still I did not tell my mother what was going on. She threw me out of the home because she said I did not respect her [pause]. She asked where I got money to buy clothes and I said I got it from my aunt. She packed my clothes and threw me out. When this happened I called him and he advised me to go to the police as he could not provide me with accommodation [the participant cries again].

He said I should not tell the police about the rape and the money. He said if I told the police, he would be fired and he would make sure that I fail my course. He also said that he had not told his wife about me. I slept at my friend’s place because I did not have anywhere else to go. The next day I went to the police station. I did not report the rape but just the fact that I had been thrown out of home. A meeting with my parents

was arranged by the police. The matter was resolved and I went back home.

After this incident, he [the lecturer] wanted to know if I had mentioned his name to the police. He told me not to come to his office again. I asked him about the marriage and he said he did not tell his wife and that he doesn't love me. He said he would never marry me and that I should go and study – otherwise I would fail. When I threatened to report him, he said he would say he had never met me. He said no one would believe me. I asked him about the marks and the memorandum he had promised me because we were about to write June examinations. He said I should not write the examination, he would give me marks. I trusted him." [a long pause – the participant smiles anxiously and starts crying uncontrollably].

However, I wrote examinations even though I was sick and had headaches [the participant drinks water]. I also trusted him because he said even if I did not write, I would pass. When the examination results came out, I had failed. I went to his office to ask him what happened. He said if I wanted to pass, I should have studied like other students. He shouted at me and saying that I failed and anyone could fail and there was nothing he could do. It was the only course that I had failed. He told me that he did not want to see me anymore, that I was unattractive and he would never marry me. He said I should not try to force myself on him because he was married. I left his office crying. I went home and did not tell my parents."

- **Consequences of victimisation**

"I shouldn't have gone to his office. I hate myself. I shouldn't have taken his money. It's all my fault. I was scared of him during the rape and it was so painful. I was a virgin. He forced himself on me. I had pains in my stomach [abdominal pains], I still have them sometimes. I went to the clinic because it [her vagina] was itching. I learnt that I had an infection. I don't want sexual intercourse anymore, ever. I hate him. He hurt me so badly. I failed the course because of him. One day I was drinking water

in class and he asked in front of everyone what I was doing and why I was eating in class. I said I was not eating, just drinking water and he said I must get out of the class. He said I behaved like a dog and others laughed. I was so humiliated and embarrassed. I cried outside and went home.

I hate that man. He messed up my life. I have these headaches. I feel lonely, even if I report, no one will believe me. I'm scared all the time. I can't sleep sometimes. I don't trust men.

If I report it, everyone will blame me because I took money from him and I bought clothes and food. I do not want my parents to find out about this, even my friends must never know. I came here [for the interview] because I wanted to tell someone. I've never told anyone else. I've never gone for counselling. I feel so ashamed."

- **Possible prevention/reduction of future incidents**

"Female students must be very careful. They must not allow men to give them money because they want something in return. They must not let themselves be abused like I was. I do not want anyone else to go through that. We are young and naïve when we come to this university and we do not have someone to protect us. Female students must be warned not to go to lecturers' offices. If you want anything, its better if you ask for it in class. Also if you are raped, I think one should report because maybe that will help."

5.1.5 RESEARCH PARTICIPANT E

Research participant E is a single, 19-year-old, Venda speaking female student. She is enrolled for a Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree in Environmental Sciences. She is in her 2nd year of study and is residing in one of the residences.

- **Nature of the incident**

“It was last year [2002] on Friday night when this happened. I was sleeping in my room [in the hotel residence on campus] with three other roommates [three females] and one male who was one of my roommate’s boyfriend, when we heard noises outside our room. This guy who stayed opposite our room opened our door with a key. When he got in, he asked for money from us. We did not have money. My roommate’s boyfriend gave him R20-00 and he said it was not enough. He then started stabbing him. He had a gun and a knife and said that if we scream or cry, he would shoot us. My roommate’s boyfriend fell down and was unconscious. He asked for money again and he said if we do not have money then we should take off our clothes. We were so scared and we took them off. When we did, he ordered us [the three girls] to lie down and cover our heads [pause]. He then started raping my roommate whose boyfriend was unconscious. After raping her, he tried to wake up her boyfriend and ordered him to have sex with his girlfriend. He could not stand and he stabbed him again [pause].

He asked me to stand up and if I had Aids. I lied to him and said yes. He took out a condom from his pocket and started raping me [the participant drinks water]. As he was raping me, I could smell liquor.

After he raped me, he could not stand up because he was too drunk. The gun and the knife were still in his hand. I was so scared. When he stood up, I thought he was going to rape others but he looked at them and said they were ugly and unattractive. He got up and left us there.”

- **Reporting the incident**

“When he left we went to the security to report the incident. The perpetrator was arrested. We did not know where he got the keys. After raping us, I heard that he had been drinking with my boyfriends’ roommate during the day. He asked him to buy him some liquor and he

refused. He told him that he would not get away with it – hence he revenged by raping us.”

- **Consequences of victimisation**

“Now I do not feel safe on campus. I’m scared of walking alone [pause]. He is still registered on campus and the case is still continuing. For two days after the rape I couldn’t sleep, so I went to my sister’s place and stayed with her. I decided to move out of the residence. I went for counselling at the Victim Empowerment Center. I’m still attending the counselling sessions. I’m fine now [the participant turns her head away from the interviewer]. I don’t feel anything. My other friend left the campus after we were raped.”

- **Possible prevention/reduction of future incidents**

“Our campus is not safe – especially in the residence. When the security asked him where he got the keys to our room, he said from the School Representative Council. I don’t know how. Sometimes you hear female students screaming being beaten by their boyfriends and no one helps them. The security personnel are not there most of the time. On weekends its even worse because sometimes there are parties and guys would be so drunk. Even girls would be drinking and you would hear that some girls were attacked or raped.

There are also many entrances and exits at our residence. I think some of them must be closed. There should be one main entrance and a security guard.”

5.1.6 RESEARCH PARTICIPANT F

Research participant F is a 20-year-old, single, female student. She is Venda speaking and is staying in on of the residences. She is in her first year of study and currently enrolled for a Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree in Law.

- **Nature of the incident**

“I was walking to the library with my friend [a female friend]. As we passed my ex-boyfriend’s room, he asked me to come to his room as he had a message for me. When I got there he locked the door and asked me to date him again. I told him there was nothing between us. He started touching, kissing and instructed me to take my clothes off. I thought he was joking at first but he became violent [pause]. He threatened to beat me if I did not do as he said. He raped me [the participant avoids eye contact with the interviewer]. He said if I said he raped me, no one would believe me because we dated before. He also said he would deny everything and would tell the police that I asked for the rape. I was crying and so confused [the participant starts sobbing]. I begged him to open the door. I did not want him to rape me again. He opened the door and I ran to my room. In the evening he, together with his friends came to my room.

They knocked and I did not open. They then asked one of my friends to come and knock and pretend that it was her. When I heard my friend’s voice I opened. I did not know that they were outside. They came into my room. My ex-boyfriend asked why I was down and my eyes were swollen [pause]. I told him he could not ask why because he knew what happened. His friends laughed and I was so humiliated [pause]. They made jokes about me and said I thought I was clever by ending the relationship. They said I needed to be taught a lesson and maybe the rape was not enough. They said even if I report it, he would not be charged because he was an SRC member. They were all drinking. They threatened me saying that if I report it they would make my life miserable on campus [pause]. They would tell other students that I asked for it. They then left and when I opened the door the following day I found a note pasted on my door. The note said “ndi khou rengisa vhudzelani nga bonndo” [I’m selling sex for R2.00]. Everyone who saw the note laughed at me. I was so embarrassed and humiliated. It was like everywhere I walked they [the perpetrator and his friends] were following me. I stayed in my room for a week.”

- **Reporting the incident**

“I was scared of them. I knew that even if I report it, no one would believe me. I should not have gone to his room. He did not beat me and I heard that when you report rape you must have bruises and that your underwear must be dirty. I did not have any of these [pause]. I was also afraid that these guys would rape or beat me if I report it. I also did not want other students to know that I was raped [the participant drinks water]. You know when you are raped here on campus, other students look at you funny. Even if you report, these SRC people are never arrested and you would be humiliated and embarrassed.”

- **Consequences of victimisation**

“I was scared. As it was nearing exam time, I could not concentrate on my studies. In fact, I failed all my courses [pause]. I’m repeating the courses. I could not believe that he would do such a thing to me. I trusted him because I had been going out with him. He was never violent before. I think he was just revenging because I broke up with him. After missing my periods, I went to the clinic and the tests showed that I was pregnant [the participant drinks water]. I told him and he said I should take him back because he wanted to take care of the child [pause].

I agreed and now we are back together. But I’m struggling – my child is at home with my mother. He forces me to cook and do his washing [pause]. I do it because he pays for my accommodation. We are now staying in one room on campus residences and he buys food.

I’m scared of him. When I look at him I think about the rape. Even now, when I don’t want to have sex, he threatens to teach me a lesson. One time he said I must be like his mother because she does everything for his father [the participant starts crying]. He threatens not to give me money and he sometimes leaves me in the room and goes with other girls. He says as long as he gives me money, I should not ask him [pause]. He sometimes says I talk too much and where he comes from women are not supposed to talk back. He says he will marry me if I’m

obedient. My life is falling apart [the participant cries again]. I know if I leave him, he won't give me money for the baby and I can't afford accommodation. My parents are not working and because I failed last year, I could not get a loan [the participant drinks water]. I hate myself for allowing the rape to happen to me. I should have run, but at first I thought he was not serious. I mean I've known him for a year. I felt dirty after the rape. I'm staying with him now."

- **Possible prevention/reduction of similar incidents**

"I think other female students must be very careful. They must never be involved with men on this campus. Its even worse if they come from poor families. I don't have money and have a baby so I have to stay with him [pause]. I think there must be a financial provision for us because when we apply for registration, we are told that we will get financial assistance, but when we come we sometimes do not get it."

5.1.7 RESEARCH PARTICIPANT G

Research participant G is a 20-year-old, single, female student. She is a Venda speaking, non-resident student. She is currently in her 2nd year of study and enrolled for a Bachelor of Science (BSc) degree.

- **Nature of the incident**

"This happened after there was a funeral at home and I missed one of the tests. After class I went to my lecturer's office to ask for a special test or an assignment. In his office he asked for my contact numbers and residential status. I did not have a phone but I told him where I stayed. He wanted to visit me, but could not because I was living in my parents' house. He asked me to come to his office after lunch so that he could give me the date for the test.

When I went to his office he said there was no need for me to write the test, because he would give me good marks. He then took out a mark sheet and gave me 70%. He also increased my marks for the first test [pause]. My original mark was 44% and he gave me 75%. He came

closer to where I was sitting and told me he could be nice. He fondled my breasts and thighs. He asked me to come back the following day - he would have something special for me but I did not [pause]. Then when we had a class he announced in front of other students that he would like to see me in connection with the test [pause].

In his office, he touched my thighs. I felt uncomfortable and was scared. I did not report him. He asked me why I did not come to his office and I told him I did not have money [pause]. He gave me a R20-00 note and told me to buy lunch for myself. He said I should leave my school bag with him. After having lunch, I went back to his office to collect my bag. He said I should close the door and he told me how beautiful I was, how much he loves me [pause].

He locked the door and I was scared. He then touched me again and took out a condom from his drawer. He said I should take off my skirt and be quiet because everyone will hear us [pause]. I was scared of him and then he got on top of me and took out his thing [penis]. He put on a condom and took my underwear off and raped me [the participant gets up from her chair and moves around the room]. He put his hand on my mouth and I couldn't scream. He said I was making noise." [the participant plays with her hands].

- **Reporting the incident**

"I did not report him even then [pause]. In fact I did not know it was a crime to be touched like that. After the rape I went home and told my parents. They took me to the Trauma Center in Thohoyandou. The police officer took a statement and he was arrested immediately. He was released on bail. While he was out on bail he called and asked if he could have a meeting with me and my family. My parents agreed to the meeting and he begged us to withdraw the case [pause]. He promised that he would pay for all my school fees and that he would give my parents some money. He also said he was very sorry for what happened and that it was a mistake [pause]. My parents accepted his apology and

he gave them money – I don't know how much. He also gave me a R1000-00. I bought some clothes and a cell phone [pause].

Then I went to the police station and withdrew the case. The police and social workers begged me not to withdraw the case, but I did. They asked me for the reasons for withdrawal. I told them that I had my own boyfriend and I'm fine [the participant drinks water]. I think even if I had gone ahead with the case, maybe I would have lost anyway.”

- **Consequences of victimisation**

“I blame myself for the rape. I led him on because on the day of the rape I was wearing a short skirt. Had I reported the touching, maybe he would not have raped me. But it's over now. I'm fine [pause]. Maybe if I continued with the case I would have failed. I passed the course. I do not want to talk about it anymore. I'm fine [the participant looks away from the interviewer]. I go to his office when I need money and he has never touched me again.”

- **Possible prevention/reduction of future incidents**

“Female students must be able to protect themselves [pause]. They must be able to fight if they are attacked. It is not safe on this campus. I tried to scream but no one heard me. I'm fine now and I do not know what else can be done to prevent this.”

5.1.8 RESEARCH PARTICIPANT H

Research participant H is a single, 24-year-old Venda speaking female student. She is in her 3rd year of study pursuing a Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree in Psychology. She is residing in one of the residences.

- **Nature of the incident**

“This happened in 2002. One of my classmates proposed and asked me to go out on a date with him but I refused. On Saturday night, there was a bash on campus for the welcoming of new students and he asked me to go out to the bash with him. I did not have any friends on campus then, so I accepted. I thought it was going to be fun [pause]. We went and he said I should drink liquor as other girls were drinking, so I did. He was also drinking.

Around midnight he said he was tired and wanted us to leave. He said he would accompany me to my room to see if I was safe. When we got to my room he wanted to lie down pretending to be too drunk to walk to his room. I was tired and I must have fallen asleep [the participant drinks water]. While I was sleeping I felt that there was someone standing next to me and it was him. He was naked and taking off my clothes. I cried and screamed [pause]. I pushed him but he was strong. He then took off all my clothes and had sex with me. I cried and screamed but he did not stop. After the sex he slept in my room.”

- **Reporting the incident**

“I did not report him. I did not know it was rape because he was the only person I knew on campus. I trusted him. It was only after the workshop [organised and hosted by the researcher] that I knew I was raped. But I know I did not want to have sex with him.

I was responsible for the rape because I should not have allowed him to take me out. Maybe if I report it, then everyone would know that I was raped and I would be ashamed and embarrassed. I know of a girl who reported being raped by her boyfriend, but no one believed her. I was also drinking with him at the bash. We are dating now and he loves me. I mean we already had sex so I thought I should just continue with the relationship.”

- **Consequences of victimisation**

“A few days after the rape I noticed some pimples around my vagina and the nurses told me that I had a sexually transmitted disease [pause]. I blame myself. If I knew that it was rape, I would have reported him [pause]. I feel that I deserved the rape because I was drinking too. But I’m fine now. It happened and I’m still with him and I think I have moved on.” [the participant drinks water again]

- **Possible prevention/reduction of future incidents**

“I think as female students we need workshops on these issues. I did not know about date rape or sexual harassment until the workshop [pause]. I thought a person could only be raped by a stranger. We also need to be aware of drinking with guys. Sometimes they force you to drink because they want to sleep with you especially when there are parties. Also friends sometimes force you to do something like drinking liquor and when you are raped they are not there [pause]. We also lack skills on how to deal with these situations. Like for instance what we should do if we are in danger.”

5.1.9 RESEARCH PARTICIPANT I

Research participant I is a single, 19-year-old female student. She is a Venda speaking, resident student. She is currently in her 3rd year of study, enrolled for a Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree in Criminal Justice.

- **Nature of the incident**

“I was studying in the library and at around nine in the evening, I felt tired and left for my room. As I was walking, I felt there was someone walking behind me. I checked and saw no one. Again I heard some footsteps and when I turned, I saw someone approaching me. It was dark and I was walking alone. I panicked and ran. This man ran after me and he caught up with me. He was wearing a mask and had a knife and he

ordered me to do as he said – otherwise he would kill me [pause]. He put a knife on my back and instructed me to go behind the Environmental Sciences Building. I did because I was so scared [the participant looks around the room]. When we got there, he asked me to take off my clothes. I resisted and screamed. He stabbed me with the knife, ripped off my clothes and raped me [the participant drinks water].

After the rape he asked for my room number. I gave him my number and he ran and left me laying there. I was so scared that I lay there for a while. I stood up and went to my room.”

- **Reporting the incident**

“I called my parents and they took me to the police station where I reported the incident. No arrest was made though because I did not know the perpetrator. It was very dark. I couldn’t see him [pause]. When the police asked if I could identify him, I said I could not. I did not want to accuse the wrong person. The police said they would investigate.”

- **Consequences of victimisation**

“After the rape I asked to be moved to another room because I had given the perpetrator my room number. I could not sleep in my room [pause]. I had nightmares about the rape. I would dream, for instance seeing someone carrying a knife.

I never went to the library again at night. I use the library during the day. I also sleep with the lights on because I am scared of the dark. I do not want anyone to walk behind me. When I walk past that area I get scared. I feel so dirty and blame myself. Had I not been walking alone or studying in the library at night, I wouldn’t have been raped. Now I have to live with this thing for the rest of my life [the participant drinks water]. My parents do not want to talk about it anymore. Whenever I try to talk to them, they say I must forget about it and move on with my life.” [the participant moves around the room].

- **Possible prevention/reduction of future incidents**

“I think there must be more security personnel on campus. Some areas are also very dark especially at night. If there was enough lighting and security, maybe I would not have been raped. Even now that area where I was raped is still dark. The security must also be beefed up so that they know individuals who are outsiders and are not on campus to study, lecture or attend classes [the participant drinks water]. I think there are too many entrances and exits on campus and in some of these there are no security officers. Maybe there should be one entrance where everyone should sign in and out”.

5.1.10 RESEARCH PARTICIPANT J

Research participant J is a single, 18-year-old female student. She is in her 1st year of study, a resident student and Venda speaking. She is enrolled for a Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree in Youth Studies.

- **Nature of the incident**

“It was during a weekend and there was a music festival on campus. I attended the festival together with my friends. I felt tired and decided to leave the festival. I went to my room and when I was sleeping I woke up because I heard someone unlocking my room. I ignored it because I thought it was my roommate [pause]. Then all of a sudden, I heard the footsteps of a person getting closer to my side of the room and I screamed. He held me and told me not to be scared. I asked who it was and he said he was my friend. I tried to switch on the light but he got hold of it first. I asked him what he wanted and he said he liked me. I then insisted that he switches on the light. I went to the door. Then we struggled and he overpowered me [pause]. He said he would not hurt me he – just wanted us to talk. I asked who he was and he said he helped me get the room during the orientation. He then said he would not hurt me. I asked where he got the keys to my room and he said he had duplicate keys for all the rooms [pause]. He then sat me down and switched on the lights. I saw that he was my classmate.

I felt at ease because I knew him. He brought some liquor and started drinking. We talked about school and I cannot remember what else. Around two he was getting drunk and he proposed saying that he loved me the first day he saw me. I asked him to leave and come during the day. He said he would not leave before I had kissed him. He took my hands and started to kiss me. I thought if I kissed him back he would leave my room [pause]. I begged him after an hour to go but he did not. He said I turned him on and how could I expect him to go when he was like that. I was still wearing my nightdress [the participant drinks water]. He then undressed me and I said no and he just did it [had sex with her]. I tried to fight but he overpowered me. I cried, screamed, hoping for someone to hear me [pause]. I suppose no one heard me because there was a lot of noise coming from the festival. He then left and I was too scared to even move. I cried and decided to wait till morning so that I could go to the security to report the incident.”

- **Reporting the incident**

“The following day I went to the security officers who referred me to the police station. The police officer took a statement and arrested him the next day. They also took me to the Thohoyandou Trauma Center for counselling.”

- **Consequences of victimisation**

“After the rape I asked to be moved to another room. I was so scared. I thought my life was in danger. I kissed him back because I thought he would leave me alone [pause]. I trusted him. I did not know that helping me with accommodation gave him the right to rape me. My friends had warned me about him but I did not listen [the participant plays with her hands]. Had I listened to them, I would not be a victim of rape. I’m so embarrassed. It’s like everyone who looks at me sees me as a weak, useless thing [pause]. I’m even more scared now because he died last year [2002] [while he was out on bail]. I heard from others that he died of

an aids related illness but I don't know. I was scared of having contracted aids but the tests were positive [negative]. I'm still scared even now.

Before he died, he told everyone that we slept together because I wanted to. He even said if he was arrested he would deny everything in court. I felt so powerless [pause]. I'm so ashamed.

Everyone knows now that I had been raped. I hate myself. I don't want any relationship here. Men think they can do anything to a woman and get away with it. Even on campus you hear about rape stories and perpetrators are not arrested. Some students do not want to talk about rape. They think if you are friends with a male, then you cannot be raped. I moved out of the hostel. It's not safe. I no longer visit my friends who are there."

- **Possible prevention/reduction of future incidents**

"Female students must be very careful of men. I do not trust men anymore. Also females must talk about their experiences so that no one else is raped again. If we talk about it then others will not find themselves in similar situations."

5.2 CASE ANALYSIS

This section focuses on the analysis of all the cases discussed above. Since determining the nature and consequences of sexual harassment and rape is stated in Chapter 1 (see section 1.4) as the aims of the study, the researcher will first analyse the two cases of sexual harassment and the eight rape cases thereafter. It is important to state that even though some research participants who were subjected to rape were also sexually harassed, the researcher will discuss the sexual harassment and rape cases separately. In analysing the cases of sexual harassment and rape on campus, various themes were extracted from the research participants' stories (see section

4.6). These are discussed according to the questions asked during the interview.

5.2.1 SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Research participants A and B were exposed to incidents of sexual harassment. In this section, attention will be given to the biographical details, the nature of sexual harassment as well as the consequences and possible prevention thereof. Even though research participants C, D, F and G were also subjected to sexual harassment, their harassment preceded the rape. Their biographical data, nature of the rape as well as consequences of victimisation will be discussed in section 5.3.2. However, if any similarities or differences exist with the sexual harassment experiences of research participants A and B, it will also be indicated in this section.

5.2.1.1 Biographical details

Biographical details discussed in this section relate to age, marital status, level of study and degree enrolled for, language or culture as well as the residential status of the research participants who were exposed to sexual harassment.

- **Age**

Both the above-mentioned research participants (research participants A and B) fell within the age group of 18 to 25 when they were subjected to sexual harassment on campus. Erhardt and Sandler (1985:300), Fisher, et al. (2000:8) as well as Sandler and Shoop (1997:14) highlight the fact that tertiary institutions host females who are usually between the age groups of 18 and 25 years. According to these researchers this could place them at greater risk of victimisation.

In the lifestyle exposure model (see section 3.1.1.1.1) it is also stipulated that age could influence a person's lifestyle. Individuals in this age group are

vulnerable to victimisation because of their lifestyle and their association with others outside of the immediate family. As a child, for example, more time is spent in the home or at school but by late adolescence, the activities of the child are no longer within the institutional control of the family. Bjarnason et al. (1999:110) and Lauristein et al. (1991:261) confirm that these adolescents are usually more likely to be victimised, as they tend to go out and as such interact with strangers. The integrated model of sexual harassment and rape (see section 3.4.1.1) also stipulates that this age group is characterised by the formation of new relationships which could lead to victimisation.

- **Marital status**

Research participants A and B were both single when the sexual harassment incidents took place. In this regard, the lifestyle model of Hindelang et al. (1978:247) also state that unmarried people are likely to spend time outside the home. Research participants A and B were visiting their lecturers' offices. In accordance to the routine activity approach (see section 3.2.1) parents or guardians are more likely to be absent during such activities (Cohen & Felson, 1979:561). The absence of these individuals who could prevent or deter victimisation from occurring, increases the likelihood of victimisation among single persons.

- **Level of study**

Both the research participants who were exposed to sexual harassment were in their first year of study. This finding is supported by research conducted by Sandler and Shoop (1997:14) as well as Shoop and Heyhow (1994:53) who point out that female students who are in their first year of study are likely to be victims of sexual harassment. Bjarnason et al. (1999:110) and Lauristein et al. (1991:261) as elicited in the integrated model of sexual harassment and rape (see section 3.4.1.1) state that first year students are often inexperienced and are still trying to establish new relationships either in the form of dating or building new friendships.

- **Degree enrolled for**

Shoop and Heyhow (1994:16) indicated that post-graduate students (due to more frequent contact with lecturers) are also vulnerable to sexual harassment. None of the research participants in the current study were post-graduate students. Thus, extended research is warranted in this regard.

- **Language**

Research participant A is Venda speaking while research participant B is Ghananian speaking. From this, the researcher could not deduce whether cultural background could increase vulnerability to sexual victimisation. However, limited research has been conducted on the relationship between cultural background and sexual victimisation. In one of the few studies addressing the relationship Braine et al. (1995:25), made a comparison between the White, Coloured, Indian and African population, and came to the conclusion that African students are more likely to be subjected to sexual harassment.

- **Residential status**

Research participant A was a non-resident student while research participant B was residing in one of the residences when she was subjected to sexual harassment. No deduction regarding residential status can however be made because association with strangers seems to be more important than place of residence. According to the lifestyle exposure model (see section 3.1.1.4) 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 students' routine activities the risk for personal victimisation might increase (Gottfredson, 1984:12; Hindelang et al., 1978:253).

- **Victim participation and position in class**

Research participant A was a class representative during the time she was subjected to sexual harassment. Since Sandler and Shoop (1997:14) are of the opinion that being a class representative could make female students more vulnerable to sexual harassment, the possibility exists that closer contact with lecturers can expose these individuals to a higher risk of victimisation.

5.2.1.2 Nature of sexual harassment

The type of harassment experienced by the research participants is discussed below. The **incident related factors** as well as **central themes** that emerged will also be elaborated upon in this section. As stipulated previously research participants C, D, F and G were also subjected to various forms of sexual harassment before or following a rape. Although their biographical details, nature of rape and consequences of victimisation will be discussed in section 5.2.2.2, only the type of their harassment, will receive attention in this section.

5.2.1.2.1 Type of harassment

Research participants A and B were subjected to various forms of sexual harassment namely **physical harassment** (unwanted touching), **verbal harassment** as well as **emotional harassment**. Graueholz (1989:800), Salkind (1986:63), Sandler and Shoop (1997:5), Shoop and Heyhow (1994:16), Sutherland (1991:1) as well as Welzenbasch (1986:4) support the above and found that female students could be subjected to all these forms of harassment.

Both research participants A and B were subjected to unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favours and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature (see definition of sexual harassment in section 1.2.1).

Research participant A was subjected to unwanted touching and verbal harassment which is illustrated by the statements below.

“The other day I went to his office to call him because I was the class representative. He stood up and pretended as if he was taking something from the cabinet. He touched, hugged and kissed me next to the door. I moved away.... Sometimes when I was in his office, he would leave me in his office and go to the toilet. When he comes back to his office, because I had been sitting down in one of the chairs in his office, I would stand up preparing to leave the office [pause]. He would touch, hug and kiss me.... When I did he started hugging me again.... The worst part was when I was sitting in his office with my legs crossed. He pushed his legs in between my thighs.”

“I remember one day I did not have money to pay the balance on my school fees, so I went to the finance office to ask for financial aid. I thought I was not going to get the money. The financial aid officer asked why I was putting my hand in between my thighs [the participant turns her head away from the interviewer]. Then he said maybe he should put his thing [penis] between my thighs.”

Research participant B was also exposed to unwanted touching and verbal harassment.

“When I went to his office again my pen fell down and I had to pick it up. I was wearing a trouser and as I bend down my G-string was visible and he touched it.”

“When I asked him about the special test, he said I was not special. He refused to give me a chance to write, saying that I thought I was better than other students. He told my friends that he would make life difficult for me. My friends also said that he said he was going to fail me because I had refused when he wanted to visit [pause]. Also if he was the lecturer of the course I would fail. He said I thought I deserved special attention and that I was not special after all.”

“He no longer called me by my name, he used my boyfriends’ name in a sarcastic way. He said I thought I was better because I had someone who could protect and fight for me. When I complained about his attitude, he said it was always me and my big mouth – meaning that I should shut up.”

Research participants F and G were subjected to unwanted touching.

“He started touching, kissing....” (Research participant F)

“In his office, he touched my thighs.” (Research participant G)

The following statements illustrate that research participants C and D were also subjected to verbal harassment:

“On the way to my room he started shouting and swearing at me.” (Research participant C)

“He shouted at me and saying that I failed and anyone could fail and there was nothing he could do.... He told me that he did not want to see me anymore, that I was unattractive and he would never marry me. He said I should not try to force myself on him because he was married.... One day I was drinking water in the class and he asked in front of everyone what I was doing and why I was eating in class. I said I was not eating, just drinking water and he said I must get out of the class. He said I behaved like a dog and others laughed.” (Research participant D)

Research participants A and B were sexually harassed by **staff members** who were their lecturers. This type of harassment is what is known as *quid pro quo* sexual harassment. Contrary to Salkind’s (1986:62) research that this type of harassment may not occur between a supervisor and a subordinate, support the contrary. The perpetrators had power and control over the victims’ educational progress. For example, during the harassment, research participant A mentioned that she had been performing well in her courses but when she reported the incident, she failed the course.

“I think this is true because when I went to his office I used to pass the course but when he heard that I was in possession of the tape, all of a sudden I failed.”

“You know when you need help on this campus you end up paying for that help. These guys want to have sex – then you can get help.”

“For instance if you ask for financial assistance, the person there would ask you “what are you going to give me in return?” and you could end up sleeping with these people on the table for the sake of money.” (Research participant A)

Even though research participant B did not attend classes, she still had the benefit of being given private classes. However, when she did not submit to sexual advances, she was deprived of some educational benefits and her performance was affected. Shoop and Heyhow (1994:16) confirm that an essential aspect of this harassment is the power the harasser has over the victim's educational progress and benefits.

“His attitude towards me started to change. He stopped giving me notes because I was apparently no longer in his good books. When I failed to write his test....he did not give me the date for the test – as a result I missed it.”

“He told my friends he would make life difficult for me. My friends also said he said he was going to fail me because I had refused when he wanted to visit [pause]. Also if he was still the lecturer of the course I would fail.” (Research participant B)

In these incidents research participants A, B, D and G were subjected to sexual harassment. The harassers had power over their victims by virtue of being their lecturers. The research participants depended on the perpetrators for benefits such as financial assistance, participation in research projects, the opportunity to write a supplementary test as well as educational progress in general (passing or failing the course). For the research participants to obtain such benefits, they had to submit to the sexual advances imposed on them by

the perpetrators. Failure to adhere to the advances had adverse effects on the victims (see section 5.2.1.4).

All the research participants who were victims of sexual harassment, (A, B, D, F & G) were not only subjected to sexual harassment on one occasion. This is evident in the statements extracted from the victims' stories.

“My lecturer called me to his office.... The other day.... This happened on more than one occasion.” (Research participant A)

“When I went to his office again.... The following day....”(Research participant B)

“When he saw me again.... the following day.... From this time he would ask me to come to his office, give me money and have sex with me.” (Research participant D).

“Even now when I don't want to have sex, he threatens to teach me a lesson”. (Research participant F)

“He then touched me again....” (Research participant G).

In their study of sexual harassment on campus, Shoop and Heyhow (1994:17) revealed that victims could be subjected to a number of incidents.

5.2.1.2.2 Incident related factors

In analysing the sexual harassment cases, the researcher found the acceptance of myths to be the one incident related factor that surfaced throughout the research participants' descriptions of the incident. It should be noted that, the incident related factors identified in research participants C, D, F and G will be discussed under rape since it was difficult to determine whether these factors were related to the sexual harassment that preceded the rape or the rape thereafter. The way the victims neutralise or justify the harassment (the reasons provided for victimisation) are in both cases

(research participants A & B) linked to the acceptance of myths surrounding sexual harassment.

Research participant A believed that she was responsible for her own victimisation as a result of the clothes she was wearing.

“I went to one of the lecturers in the department and asked if I was wearing funny. If there was anything wrong with my clothes or the way I look - in such a way that a person could treat me like this?.... Maybe if I was wearing a long skirt the professor would not have harassed me.”

The above research finding concur with that of Dziech and Weiner (1990:63) who state that female students often blame themselves and could become victims of sexual harassment because of the acceptance and internalisation of certain myths. Women who wear low cut tops, tight jeans or short skirts may be misinterpreted as inviting a sexual reaction (Shoop & Heyhow, 1994:58). Hence the notion that the victim provoked the perpetrator by wearing seductive clothing and is thus responsible for her own victimisation.

The acceptance of these myths range from physical appearance, dress code and beauty to the belief that they asked for it. In this regard research participant B believed that she asked for the sexual harassment.

“If only I had gone to class like other students.... I gave him the opportunity to harass me....”

In addition to this, when research participant A reported the incident to one of the lecturers, the lecturer's response was that she should “stay out of trouble” and should “not go to the professor's office again.”

By accepting these justifications, victims contribute to the denial of responsibility on the part of the perpetrator, thereby shifting the blame to the victim (Sutherland, 1991:3). This coincides with the research conducted by Shoop and Heyhow (1994:416) who state that the victim could be seen as

capable of either consenting or rejecting unwanted sexual advances. The fact that the harasser could occupy a position of power over the victim and may not have a choice in the matter is not considered (Shoop & Heyhow, 1994:416).

Research participants A and B also revealed how not only the victims, but also the administrators and parents supported these stereotypes.

“Even some people who are working here also believe this. When I had this problem with my lecturer, I also took up the matter with some administrative staff in the library. They asked why I was refusing. They said I was chasing manna from heaven because he had money – he would give me money to buy clothes and food.”

“I remember one day I did not have money to pay the balance on my school fees, so I went to the finance office to ask for financial aid. I thought I was not going to get the money. The financial aid officer asked why I was putting my hand in between my thighs [the participant turns her head away from the interviewer]. Then he said maybe he should put his thing [penis] between my thighs.” (Research participant A)

“He (the father) said that I should not have gone to his office.” (Research participant B)

The last section of the above quote (research participant A) also confirms that women are believed to turn to men for guidance and advice. According to the research by Dzeich and Weiner (1990:70) as well as the integrated model of sexual harassment and rape (see section 3.4.1.5) women are often seen as the weaker sex, who cannot make their own decisions, and often turn to a male figure for emotional or financial support. This allows men to view themselves as pygmalsions, whose sole role is to give guidance to a lifeless creature, a galatea (Dzeich & Weiner, 1990:70). Believing in these stereotypes might thus contribute to women being vulnerable to sexual victimisation.

5.2.1.2.3 Work ethics

Another central theme that stood out was that students, lecturers, administrative staff and security personnel accept sexual favours as “normal work behavior”. Research participants A and B had the following to say in this regard:

“For instance if you ask for financial assistance, the person there would ask you “what are you going to give me in return?” and you could end up sleeping with these people on the table for the sake of money. Sometimes you go to a specific lecturers’ office, male, and you knock and you find a female student on the table. When I asked other students why is that then, they said its because the lady wants to pass a course because if you don’t sleep with the lecturer then you’ll fail. I think this is true because when I went to his office I used to pass the course but when he heard that I was in possession of the tape, all of a sudden I failed.”

“If the perpetrator has money, the security make a deal with that person. Maybe that’s what happened to me because I’ve heard that it happens to most students.”

“Also if male lecturers propose you and you say no, you could fail.”
(Research participant A)

“It’s not only sexual harassment by other students – even by lecturers.”

“At this university it is not taboo rather a norm to go out on a date with a lecturer. In other universities I don’t think it’s done.” (Research participant B).

These quotes are indicative of the prevailing work ethics that exist especially at the University of Venda which increases the vulnerability of female students as they are taught by these lecturers.

5.2.1.3 Reporting the incident

After the incident, the research participants had to decide whether to report the incident to officials or to their friends. These are often the people they choose to confide in after the incident. Contrary to what researchers such as Adams et al. (1983:486), Fitzgerald and Omerold (1991:290) as well as Rubin and Borgers (1990:406) discovered, namely that most victims of sexual harassment do not report their incidents, research participant A reported her victimisation.

- **Official reporting**

Research participant A reported the sexual harassment to one of her lecturers and the administrators in the library (the response of the lecturer and administrators was stated in section 5.2.1.2.2). She also reported the matter to the security personnel on campus. They indicated that they needed proof of such incidents.

“Then I decided to report the matter to the Chief of Security. He gave me a tape recorder so that I could collect evidence. He asked me to attend his classes and if he wanted me to go to his office I should, so that I could record our conversation.”

Although the lecturer left the University and as a result he could not be prosecuted, this research participant did receive further assistance from the security personnel on campus. However, one of the security officers informed the perpetrator about the tape recorder the research participant was carrying.

“Later on I found that he knew about the tape. The Chief of Security told him everything so that is why he demanded my bag.”

Research participant B, did not report the incident to any officials. The reasons for not reporting are illustrated below.

“I felt if my parents did not believe me then no one would. I thought it was just a waste of my time [pause]. I told myself I would fight by never going to his office again.”

This research finding coincides with the research of Adams et al. (1983:486), Cammaert (1985:396), Fitzgerald and Omerold (1991:290), Rubin and Borgers (1990:406) as well as the propositions of the integrated model of sexual harassment and rape (see section 3.4.1.4) that stipulate that victims of sexual harassment often do not report the incident for reasons ranging from fear of not being believed or being accused of provoking the harassment, to being blamed for their own victimisation. In the case of research participant B, she thought no one would believe her.

It is important to note that all the sources stating that victims do not tend to report sexual victimisation on campus, did their research before 1995. It is thus imperative to note that education and less ignorance regarding the matter as well as legislative changes with regards to sexual harassment, could incline more victims to report sexual harassment. More research is however necessary to determine the level of reporting of sexual harassment incidents on campuses.

Even though research participant A reported the incident, the perpetrator was not **arrested or prosecuted**. As mentioned earlier, with regards to research participant A, the perpetrator became aware of the investigation, resigned and left the institution.

“When the date of the hearing [his disciplinary hearing as a result of the accusations] was closer, I was informed that he had since resigned and left the institution. I went to the security and they said there is nothing they could do because he was no longer an employee of the university.”

This research finding is in line with the research conducted by Shoop and Heyhow (1994:17) who state that few perpetrators of sexual harassment are arrested, prosecuted or imprisoned and most offenders go undetected and

unreported. Most victims prevent further victimisation through their own informal methods of control. A common strategy victims employ to deal with sexual harassment is to ignore and avoid the perpetrator or cancel their registration rather than to report it (Graueholz, 1989:800; Salkind, 1986:63). In this regard it should be noted that both research participants A and B employed certain precautions to prevent victimisation.

“I decided to avoid him and not to go to class but it did not help because he would ask from the vice-class representative where I was.... Then I decided to attend his classes but not to participate in anything.” (Research participant A)

“I told myself I would fight by never going to his office again.” (Research participant B)

According to Allison and Wrightsman (1993:5), Shoop and Heyhow (1994:59) as well as the integrated model of sexual harassment and rape on campus, victims often employ these strategies when they do not report the incidents.

According to this model, absence of deterrence can be an institutional factor that might contribute to the sexual victimisation of individuals on campus (see section 3.4.4.3). Thus, even though the perpetrator has left the institution in the case of research participant A, the university management did not follow up on the case by summoning the perpetrator to appear before the disciplinary hearing. The case was merely dismissed.

“I went to the security and they said that there is nothing they could do because he was no longer an employee of the university. ...After that I never heard anything.”

A deduction which can be made from this is that because the perpetrator was a lecturer, the university management did not want the incident to be publicised as it could tarnish the reputation of the institution. Twiggs (2003:88) supports this by stating that sexual harassment of female

students is not taken seriously by some institutions. This, she attributes to some tertiary institutions' attempts to cover up the problem so as not to spoil their image.

In addition to this, research participant A highlighted the fact that the security personnel deal with some of these cases internally and no sanctions are placed on perpetrators.

“If you report the matter to the security, you are just a pair of junk and it's hard for you to win the case. If the perpetrator has money, the security make a deal with that person. Maybe that's what happened to me because I've heard that it happens to most students.”

- **Non-official reporting**

Research participant A did not report the incident to her parents. She felt that her “mother is very old” and does not want to upset her. Even though research participant B did not report the incident to her parents, they however found out about it and their response is illustrated in the statement below:

“He then called my father and told him that I was unruly and that I don't attend classes. I thought my father would want to know my side of the story. However, he asked me to apologise to him but I did not. He blamed me for not respecting my lecturer and not attending classes. I felt so bad because he did not believe any word I said. He said that I should not have gone to his office. My father did not want to give me a chance to say anything.”

It is evident in this case that significant others do not always believe and support the victims. Contrary to this reaction from research participant B's parents, her boyfriend supported her to the extent of confronting the perpetrator. This, however subjected her to further victimisation by the perpetrator.

“I then told my boyfriend who confronted him and this worsened my problem. He no longer called me by my name, he used my boyfriends’ name in a sarcastic way. He said I thought I was better because I had someone who could protect and fight for me.”

5.2.1.4 Consequences of victimisation

The effects sexual harassment had on the victims who participated in the study ranged from stress related symptoms such as memory loss to self-blame, lack of trust and lack of concentration in class. Changes in their lifestyle such as non-attendance of classes as well as cancellation of courses were also reported. Although emotional and social consequences were primarily verbalised by the research participants, the financial consequences suffered by the victims, will also be elaborated upon. The consequences experienced by research participants C, D, F and G will be discussed in the next section, since it is difficult to distinguish whether their experiences are due to the harassment that preceded/followed the rape, or the rape itself.

5.2.1.4.1 Emotional consequences

The research participants who participated in the study expressed a wide range of feelings as they began to deal with the effects of the harassment.

- **Anger**

Both research participants A and B reported feelings of anger after the harassment. They mentioned the following:

“I’m so furious with him. ... I hate this course I’m doing.” (Research participant A)

“I just got so angry.... I’m so angry at myself.... I hate men in this area. They are bastards.... I hate this subject.... I feel dirty, him touching me. I hate him so much. I can’t even look at him.” (Research participant B)

Feelings of anger are all typical of the acute phase of the post-traumatic stress disorder (see section 2.3.1.5). According to Voigt et al. (1994:112) anger is usually a central feature of a survivor's response to trauma. This anger could provide victims with an increased energy to persist when dealing with the fact that they had been subjected to sexual harassment. This phase may last for weeks or months following the incident.

- **Guilt and self-blame**

Research participants A and B felt guilty and responsible for the harassment, thus leading to self-blame. The following extracts from the interviews illustrate this:

“Maybe if I was wearing a long skirt, the professor would not have harassed me....

I don't think I'm normal.” (Research participant A)

“I mean I am to blame. If only I had gone to class like other students and never bothered myself about being known by him, none of this would have happened. I gave him the opportunity to harass me.” (Research participant B)

Despite the varying circumstances of the harassment as well as the humiliation the victims could be subjected to, Voigt et al. (1994:114) emphasise that during sexual harassment, victims often feel as if they are the property of the perpetrator. They feel stripped off their dignity and tend to hate themselves thereby developing self-hate and blame. The victims also feel that they could or should have handled the situation differently. The lack of support from parents or friends could become an additional source of stress which may result in the victims blaming themselves. In this regard, Quinna and Carlson (1989:33), Sandler and Shoop (1997:4) as well as Shoop and Heyhow (1994:57) state that the lack of support from the victim's family could increase the emotional consequences of sexual victimisation.

- **Low self-esteem**

Research participant A expressed feelings of low self-esteem.

“It’s like I’m a dust-bin.... If you report the matter to the security you are just this pair of junk....”

This finding is in line with research done by Shoop and Heyhow (1994:65). According to them, victims of sexual harassment often think that they should be able to handle the situation they find themselves in. Individuals judge themselves in terms of their own worthiness or non-worthiness thereof. Thus, victims of sexual harassment often feel that they are unimportant, unlikable and unworthy of respect. This is coupled with the feeling that there is something wrong with them which may have caused them to be subjected to sexual harassment.

- **Lack of concentration**

Victims of sexual harassment may have problems concentrating in class (Burgers & Holmstrom, 1988:983, Hamilton et al., 1987:60, Sandler & Shoop, 1997:15, Shoop & Heyhow, 1994:68). Research participant A confirmed this by stating that she was “not concentrating at all.”

However, due to the harassment, this participant did not only lack concentration in class, but also outside the classroom.

“After the harassment I started getting lost. I would board a wrong taxi when going home.”

This quote might be indicative of the trauma associated with the sexual harassment and the effect it has on the general functioning of the victim.

- **Lack of trust**

In the current study, it is evident that the research participants' lack of trust in men in general developed as a result of the harassment.

“It’s like everywhere I go men will be like that. They will want to abuse me that’s all.” (Research participant A)

“In general men from this area, in particular, do not respect women. Women, no matter what class, creed, as long as they have reproductive organs could be subjected to sexual harassment by any man.” (Research participant B)

Holgate (1982:26) as well as Quinna and Carlson (1989:30) attribute this to the fact that in most sexual harassment incidents, the victim and the perpetrator are usually acquainted with each other. This could lead to the lack of trust because the victims often depend on the perpetrators and might have seen them as their role models.

- **Avoidance of certain stimuli or specific places**

Both research participants A and B reported that after the harassment they avoided certain places which reminded them of the harassment.

“I decided to avoid him and not go to class....” (Research participant A)

“During this time I stopped going to his office.... I told myself I would fight by never going to his office again.” (Research participant B)

These findings are in line with the findings of Sandler and Shoop (1997:15) who state that a particular place or event may suddenly re-create aspects of the harassment thus resulting in anxiety, panic or an emotional reaction. This is indicative of the recovery phase of PTSD (see section 2.3.1.5).

- **Recollection of the victim's past**

Research participant A recalled an incident which happened during her childhood.

“When he pushed his legs between my thighs I remembered what happened when I was young [the participant starts sobbing]. I was between four and five years old when I was raped. My cousin raped me when we were left with him”.

This experience is in accordance with previous research conducted by Paludi (1996:189) and Quinna and Carlson (1989:29) (see section 2.3.2.5) who indicated that emotional responses following an incident of sexual harassment could also depend on the victim's history of sexual abuse. Hamilton et al. (1987:160), Holgate (1989:26) as well as Schneider (1987:60) confirm that sexual harassment could revive wounds from the victim's past such as prior incidents of rape or incest.

5.2.1.4.2 Social consequences

Exposure to sexual harassment, also resulted in the victims changing their lifestyles - thus depriving them of the freedom to participate in activities they are used to.

“When I go to the lecturers' offices, especially males, I don't sit down, I stand. If I sit down I make sure that I put a bag on top of me so that no one will touch me.” (Research participant A)

This is primarily done to avoid further victimisation and may also be a strategy employed by victims to gain control of their lives again. This is characteristic of the recovery phase of the PTSD (see section 2.3.1.5). As victims try to change their lifestyles and functioning, they may minimise the development of any learner-teacher relationship because they fear they might be victimised (Sandler & Shoop, 1997:15; Shoop & Heyhow, 1994:68).

“I decided to avoid him and not go to class but it did not help because he would ask from the vice-class representative where I was” (Research participant A)

“I told myself I would fight by never going to his office again.” (Research participant B)

A further depressive state may follow with victims resorting to canceling the registration or not attending classes, which could have financial implications for the victims.

5.2.1.4.3 Financial consequences

The changes in lifestyle in order to avoid further victimisation resulted in two of the victims' educational performance being affected. This was primarily because of the non-attendance of classes, thus leading to failure.

Research participant A did not attend classes and failed the course.

“I hate this course I'm doing, but I have no choice because if I change now I won't have money to start all over again.”

Research participant B failed and cancelled the course.

“I failed the course and had to repeat it last year, but I still failed. I passed all my other courses and this is the only course I failed. I just got so angry and de-registered the course.”

Braine et al. (1995:141) state that a victim's career development, financial independence and advancement could be affected by sexual harassment. The fact that research participant A failed her course means that she has to repeat it. This has a financial implication hence re-registering the course implies paying for the course again. Female students may also minimise their fields of study (Burgers & Holmstrom, 1988:983, Hamilton et al., 1987:60,

Sandler & Shoop, 1997:15, Shoop & Heyhow, 1994:68). As research participant B de-registered the course, this implies that she would have to register for another module so that she can get enough credits to complete her degree.

5.2.1.5 Possible prevention/reduction of future incidents

Since one of the aims of the current study is to recommend measures that could be taken to prevent or reduce sexual harassment on campuses, the researcher also elicited the views of the participants in this regard. A variety of suggestions which are discussed underneath were made by the research participants.

- **Orientation**

Research participant A recommended that more information be incorporated and addressed during the orientation of new students. This is largely due to the fact that she (like research participant B) was in her first year of study when she was subjected to sexual harassment.

“When you get here you know nothing.... I think something should be done about orientation because as new students we don't know what our rights are. For instance if you ask for financial assistance, the person there would ask you “what are you going to give me in return”? and you could end up sleeping with these people for the sake of money.”

A need for guidance on issues such as financial assistance (e.g. a list of available bursaries) and where to get such information on campus, exists for incoming students. A section of the orientation programme could therefore be dedicated to this.

- **Victim support services**

Research participants A and B suggested a need for workshops on certain issues on campus. Such workshops could help students to discuss matters affecting them thereby enabling them to share their experiences.

“There should be awareness campaigns and meetings or workshops so that we could be able to discuss problems that we experience on campus. If you have a problem its yours alone. Even if you don’t get advice from other people – just to know how they solve and deal with their problems.” (Research participant A)

“There is no open discussion in the university for women – like women doing something for themselves. As a woman you feel like you are in double jeopardy. I mean you are black and a woman. You just have to stand for yourself. Even management doesn’t put any kind of provision for female students and staff.” (Research participant B)

An establishment of a center to offer support to victims of crimes on campus is important in order to help victims to deal with their problems (Braine et al, 1995:148). Such a center could also provide education in terms of awareness programmes, offer counselling as well as debriefing to victims and also to sensitise the university community about the incidents of specific crimes on campus (see section 2.3.1.6.1).

- **Ending the acceptance of sexual harassment**

Both research participants A and B further acknowledged how sexual harassment and rape are accepted by female students and some members of the university community in general.

“...If you don’t sleep with the lecturer then you’ll fail.... Also if male lecturers propose you and you say no, you could fail.” (Research participant A)

“At this university it is not taboo rather a norm to go out on a date with a lecturer. In other universities I don’t think it’s done.... Female students here think they can just sleep with the lecturers and pass the course.” (Research participant B)

Dekeseredy and Hinch (1991:59) state that educational as well as awareness programmes could be vital to address the issues which make the university community to accept sexual harassment as normal behaviour (Day, 1994:574). Thus, the first step here could be to publicise the statistics of harassment on campus and also stress the effects sexual harassment has on the victims.

- **Empowerment of female students**

Research participant B highlighted the need for empowerment of female students.

“I think most female students need to be empowered and learn to work hard.”

It seems that a need exists to make female students aware of the power they have within themselves. Barak, Fisher and Houston (1992:34) state that female students should be empowered to enable them to stand up without fear of harassment. When they are educated on this aspect, female students on campuses could learn to ascertain their power and be able to say “no” to any unwelcome sexual advances.

- **Need for financial aid and assistance**

Research participant A further recommended that provision should be made for female students who might need financial assistance. This is due to the fact that female students could easily be subjected to sexual harassment when they are in need of financial aid.

“...if you are poor and do not have money like me, then you are in trouble.... For instance if you ask for financial assistance, the person there would ask you “what are you going to give me in return”? and you could end up sleeping with these people on the table for the sake of money.”

“Even some people who are working here also believe this.... They asked why I was refusing. They said I was chasing manna from heaven because he had money – he would give me money to buy clothes and food.”

Lack of financial resources for female students is a structural constraint which places them in a vulnerable position to potentially motivated offenders. The fact that they have to consult and deal directly with the financial administrators before they can obtain financial assistance, adds to their susceptibility. Female students need to be educated and sensitised about the fact that the awarding of financial assistance is done according to pre-determined criteria. Such criteria should be publicised so that students are aware of them.

- **Adequate security**

Research participants B suggested a need for proper security measures on the entire campus.

“Even management doesn’t put any kind of provision for female students and staff. Sometimes you see female lecturers struggling to have control of students in class. The students would be unruly – some even drunk in class. Yet there’s no security for them. Its worse for female students.” (Research participant B)

As can be seen from the above quote, the recommendations made by the research participant are largely related to the fact that she was subjected to sexual harassment on the university premises. A need for a provision of adequate security personnel exists on campus (Bordner & Peterson, 1983:198). Furthermore, from the above quote, it seems that students even disrespect their lecturers and that this also needs to be addressed.

5.2.2 RAPE

The research participants in the current study were subjected to various forms of rape which included acquaintance, date as well as stranger rape. No one was however subjected to gang rape. This section will provide an analysis of each of the victims' experiences. The focus will be on the biographical details, the nature of rape as well as the consequences of rape victimisation. Possible prevention measures as highlighted by the research participants, will also receive attention.

5.2.2.1 Biographical details

The biographical details discussed in this section relate to age, marital status, level of study and degree enrolled for, language or cultural background as well as the residential status of the research participants who were exposed to rape.

- **Age**

All the research participants who were subjected to rape in the current study (Research participants C, D, E, F, G, H, I & J) were in the early adulthood age group, that is, between 18 and 25 years old. Various studies conducted on rape in South Africa and abroad (Ageton, 1983:34; Clark & Lewis, 1977:58, Edusource, 1999:15; Griggs, 1997:4; Katz & Mazur, 1979:33; Mahlobo, 2000:68; Powell, 1980:9; Russell, 1984:81) state that the incidence of rape is high among the early adulthood group. The reason for this is that according to the lifestyle exposure model, at this age most of the leisure time is spent outside the home and this might include going out at night. Participation in campus activities (Research participants H & J) may thus put them at risk of victimisation. Also going to the library at night leads to an interaction with strangers (Research participant I). The routine activities approach state that the absence of guardians who could prevent victimisation may also lead to sexual victimisation. In this regard students are also forced to make contact

with **lecturers** in the absence of guardians (Research participants D & G) – thus exposing them to the possibility of sexual victimisation.

According to Dekeseredy and Schwartz (1997:121) the university setting provides an opportunity for the formation of friendships. Such associations are important for a university student as they foster a sense of belonging. They thus often socialise with persons who share certain demographic characteristics with them (See the lifestyle exposure model on section 3.1.1). However some of these friendships may encourage rape of female students. In this regard research participants C, E, F, H, J were raped by their **classmates, hostel-mates and ex-boyfriends**.

- **Marital status**

Not one of the research participants in the study were married. According to the lifestyle exposure model of personal victimisation (Hindelang et al., 1978:279) (see section 3.1.1.3) as well as the integrated model of sexual harassment and rape on campus (see section 3.4.1.1) marital status can put an individual at risk of sexual victimisation. According to the lifestyle model of personal victimisation, married people are more likely to spend their time at home, thereby decreasing the risk of being exposed to potentially motivated offenders. Unmarried persons on the other hand tend to spend most of their leisure time outside the home. Consequently, the lifestyle exposure model states that the more time a person spends in public places, outside the home, the more likely it becomes that the person will be exposed to personal victimisation (Hindelang et al., 1978:279).

- **Level of study**

Apart from research participants C and I who were raped in their 2nd year of study and H who was raped in her 3rd year of study, other research participants (D, E, F, G & J) were in their first year of study when they were subjected to rape. This is in line with the integrated model on sexual

harassment and rape on campus (see section 3.4.1.1), and research done by Burgers and Holmstrom (1974:983) as well as Koss et al. (1987:164) who stipulate that young females who have just graduated from high school and are entering university for the first time are often vulnerable to sexual victimisation. Research conducted by Bohmer and Parrot (1993:18) as well as Russo (2000:5) in tertiary institutions in the USA expand on the above, by pointing out that university female students are more likely to be raped during their first year of study as they could still be breaking away from the control of their parents and thus familiarising themselves with the university setting.

- **Degree enrolled for**

In addition to this, most research participants (C, D, E, F, H, I & J) in the current study are enrolled for a Bachelors Degree. A possible explanation for this could be (as stated in section 5.2.1) that in some of their modules, sexual victimisation is addressed and this could make them more inclined to participate in research or workshops regarding the subject matter. However, more research needs to be conducted on whether there is any relationship between sexual victimisation on campus and the degree students are enrolled for.

- **Language**

Out of the eight research participants who were subjected to rape, only one participant (C) was not Venda speaking. The reason for this could be that Thohoyandou is largely populated by Venda speaking individuals and the University of Venda is situated in the center of the town. As mentioned in section 5.2.1.1 research on the relationship between cultural background and sexual harassment is limited. Due to the small sample used in the current study, a more detailed study with a larger sample could be conducted on this matter.

- **Residential status**

Most of the rape incidents took place in the residences on campus. These rapes were perpetrated either in the victim's room or the perpetrator's room. Research participants C and F were raped in their ex-boyfriends' rooms while research participants E, H and J were raped in their own rooms. Studies regarding sexual victimisation on campus conducted in South Africa concur with this (Edusource, 1999:15). Researchers such as Griggs (1997:4), Mahlobo (2000:5) as well as Sterman et al. (1998:398) found that most female students are raped in their or the perpetrator's dormitories. According to the modified version of the lifestyle exposure model (see section 3.1.3.1) living closer to potentially motivated offenders may expose individuals to victimisation. This is because these offenders are likely to commit crimes in areas well known to them. Research participants D and G were raped in the perpetrators' offices while research participant I was raped on the university premises behind the Environmental Sciences Building.

According to the integrated model of sexual harassment and rape on campuses (see section 3.4) and the routine activity approach of Cohen and Felson (1979:589) rape occurs as a result of the convergence in time and space between the motivated offender and the potential victim in the absence of capable guardians in an environment that provides the opportunity for the rape.

In the lifestyle exposure model of personal victimisation (see section 3.1.1.2) individuals who spend most of their time in public places are more likely to be victimised. Research participants H and J participated in campus activities (an incident related factor according to the integrated model of sexual victimisation) and were in a public place at night when the rape occurred. Thus, even though the research participants were not raped at the event, the rapes were committed after the victim and the perpetrator were from such occasions and came from the campus activities.

5.2.2.2 Nature of rape

Since determining the nature of rape is one of the aims of the current study, the types of rape the research participants in this study were subjected to, will be analysed in this section. **Incident-related factors** as well as **central themes** that emerged, will also be elaborated upon in this section.

5.2.2.2.1 Type of rape

Most research participants (C, D, E, F, G & J) in this study were subjected to acquaintance rape by having prior contact with the perpetrators. One research participant (H) was subjected to date rape. Various studies conducted by Bohmer and Parrot (1993:20), Edusource (1999:15), Griggs (1997:4), Koss et al. (1985:199), Mahlobo (2000:5), Russo, (2000:2), Sandler and Shoop (1997:14) as well as Skelton (1982:37) confirm that most rape incidents on campuses are perpetrated by acquaintances and/or dates.

Research conducted by Burgess and Holmstrom (1974:983), Dean and De Bruyn (1982:47) as well as Koss et al. (1987:984) indicate that the victim and the perpetrator of rape on campus might know each other through, for example, attending the same class or staying in the same residence.

Research participants H and J were raped by their classmates.

“One of my classmates proposed.... On Saturday night.... he asked me to go out to the bash with him.” (Research participant H)

“I saw that he was my classmate.” (Research participant J)

Research participant E was subjected to rape by her hostel mate who entered her room with unauthorised keys.

“This guy who stayed opposite our room opened our door with a key.”

Research participants C and F were raped by their ex-boyfriends.

“After I broke up with him he came to my room looking for me.... He said I should go with him to his room....” (Research participant C)

“As we passed my ex-boyfriend’s room, he asked me to come to his room as he had a message for me.” (Research participant F)

Both research participants C and F had known the perpetrators for a while and had just ended the relationships with these dating partners when they were subjected to rape.

“Around March 2002 I ended the relationship because he was abusive. If for instance, he wanted something he had to get it. If he felt like having sex he would force me without my permission. He also was cheating on me with other girlfriends and when I asked him about this, he would beat and swear at me. After I broke up with him he came to my room looking for me.” (Research participant C)

“As we passed my ex-boyfriend’s room.... When I got there he locked the door and asked me to date him again. I told him there was nothing between us.” (Research participant F)

These findings concur with the research conducted by Dekeseredy and Schwartz (1997:402) who state that stress is common among students who are in dating relationships. However, the stress in the cases referred to, was not due to sexual dysfunction as these researchers purport. It was because both research participants ended the relationships with the perpetrators.

Research participants D, E, G, H and J on the other hand, had just known the perpetrators when the incident happened. Research participants H and J knew the perpetrators only as classmates.

“One of my classmates proposed... .” (Research participant H)

“I saw that he was my classmate.” (Research participant J)

Research participant E stayed in the same residence as the perpetrator.

“This guy who stayed opposite our room opened our door with a key.”

Research participants D and G were students in the perpetrators' classes.

“I went to my lecturer's office... he asked me to come to his office after work.” (Research participant D)

“After class I went to my lecturer's office.... He asked me to come to his office after lunch so that he could give me the date for the test.” (Research participant G)

In the latter five cases the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator was thus a brief encounter wherein they only knew each other through attending the same class, being taught by the perpetrator or staying in the same residence. According to Burgers and Homstrom (1974:983), Dean and De Bruyn (1982:47) as well as Koss et al. (1987:164) these circumstances can create a situation where a potential attacker could manipulate the situation to his advantage and rape the victim. The female students in this case were alone when the incidents took place. According to the routine activity approach, the absence of individuals who can prevent a victimisation event from taking place might contribute to the vulnerability of these research participants. In addition to this, individuals who live in close proximity to motivated offenders are highly at risk of victimisation (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1984:112). Most research participants (C, E, F, H & J) were either raped in the residences where they lived (next to the perpetrators) or in the perpetrators' offices (research participants D & G).

Research participant I was subjected to stranger rape as the perpetrator was “wearing a mask” and thus could not identify him.

- **Reaction during the rape**

Research participants C, D, H, I and J used a number of techniques to prevent the rape.

“I was scared and I lied to him and said he should let me go because I had to prepare for a test.... Then I stood up and tried to get out of the door.... I screamed thinking that someone would come and help me.” (Research participant C)

“I pushed him, but he did not stop – he was stronger than me.” (Research participant D)

Research participants H and I cried and screamed hoping that someone would hear them and that the perpetrator would not rape them.

“I cried and screamed. I pushed him but he was strong.” (Research participant H)

“I resisted and screamed.” (Research participant I)

Research participant J on the other hand thought if she “kissed him back he would leave my room”. In this regard Burgess and Holmstrom (1976:414) as well as Rodabaugh and Austin (1981:50) state that prior to the rape, victims may describe feelings of impending danger. They may also try to protect themselves by employing a number of defenses to prevent the incident from taking place. According to Burgers and Holmstrom (1974:983) resistance might lead to more violent and physical violence was the case with research participants E and F (see next section).

- **Violence associated with rape**

It is imperative to note that perpetrators, in the current study, employed various strategies to manipulate and have sex with the victims. Most research participants who were raped by their acquaintances or dates were threatened

with violence. Research participants D, F, G and J were verbally coerced and/or threatened with violence should they not submit to sexual intercourse.

“He told me I was beautiful and he liked me.... The following day he called me after class to his office and gave me his cell-phone number and some money – R10-00.... He told me how much he liked me and that he would make me his second wife. I kept quiet and he said he would only take me home if I accepted his proposal.... He said I should not worry about my tests and assignments in his course because I will pass them. He gave me money to buy clothes – R200-00. He also said that he would make me his second wife so I should not tell my parents because he would come and pay the bride price.... He then called and asked me to come to school – he would give me money....He gave me money to buy food and clothes. From this time he would often ask me to come to his office, give me money and have sex with me.” (Research participant D)

“...he asked me to come to his room as he had a message for me.... He threatened to beat me if I did not do as he said.” (Research participant F)

Research participant G was coerced in a similar way. She was given higher marks as well as money before the incident.

“He asked me to come to his office after lunch so that he could give me the date for the test. When I went to his office he said there was no need for me to write the test, because he would give me good marks. He then took out a mark sheet and gave me 70%. He also increased my marks for the first test. My original mark was 44% and he gave me 75%. He came closer to where I was sitting and told me he could be nice. He fondled my breasts and thighs. He asked me to come back the following day – he would have something special for me but I did not.... He gave me a R20-00 note and told me to buy lunch for myself.... After having lunch, I went back to his office to collect my bag. He said I should close the door and he told me how beautiful I was, how much he loves me.”

Research participant J's rapist also verbally coerced her by telling her that she was special.

"...he proposed saying that he loved me the first day he saw me.... He said he would not leave before I had kissed him.... He said I turned him on and how could I expect him to go when he was like that."

In spite of what is highlighted in the integrated model of sexual harassment and rape (see section 3.4.1.8) as well as research done by Burgess and Holmstrom (1974:983) namely, that the use of weapons such as knives is limited when an individual is raped by an acquaintance, research participant E was threatened with violence, while research participant C was physically assaulted by the perpetrator.

"He had a gun and a knife and said that if we scream or cry, he would shoot us." (Research participant E)

"He threatened to kill us both if I did not take him back.... He took out a gun and fired a shot up.... He then started beating me.... He threatened to drown me in the water under the bridge." (Research participant C)

5.2.2.3 Incident-related factors

Certain factors which could have placed the research participants at risk of rape in the current study are discussed in this section. These include the acceptance of myths, patriarchy as well as the role of peers and alcohol.

- **Acceptance of myths**

The justifications employed by victims of rape are often linked to the acceptance of myths surrounding rape.

Research participants D, G and H believed that they precipitated the rape.

"I shouldn't have gone to his office." (Research participant D)

“I blame myself for the rape. I led him on because on the day of the rape I was wearing a short skirt.” (Research participant G)

“I was responsible because I should not have allowed him to take me out.... I feel that I deserved the rape because I was drinking too.” (Research participant H)

The implication here is that a woman provokes rape by either wearing revealing clothes, going out with or visiting a man (for whatever reason). Such women could be seen as inviting sexual intercourse (Paludi, 1996:187; Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:31, Vogelmann, 1990:672). According to the integrated model of sexual harassment and rape on campus (see section 3.4.1.6) women often accept these stereotypes and blame themselves for their own victimisation.

Research participant C’s story revealed how the perpetrator (and the police) support a number of myths and stereotypes about rape.

“I related the incident and the policeman who attended my complaint said he was my boyfriend and they do not entertain those things. He suggested that I sit down with my ex-boyfriend and we sort out our problem.”

Police officials often view this as “family business” or an internal affair that should be sorted out by the parties involved (Makofane, 1999:38). This leads the members of the public to believe that the police are not to be trusted because they are unable to maintain law and order effectively.

Research participant C and F were led by the perpetrator to believe that no one would believe that they had been raped.

“He told me that even if I report it he would deny everything. He also said that the police would not believe me because of our relationship.” (Research participant C)

“He said if I said he raped me, no one would believe me because we dated before. He also said he would deny everything and would tell the police that I asked for the rape.” (Research participant F)

The perpetrator in the last instance was very much aware of the fact that people still believe that a loved one cannot rape one. In this regard, Shortland (1989:254) also stresses that the victim might be, because of this myth, unlikely to label what had happened to her as rape. Research participant H, for example said “it was only after the workshop that I knew I was raped.” In this instance, she was forced to believe that she should accept the fact that she was raped as part of the relationship.

This finding concurs with the research done by Russo (2000:2) who highlights societal reluctance to accept and acknowledge the fact that sexual consent does not occur if a couple is in a relationship. In the integrated model of sexual harassment and rape it is also emphasised that this might be one of the reasons why date and acquaintance rape are often not regarded as criminal.

Research participant F thought that because she had no physical scars following the rape no one would believe her.

“He did not beat me and I heard that when you report rape you must have bruises and that your underwear must be dirty. I did not have any of these.”

According to Bradley (1995:1) as well as Parrot and Bechhofer (1991:32) physical scars suffered during the rape could serve as evidence that the victim was indeed raped. If there are no scars and the victim was raped by a person known to her, the fact that rape occurred is often denied.

- **Patriarchy**

Research participant F revealed that her boyfriend believed in a set of ideals, which are supportive of patriarchy. The following statement illustrates this:

“He forces me to cook and do his washing. I do it because he pays for my accommodation. We are now staying in one room on campus and he buys food.... One time he said I must be like his mother because she does everything for his father. He threatens not to give me money and he sometimes leaves me in the room and goes with other girls. He says as long as he gives me money, I should not ask him. He sometimes says I talk too much and where he comes from women are not supposed to talk back. He says he will marry me if I’m obedient.”

According to Dekeseredy and Schwartz (1997:107) female students on dating relationships may be used by male students to exercise control. In this way male students would be imitating attitudes and beliefs learnt and witnessed during childhood. A female student could be expected to perform domestic related chores such as washing and cooking. Patriarchal related traits such as obedience and respect could also be enforced on female students in dating relationships. According to the integrated model of sexual harassment and rape (see section 3.4.1.3) female students who are involved with individuals holding these beliefs and who adhere to these, could either be emotionally or financially dependent on their dating partners and thus be subjected to victimisation. The statement of research participant F illustrates this:

“I know if I leave him he won’t give me money for the baby and I can’t afford accommodation.”

Various studies conducted by Heise et al. (1994:169), Jewkes and Schriber (2001:436), Lainer and Thompson (1982:234) as well as Mager (1998:653) confirm that dating may dictate that it is a male’s responsibility to pay for the expenses incurred in a relationship. This type of situation is reflective of a

relationship based on power where the female takes up a passive role while the male takes an active role as an initiator. Such an attitude may be conducive to rape as a male might feel rightfully deserving of sexual gratification and be prepared to obtain it forcibly as a way of recurring his expenses (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993:75; Dekeseredy & Kelly, 1993:138; Green & Sandas, 1983:550; Peplau et al., 1997:92; Dekeseredy & Schwartz, 1997:107; Xu et al., 1998:179).

- **Role of peers**

Research participant F was subjected to humiliation and embarrassment by the perpetrator's friends.

“In the evening he, together with his friends came to my room. They knocked and I did not open. They then asked one of my friends to come and knock and pretend that it was her. When I heard my friend's voice I opened.... My ex-boyfriend asked why I was down and my eyes were swollen. I told him he could not ask why because he knew what happened. His friends laughed and I was so humiliated. They made jokes about me and said I thought I was clever by ending the relationship. They said I needed to be taught a lesson and maybe the rape was not enough.”

According to the male peer support model (see section 3.3.1.1) peers often promote masculinity by encouraging the use of violence against female students.

In this regard, the male peer support model as well as research done by Dekeseredy and Schwartz (1997:402), Dobash and Dobash (1998:141) as well as Martin and Hummer (1995:134) reveal that male violence might be regarded as a way of showing male authority and domination over women. These peers often have to vow secrecy repeating their activities be it legal or illegal. 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 enhance group solidarity resulting in the absence of deterrence (Dekeseredy & Schwartz, 1993:405; Merton, 1985:121).

- **The role of alcohol**

Research participant H was coerced into drinking liquor by the perpetrator. Her perpetrator was also drinking before the rape.

“We went and he said I should drink liquor as other girls were drinking, so I did.... When we got to my room he wanted to lie down pretending to be too drunk to walk to his room.”

Research participant E’s rapist had also consumed some liquor prior to the rape.

“As he was raping me, I could smell liquor. After he raped me, he could not stand up because he was too drunk.... After raping us, I heard that he had been drinking with my boyfriend’s roommate during the day. He asked him to buy him some liquor and he refused. He told him that he would not get away with – hence he revenged by raping us.”

Research participant J reported that the perpetrator had been drinking alcohol during the music festival held on campus as well as in her room prior to the rape.

“He brought some liquor and started drinking.... Around two he was getting drunk....”

According to the male peer support model (see section 3.3.1.2) alcohol, which is consumed during social events such as parties, could contribute to rape (See also Backman & Backman, 1997:134, Dekeseredy & Schwartz, 1997:100, Gallagher et al., 1994:40, Kanin, 1985:224, Koss et al., 1996:146,

Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:23, Testa, 1999:579). George et al. (1988:196), Kanin (1985:224) as well as Muelernhard and Linton (1987:186) confirm the above and state that female students who drink alcohol at such events could be seen as suitable targets for rape. This is due to the fact that consuming alcohol may lead to the lowering of inhibitions which in turn may result in victims blaming themselves for their own victimisation.

5.2.3.1 The role of money

It emerged during the interviews with research participant F that the lack of financial resources may lead to further victimisation.

“But I’m struggling – my child is at home with my mother.... I do it because he pays for my accommodation....he buys food.... He threatens not to give me money... . I know if I leave him, he won’t give me money for the baby and I can’t afford accommodation. My parents are not working and because I failed last year, I could not get a loan.”

Research participant G and her parents also received money from the perpetrator and she consequently withdrew the charges.

“My parents agreed to the meeting and he begged us to withdraw the case. He promised that he would pay for all my school fees and that he would give my parents some money.... My parents accepted his apology and he gave them money – I don’t know how much. He also gave me a R1000-00. ...then I went to the police station and withdrew the case.”

5.2.2.3.2 Involvement with perpetrators after the incident

It emerged during the interview that research participants H and F were still involved with the perpetrators after the rape.

“We are dating now and he loves me. I mean we already had sex so I thought I should just continue with the relationship.” (Research participant H)

“... he said I should take him back.... I agreed and now we are back together.” (Research participant F).

Research conducted by Allison and Wrightsman (1993:64), Bohmer and Parrot (1993:58), Bopp and Vardalis (1987:13), Parrot and Bechhofer (1991:100) as well as Russo (2000:11) confirm that victims often stay in a relationship after the rape. In the case of research participant F the reason for being involved with the perpetrator was that of being denied access to money if she ended the relationship (see section on the role of money 5.2.3.1). Makofane (1999:144) mentions that a woman with insufficient financial resources is more likely to view her options outside the relationship as that which will not benefit her. Being involved with a perpetrator could thus be more rewarding for the victim than ending all contact. Another factor here could be related to the adherence of women to cultural stereotypes which causes them to blame themselves for the rape and thus enables them to continue the relationship with the perpetrator.

5.2.3 REPORTING THE INCIDENT

Soon after the rape incident, victims must decide who to confide in and how to disclose the incident of rape. The reactions of these people could further influence the victims' reaction to the rape thereby helping victims deal with the rape.

- **Official reporting**

Five of the research participants (C, E, G, I & J) reported the rape to the officials while research participants D, F and H chose not to report for the reasons given below.

Research participant D never reported the rape incident, because she felt guilty about the money she received from the perpetrator and feared that she would fail her course. She was also threatened and bribed by the perpetrator.

In addition to this, it is evident that she accepted the myth that no one would believe her (see section 5.2.2.2 on acceptance of myths).

“...he said I should not tell anyone what happened because if I did he would be fired from work. He said I should not worry about my tests and assignments in his course because I will pass them. He gave me money to buy clothes – R200-00. He also said that he would make me his second wife so I should not tell my parents because he would come and pay the bride price.... I thought if I told her what happened, I would fail the course. ...He said if I told the police, he would be fired and he would make sure that I fail my course. ... When I threatened to report him, he said he would say he had never met me. He said no one would believe me. ... The next day I went to the police station. I did not report the rape but just the fact that I had been thrown out of home.”

According to Allison and Wrightsman (1993:63) victims of rape often do not report rape because of fear. This fear could be because they are afraid of what the perpetrator might do if they report an incident. In the case of research participant D, she was threatened by the perpetrator and she feared that she would fail the course if she reported the crime.

Research participant F had the following to say about not reporting the rape incident:

“He said if I said he raped me, no one would believe me because we dated before. He also said he would deny everything and would tell the police that I asked for the rape.”

“They said even if I report it, he would not be charged because he was an SRC member. ... The threatened me saying that if I report it they would make my life miserable on campus. They would tell other students that I asked for it.”

“I was scared of them. I knew that even if I report it, no one would believe me. I should not have gone to his room. He did not beat me and I heard that when you report rape you must have bruises and that your underwear must

be dirty. I did not have any of these. I was also afraid that these guys would rape or beat me if I report it. I also did not want other students to know that I was raped. You know when you are raped here on campus, other students look at you funny. Even if you report, these SRC people are never arrested and you would be humiliated and embarrassed.”

Ross (1993:16) state that victims’ fear of being disbelieved largely stems from the stereotypes held about victims of rape, especially acquaintance rape, in society in general. These victims are usually blamed for their victimisation because of the society’s belief that rape between acquaintances is largely because the woman is covering up for either an extra-marital affair or dating someone else other than the partner. The acceptance of these myths, threats from the perpetrator, the absence of injuries, fear of repeated victimisation, the stigma associated with being a rape victim, humiliation and embarrassment as well as immunity given to the members of the SRC were all reasons highlighted by research participant F. She feared that people would say she asked for the rape. Ross (1993:15) found that this myth stems from the fact that women are believed to provoke rape if they are not resolute enough to resist the rape.

Victims also find themselves susceptible to the stigma associated to being a victim of rape (Hubbard, 1991:88). The society’s attitude towards victims as well as the belief that a “nice” woman cannot be raped adds to the stigma. Thus victims end up not reporting rape for fear of stigmatisation. Research done by Allison and Wrightsman (1993:63), Hubbard (1991:188), Parrot and Bechhofer (1991:11), Rodabaugh and Austin (1981:147), Ross (1993:15) as well as Vogelmann and Eagle (1991:219) confirms that victims of rape do not report rape for reasons mentioned already which include fear of not being believed, lack of adequate support structures, shame as well as embarrassment. In this regard, research participant F said “she did not want other students to know that she was raped.”, because rape that becomes public knowledge often leads to feelings of humiliation and embarrassment.

Research participant H also never reported the rape because she did not know that it was rape.

“I did not know it was rape because he was the only person I knew on campus. I trusted him. It was after the workshop that I knew I was raped. But I know I did not want sex with him.”

“I was responsible for the rape because I should not have allowed him to take me out. Maybe if I report it, then everyone would know that I was raped and I would be ashamed and embarrassed. I know of a girl who reported being raped by her boyfriend, but no one believed her.”

Apart from cultural and social stigmatisation associated with rape as well as the ignorance regarding the legal definition of rape, which act as barriers to women reporting rape, rape is enacted in private settings like the dormitories (research participants C, E, F, H & J) or offices (research participants D & G) which makes it easy for the perpetrator to deny that the rape had taken place (see the integrated model of sexual harassment and rape in section 3.4.1.7).

According to Dekeseredy and Schwartz (1997:131) there are rarely any sanctions placed on perpetrators of rape on campus. One possible reason for this could be that some perpetrators occupy special positions in the hierarchy of the university such as being members of the SRC. Thus if a member of the SRC appeals to the university authorities the case could be dropped or dismissed or the charges overturned (Fisher & Sloan, 1996:8). It also emerged from the research participants who did not report the rape incidents that in some cases the university authorities do not take action in the form of punishment against the offenders. In this regard research participant F stated that among other reasons for not reporting the rape was the fact that “even if you report, these SRC people are never arrested.”

Bernstein (1996:8) as well as Fisher and Sloan (1988:167) concur with the above by stating that victimisation on campus is often covered up on a regular

basis. This is because reports of this nature could impact negatively on the image of the institution thereby affecting the enrolment numbers of incoming students (Dekeseredy & Schwartz, 1997:13). Perpetrators could however be aware of this and this may contribute to even more victimisation. This finding is in line with the incident related factors as discussed in the integrated model of sexual harassment and rape (see section 3.4.1.7), which highlight the absence of deterrence as an institutional risk related factor that could lead to victimisation.

The findings of the current study also confirm that even though some victims **report** the rape incidents, no sanctions are placed on the perpetrators. Research participant C reported the case to the police but the perpetrator was never arrested.

“I related the incident and the policeman who attended my complaint said he was my boyfriend and they do not entertain those things. He suggested that I sit down with my ex-boyfriend and we sort our problem. He was so rude and did not want to listen to me. Then I went to the Magistrates Court and the Magistrate gave me a protection order so that I could give it to him. I told them that I could not go to my ex-boyfriend because I was scared of him. Then they asked me to call him so that he could come to the Small Court [A division of the Magistrates Court] to be served with the protection order. I called him and he said he was no longer on campus. I decided to stop the whole thing. I never pursued the matter any further because I was irritated, embarrassed and I was in pain.”

The lack of understanding on the part of the police on what constitutes rape (especially date and acquaintance rape) is one of the main reasons why the perpetrator in the above case was never prosecuted (Dekeseredy & Schwartz, 1997:5; Fisher et al., 2000:12). The police official in the above case viewed rape as an internal affair that falls outside the scope of police responsibilities (see section 5.2.2.1). Factors such as these, also contribute to the absence of deterrence.

Research participant G also reported the case to the police (who responded immediately by arresting the perpetrator). However, the research participant withdrew the case after the perpetrator was released on bail. The request for forgiveness, promise of money and the coercion from her parents who needed money were the reasons for the withdrawal of the case.

“While he was out on bail he called and asked if he could have a meeting with me and my family. ... He promised that he would pay for all my school fees and that he would give my parents some money. He also said he was very sorry for what happened and that it was a mistake. My parents accepted his apology and he gave them money – I don’t know how much. He also gave me a R1000-00. I bought some clothes and a cell-phone. Then I went to the police station and withdrew the case. The police and social workers begged me not to withdraw the case, but I did. They asked me for the reasons for withdrawal. I told them that I had my own boyfriend and I’m fine. I think even if I had gone ahead with the case, maybe I would have lost anyway.”

Even though research participant J reported the incident to the police, the perpetrator died before the sentence could be passed.

“I’m even scared now because he died last year [2002] [while he was out on bail].”

Research participant I also reported the rape to the police, but she did not know the perpetrator and as a result no arrest was made.

“No arrest was made though because I did not know the perpetrator. It was very dark. I couldn’t see him. When the police asked if I could identify him, I said I could not. I did not want to accuse the wrong person. The police said they would investigate.”

Research participant E reported the incident to the security personnel on campus. The security reacted immediately to the report and the perpetrator was arrested.

“When he left we went to the security to report the incident. The perpetrator was arrested.”

In summary, out of the eight cases of rape incidents on campus, five research participants reported the incidents to security personnel and police. Out of those who reported, three perpetrators were arrested. Three research participants did not report the rape due to the reasons mentioned above.

- **Non-official reporting**

Research participants C, E and G reported the incident to their friends. According to research participant C her friends were very supportive and reassured her that she was not responsible for the rape.

“I begged my friends to stay with me most of the time. ...I just talked to my friends who were very supportive and understanding. They told me that it was not my fault.”

Research participant E received support from her sister since she moved in with her after the rape.

“For two days after the rape I couldn’t sleep, so I went to my sister’s place and stayed with her.”

Research participant G went home and her parents who took her to the Trauma Center in Thohoyandou for counselling.

“After the rape I went home and told my parents. They took me to the Trauma Center in Thohoyandou.”

Research participant I also received some support from her parents as they took her to the police station. However, after reporting the matter they did not want to talk about the rape any longer.

“My parents do not want to talk about it anymore. Whenever I try to talk to them, they say I must forget about it and move on with my life.”

Easteal (1994:135) emphasises the importance of the support of friends and family after rape victimisation. If these people are supportive, there is a greater chance that the victim will adapt and recover after the incident. If these people are not supportive or they do not want to talk about the rape as was the case with research participant I, the victim's recovery may be delayed (Green, 1988:71).

Research participant D, on the other hand, lied to her parents about the incident thus depriving herself of their support. She was thrown out of her home after her parents found out about the rape.

“When I got home my parents asked where I was – I lied and said I was writing a test. ... My mother wanted to know what was wrong and I said I had a headache. ...I remember the other day my friends told me they saw me in his car and I said it was not me. Even though I kept quiet about the rape my mother found out. The other day when he dropped me at home, my mother was already home. She asked me who dropped me and I said it was just someone I got a lift from. My mother asked me to tell the truth or else I should go and stay with him. I cried but still I did not tell my mother what was going on. ...I do not want my parents to find out about this, even my friends must never know. ... I've never told anyone else.”

It is clear from the above case that victims of rape often prefer not to talk to significant others about the rape victimisation, and as a result depriving them from much needed support. Research conducted by Ross (1993:5) supports this and states that family members may find it difficult to relate to the victim after the rape. In some cases family members may choose to suppress the

knowledge that any victimisation occurred thus creating an impression that the rape is disgraceful and that the victim should be ashamed (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993:5 ; Shoop & Heyhow, 1994:59).

5.2.4 CONSEQUENCES OF RAPE

Davis and Klopper (2003:78) highlight a widely held belief that “real rape is that of being accosted by a stranger on the street.” This notion often results in the belief that a person who is raped by a stranger suffers more consequences than an individual who has been subjected to rape by an acquaintance. In this study the researcher found that the victims of date, acquaintance and stranger rape suffer both long and short term consequences after the rape. A discussion of the emotional, physical, social as well as financial effects rape had on the research participants, is given below.

5.2.4.1 Emotional consequences

A wide range of emotions ranging from anger to fear, a lack of trust, guilt, self-blame as well as feelings of humiliation and embarrassment were experienced by the research participants following the rape.

- **Anger**

Research participants C, D and J expressed feelings of anger when they began to deal with the after-effects of the rape.

“After that I was very angry.” (Research participant C)

“I hate myself. ...I hate him. ...I hate that man. He messed up my life.”
(Research participant D)

“I hate myself.” (Research participant J)

Makofane (1999:118) states that most victims after rape express feelings of anger towards the perpetrator. However, these emotions are often not communicated directly to the perpetrators which might lead to depression. The victims become angry at themselves for having allowed the rape to happen.

- **Fear**

Fear verbalised by the research participants include fear of the perpetrator, fear of people walking behind them and being alone. This fear is typical of a phobic reaction to a traumatic situation which develops after a rape incident (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974:984; Maguire, 1988:78; Morewitz, 1996:253).

Research participants C, D and F reported being scared of the perpetrator.

“I got scared because I knew that he was abusive.” (Research participant C)

“I was scared of him. ... I was so scared of him during the rape. ... I’m scared all the time.” (Research participant D)

“I was scared of them. ...I’m scared of him.” (Research participant F)

Fear of the perpetrator often depends on the amount of physical force used by the perpetrator during the rape incident (Burgers & Holmstrom, 1974:984). Research participant C, for example, was assaulted physically by the perpetrator prior to the rape

“He then started beating me. “

Even though no physical injuries were sustained and the perpetrator used no physical force, research participants D and F were still fearful of the perpetrator. According to Lurigio and Davis (1989:57) victims often perceive impending danger and realise that they can die or be injured

before the rape. With regards to research participant D, the perpetrator forced himself on her. Since it was also her first sexual encounter, she did not know what to expect.

“I was a virgin. He forced himself on me.”

Research participant F, on the other hand feared secondary victimisation by the perpetrator and his friends.

“They said I needed to be taught a lesson and maybe the rape was not enough. ...They threatened me saying that if I report it they would make my life miserable on campus.”

Victims of rape may also fear people **walking behind** them. Research participant I verbalised this fear by stating that she “did not want anyone to walk behind” her because the perpetrator attacked her from behind. This reaction is typical of a person who was attacked from behind (Maguire, 1988:78 ; Morewitz, 1996:253).

Fear of being alone after the rape was also reported by research participants C and E.

“I was so scared that day that I did not want to sleep alone in my room. I begged my friends to stay with me most of the time.” (Research participant C)

“I’m scared of walking alone.” (Research participant E)

These findings concur with research done by Maguire (1988:78) and Morewitz (1996:253), which state that victims may fear being alone. According to these researchers, victims feel that being alone may subject them to similar experiences. In addition to this, being alone after the incident might cause the

victim to re-live the experience while having company may make the victim uncomfortable (Maguire, 1988:78).

- **Lack of trust**

In addition to the consequences highlighted above, rape also leads to a violation of trust amongst victims of date and acquaintance rape (Quinna & Carlson, 1989:33). Research participants C, D, F, H and J's lack of trust is described in the following statements:

"I don't even trust anyone now. ...Female students should be warned and be careful about ex-boyfriends." (Research participant C)

"I trusted him. ... I don't trust men. ... They must not allow men to give them money because they want something in return." (Research participant D)

"I trusted him because I had been going out with him. ... They must never be involved with men on this campus." (Research participant F)

"I trusted him." (Research participant H)

"I trusted him. I did not know that helping me with accommodation gave him the right to rape me. ... I don't want any relationship here." (Research participant J)

Quinna and Carlson (1989:33) confirm that as most female students are raped by acquaintances (ex-boyfriends, co-students or lecturers), rape on campus could result in a violation of trust. Due to the absence of their parents or guardians (see section 3.2.3), they may have regarded the perpetrators as people they could trust. This could lead to self-blame by the victim as the victim feels responsible for the rape which could lead to a delay in seeking treatment often impeding recovery.

- **Guilt and self-blame**

Despite the varying circumstances of rape, rape victims often blame themselves by feeling that they should or could have handled the situation differently. Research participants D, F, G, H, I and J verbalised these feelings as follows:

“I shouldn’t have gone to his office. ...I shouldn’t have taken his money. ... It’s all my fault. ... If I report it, everyone will blame me because I took money from him and I bought clothes and food.” (Research participant D)

“I should not have gone to his room. ... I hate myself for allowing the rape to happen to me. I should have run, but at first I thought he was not serious.” (Research participant F)

“I blame myself for the rape. I led him on because on the day of the rape I was wearing a short skirt. Had I reported the touching, maybe he would not have raped me.” (Research participant G)

“I was responsible for the rape because I should not have allowed him to take me out. ... I blame myself. ... I feel that I deserved the rape because I was drinking too.” (Research participant H)

“I feel so dirty and blame myself. Had I not been walking alone or studying in the library at night, I wouldn’t have been raped. Now I have to live with this thing for the rest of my life.” (Research participant I)

“My friends had warned me about him but I did not listen. Had I listened to them, I would not be a victim of rape.” (Research participant J)

Green (1988:76), Maguire (1988:68) and Russo (2000:5) confirm that victims of rape often blame themselves after victimisation. Norman and Nadelson (1976:410) state that victims’ feelings of guilt are increased by the fact that they focus on the sexual act rather than on the violent aspect of the rape

experience. Thus the fact that they could have died or sustained physical injuries during the rape is not considered. In the integrated model of sexual harassment and rape (see section 3.4.1.6) the fact is highlighted that guilt and self-blame are often experienced as a result of stereotypes which are held in society, for example, women provoke and ask for rape. Acceptance of these myths causes victims to blame themselves thinking that they should have done something different resulting in the justification of the perpetrator's actions.

"I shouldn't have gone to his office. ...I shouldn't have taken his money...."
(Research participant D)

"I should not have gone to his room.... I should have run, but at first I thought he was not serious." (Research participant F)

"Had I reported the touching, maybe he would not have raped me."
(Research participant G)

"I should not have allowed him to take me out." (Research participant H)

"Had I not been walking alone or studying in the library at night, I wouldn't have been raped." (Research participant I).

"Had I listened to them, I would not be a victim of rape." (Research participant J)

- **Low self-esteem**

After the rape experience, victims often feel that they are worth nothing. They feel that their dignity and sense of self has been taken away from them (Shoop & Heyhow, 1994:64). Research participants F, I and J's statements illustrate this feeling.

"I felt dirty after the rape." (Research participant F)

“I felt so dirty.” (Research participant I)

“It’s like everyone who looks at me sees me as a weak, useless thing. ... I felt so powerless.” (Research participant J)

According to Shoop and Heyhow (1994:65) individuals judge themselves in terms of their own worthiness or non-worthiness following the rape. Thus, victims of rape often feel that they are unimportant, unlikable and unworthy of respect. This leads to a loss of identity as the confidence within themselves diminishes. This could be attributed to the stigma, which is often attached to the victims of rape. This stigma causes women to believe that they deserve to be ill-treated because they are failures who could not protect themselves.

- **Humiliation and embarrassment**

Being humiliated and embarrassed was also reported by research participants D, I and J. These feelings could be as a result of the stigma associated with being a victim of rape (see section 2.2.5).

“I was so humiliated and embarrassed. ... I feel so ashamed.” (Research participant D)

“Now I have to live with this thing for the rest of my life.” (Research participant I)

“I’m so embarrassed. ... I’m so ashamed.... Everyone knows that I had been raped.” (Research participant J)

According to Hubbard (1991:88) the stigma attached to the victims of various forms of sexual victimisation results in victims being ashamed of disclosing that they had been raped. As mentioned earlier societal attitudes towards these victims often prevent them from reporting it. Victims fear that if they report it, their ordeal will become public knowledge. Research participant H confirmed this:

“Maybe if I report it, everyone would know that I was raped and I would be embarrassed and ashamed.”

5.2.4.2 Physical consequences

During the weeks following the rape, many victims experience physical reactions.

- **Physical injuries**

Even though violence was associated with rape in most of the incidents (Research participants D, F, G & J), these research participants did not suffer any physical injuries. They were, however, threatened with violence (see section 5.2.2.2.1).

Research participant C suffered various physical injuries as a result of the rape.

“I was bleeding. ... I had bruises on my face, neck and my body was aching. ...My face was bruised and swollen.”

According to Burgess and Holmstrom (1974:982) as well as Green (1988:76) these symptoms are typical of the acute crisis reaction phase where the victim may have general wounds and bruises following the rape. These may be visible on various parts of the body such as the neck, face, throat, thighs, breasts, arms and legs.

- **Skeletal muscle tension**

Skeletal muscle tension includes tension headaches, fatigue as well as sleep disturbances (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974:982; Green, 1988:982). Research participant D mentioned that she “was sick and had headaches” as a result of the rape.

Research participants E and I experienced sleeping difficulties after the rape.

“For two days after the rape I couldn’t sleep, so I went to my sister’s place and stayed with her.” (Research participant E)

“I could not sleep in my room. I had nightmares about the rape. I would dream, for instance seeing someone carrying a knife.” (Research participant I)

According to Green (1988:76) and Twiggs (2003:87) sleeping difficulties, especially nightmares, are typical symptoms of the acute crisis reaction phase of the Rape Trauma Syndrome (see section 2.3.2.5.1).

- **Gynaecological symptoms and problems**

Three of the research participants (D, F & H) reported gynaecological related problems following the rape.

Research participant D mentioned the following:

“There was fluid coming out of my vagina. ...I was bleeding. I had pains in my stomach [abdominal pains], I still have them sometimes. I went to the clinic because it [her vagina] was itching. I learnt that I had an infection.”

Research participant F fell pregnant as a result of the rape.

“After missing my periods, I went to the clinic and the tests showed that I was pregnant.”

Research participant H reported that:

“A few days after the rape I noticed some pimples around my vagina and the nurses told me that I had a sexually transmitted disease.”

Gynaecological symptoms such as vaginal discharge and infection that prevail following the rape has been reported in research by Burgess and Holmstrom (1974:983) as well as Rodabaugh and Austin (1981:49). Burgers and Holmstrom (1974:983) also state that victims may have abdominal pains after the rape. Russo (2000:15) supports this and adds that victims may also be at risk of unwanted pregnancy as well as contracting sexually transmitted diseases (see also section 2.3.2.5.1).

Research participant D was still a virgin when she was raped and she resents having sexual intercourse again.

“I was a virgin.... I don't want sexual intercourse anymore.”

According to Burgess and Holmstrom (1979:43) as well as Russo (2000:11) for sexually inexperienced victims, rape means losing their virginity. They emphasise that if rape is a female's first sexual encounter, it could add to the trauma.

Research participant C, on the other hand, was sexually experienced. However, she also indicated that:

“it was difficult for me to have sexual relations after the rape”.

For sexually experienced victims, normal sexual activities could thus also be severely affected. Rodabaugh and Austin (1981:50) confirm this and mention that sexual problems such as frigidity may develop after incidents of rape.

5.2.4.3 Social consequences

According to Day (1994:743) female students could often limit their activities such as avoid going out at night to the library and/or participate in any other nighttime activities or leave the university. This may result in a loss of work as well as educational, social and leisure opportunities. These changes in

lifestyle such as not going to the library at night as well as leaving the institution or residence could influence academic performance and progress.

Research participant E “moved out of the residence” while research participant J “moved out of the hostel” and she “no longer visits friends who are there”. Research participant H “never went to the library at night”. This avoidance of stimuli that reminds them of the victimisation is a typical of the PTSD and often characteristic of the outward adjustment phase of the Rape Trauma Syndrome (see section 2.3.2.5.1). Research participant I experienced similar symptoms and indicated intense emotional reactions when she walks past the Environmental Sciences building on campus:

“When I walk past that area I get scared”.

Research conducted by Gidycz and Koss (1990:325), Morewitz (1996:255) as well as Quinna and Carlson (1989:33) highlight that rape could even result in some students leaving the university. Thus one rape victim as mentioned by research participant E, left the university after the rape.

“My other friend left campus after we were raped.”

This could be attributed to the fact that they are often forced by their routine activities to see the perpetrator on a daily basis, which often triggers the memories of the rape. Also in this way they can avoid the places that reminds them of the rape.

5.2.4.4 Financial consequences

Sexual victimisation such as rape may hold certain financial consequences as well. Research participants D and F for example, failed their course and had to repeat the courses that was presented by the lecturers that raped them. This had financial implications for them.

“When the examination results came out, I had failed. ... It was the only course that I had failed.” (Research participant D)

“In fact, I failed all my courses. I’m repeating the courses.” (Research participant F)

As a result of the rape, victims may also find it difficult to concentrate in class and to focus on their studies (see section 2.3.2.5.1). Consequently they could fail.

“As it was nearing exam time, I could not concentrate on my studies.” (Research participant F)

Failure means re-registering and this could have negative financial implications as well as an impact on the victims’ career development.

“When the examination results came out, I had failed. ... It was the only course that I had failed.” (Research participant D)

“In fact, I failed all my courses. I’m repeating the courses.” (Research participant F)

Victims may also lose bursaries as a result of the rape. Research participant F confirmed this:

“Because I failed last year I could not get a loan.”

5.2.4.5 Role of counselling

From the above findings, it is clear that research participants experienced to a greater or lesser degree intense emotional, physical, social as well as financial consequences following the rape. However, in spite of the emotional trauma associated with rape, only one research participant (E) was undergoing some form of counselling at the time of the interview.

“I went for counselling at the Victim Empowerment Center. I’m still attending the counselling sessions.”

The value of counselling for the victim could not be established since she is still undergoing treatment. Most research participants (research participants C, D, F, G, H, I & J) in the current study did not go for counselling. However, from their non-verbal communication such as crying, it became clear that they have not dealt with the trauma.

[the participant starts sobbing].” (Research participant C)

“...[the participant starts sobbing]...[the participant starts crying again]...[the participant cries again].... [A long pause – the participant smiles anxiously and starts crying uncontrollably].” (Research participant D)

“...[the participant starts sobbing].. [the participant starts crying].... [the participant cries again].” (Research participant F)

In addition to the non-verbal communication expressed by victims, some of them (Research participants C, E, G & H) reported that they are fine and have dealt with the fact that they had been raped.

“Now I don’t have a problem. I’m just continuing with my life but I would not want any other person to go through that.” (Research participant C)

“I’m fine now. I don’t feel anything.” (Research participant E)

“But it’s over now. I’m fine. ... I passed the course. I do not want to talk about it anymore. I’m fine. I go to his office when I need money and he has never touched me again.” (Research participant G)

“But I’m fine now. It happened and I’m still with him and I think I have moved on.” (Research participant H)

Rodabaugh and Austin (1981:50) are of the opinion that as victims deal with the reality that they had been raped, they try to resume their normal activities by pretending as if everything is normal. This could lead to some victims dropping or withdrawing the charges (see research participant G), rejecting any offers of assistance (research participant H) and even discontinuing counselling (Rodabaugh & Austin, 1981:50). Thus, although the above research participants indicated that they are coping well, the possibility still exist that they are in fact not coping well. All these victims were encouraged to go for counselling at the Victim Empowerment Center in Sibasa. According to Levett (1981:105) counselling could reduce and resolve the trauma of sexual victimisation. The researcher explained that professional help for victims could help the victim to increase feelings of control over their lives, to gain self-respect, self-confidence as well as building their self-esteem and avoiding or lessening self-blame. As most research participants in the current study blamed themselves for the rape, the researcher advised them that counselling could help to modify their attitudes through direct involvement with the social worker or counsellor. In the case of research participant H, the researcher highlighted that counselling could help her find alternative ways and means to support herself financially to stop the abuse she still receives from the perpetrator.

5.2.5 POSSIBLE PREVENTION/REDUCTION OF FURTHER INCIDENTS

In terms of recommendations for the prevention of rape on campus, the research participants made a number of suggestions to help reduce rape on campus namely, workshops, awareness campaigns, the empowerment of female students, victim support services, policies on liquor and parties, financial assistance to students and adequate or improved security.

- **Workshops**

Research participant H recommended workshops where students could be informed about issues pertaining to rape.

“I think as female students we need workshops on these issues. I did not know about date rape or sexual harassment until the workshop. I thought a person could only be raped by a stranger.”

Dekeseredy and Hinch (1991:147) are of the view that there is a need for educational workshops about various aspects of rape on campuses. The theme of such workshops should include aspects such as the legal definition of rape, dispelling the myths about rape, the consequences of rape on the victims, what victims should do when they are raped as well as the procedures for reporting incidents of rape. The attendance of these workshops should be compulsory to all students and staff in order to assist in the prevention of rape.

- **Awareness campaigns**

Awareness campaigns that could serve as platforms for students to talk about their experiences was highlighted by research participants C and J.

“I think there should be awareness campaigns and forums where we could share our experiences.” (Research participant C)

“Also females must talk about their experiences so that no one else is raped again. If we talk about it then others will not find themselves in similar situations.” (Research participant J)

Research participant C actually meant support groups. In the case of research participant J it seems that a need exists to educate students on what constitutes rape. Victims need information or knowledge to address rape myths and be empowered (see the above section on workshops).

- **Financial assistance to students**

A necessity for the provision of financial assistance to needy students was verbalised by research participant F and G who received money from the perpetrators.

“It’s even worse if they come from poor families. I don’t have money and have a baby so I have to stay with him. I think there must be financial provision for us because when we apply for registration, we are told that we will get financial assistance, but when we come we sometimes do not get it.”
(Research participant F)

Research participant G also mentioned the following in this regard:

“I go to his office when I need money.” (Research participant G)

As in the case of sexual harassment (see section 5.2.1.5), it seems that financial dependability or financial constraints (see lifestyle exposure model in section 3.1.1.3) make victims vulnerable for victimisation.

- **Cautionary measures for female students**

A number of cautionary measures to address the problem of rape on campus were highlighted by research participants C, D, F and G. Most of these recommendations were based on alerting other female students about potential perpetrators as well as areas they should avoid on campus.

“Female students should be warned and be careful about ex-boyfriends.”
(Research participant C)

“Female students must be very careful. They must not allow men to give them money because they want something in return. They must not let themselves to be abused like I was. ... Female students must be warned not to go to lecturers’ offices.” (Research participant D)

“I think other students must be careful. They must never be involved with men on this campus.” (Research participant F).

“Female students must be able to protect themselves. They must be able to fight if they are attacked.” (Research participant G)

Female students are therefore warned to be careful of ex-boyfriends. This was largely due to the fact that research participants C and F were subjected to rape by their ex-boyfriends. Another warning related to the acceptance of money from men as research participant D, received money from the perpetrator. This research participant also advised female students not to be personally involved with lecturers. Research participant F also highlighted non-involvement with men on campus. Research participant G mentioned a necessity for female students to be able to protect themselves from any form of victimisation.

- **Adequate security**

Research participants E, G and I mentioned the necessity of enough security measures and personnel on campus.

“Our campus is not safe – especially in the residences. ... Sometimes you hear female students screaming being beaten by their boyfriends and no one helps them. The security personnel are not there most of the time. ...There are also many entrances and exits at our residence. I think some of them must be closed. There should be one main entrance and a security guard.” (Research participant E)

“It is not safe on this campus. I tried to scream but no one heard me.” (Research participant G)

“Some areas are very dark especially at night. If there was enough lighting and security, maybe I would not have been raped. Even now that area where I was raped is still dark.... The security must also be beefed up so that they

know individuals who are outsiders and are not on campus to study, lecture or attend classes. I think there are too many entrances and exits on campus and in some of these there are no security officers. Maybe there should be one entrance where everyone should sign in and out.” (Research participant I)

These research participants mentioned the safety of students. They suggested a need for proper security measures such as adequate security personnel, proper lighting in dark areas as well as control over the entrance and exit points on campus. According to the integrated model of sexual harassment and rape (see section 3.4.3) inadequate security could lead to rape in tertiary institutions. Johnson and Sigler (1997:55) and Twiggs (2003:86) state that campuses are open to the public and anyone can enter. There is a need for proper security measures to be put in place to prevent rape on campus. These should include adequate, well-trained security officers who should be placed in designated areas such as dormitories, residence halls, campus surroundings and they should be visible at all times (Bordner & Peterson, 1983:198). They should be able to advise victims on what to do after the rape incident. Lighting should also be constantly upgraded.

5.3 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the information obtained from the research participants was analysed. Sexual harassment and rape cases were explored by attending to research participants' stories and representations of their experiences. This enabled the researcher to conclude that most sexual harassment and rape incidents occur on campus between people who know each other. The acceptance of myths, the non-reporting of these incidents as well as absence of deterrence play a major role in the occurrence of sexual harassment and rape on campuses. From the findings it also became clear that victims of sexual harassment and rape suffer emotional, physical, social as well as financial consequences as a result of the incident. A need for educational

workshops, financial assistance, support services as well as provision of adequate security was recommended by research participants in order to prevent sexual harassment and rape.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

In this Chapter, attention will first be given to the evaluation of whether the aims of the study formulated in Chapter 1 (see section 1.4) were fulfilled. The limitations that were identified during the study as well as the recommendations on possible themes for future research on sexual harassment and rape will also be highlighted. Lastly, based on the need to provide a safe environment for female students on campus (Dekeseredy & Schwartz, 1997:105), recommendations aimed at the prevention of sexual harassment and rape on campuses will be given.

6.1 ACHIEVEMENT OF THE AIMS OF THE STUDY

The following discussion focuses on how the aims of the study were accomplished.

6.1.1 AIM 1

The first aim was to investigate the nature of sexual harassment of female students at the University of Venda. The researcher first ascertained the biographical information of the research participants namely, their age, marital status as well as their year of study. The results of the study indicate that all research participants were single, between the age groups of 18 and 25 and were in their first year of study when they were subjected to sexual harassment. Research participant A was a non-resident student while research participant B was residing in one of the campus residences when she was subjected to sexual harassment. Their lecturers exposed both research participants A and B to quid pro quo harassment after being invited to their offices. One research participant (research participant A) was also subjected to sexual harassment by a financial administrator when she went to his office for financial aid.

It was found that both research participants were repeatedly subjected to verbal and physical harassment (unwanted touching) by the perpetrators. Whenever they went to the perpetrators' offices, they were sexually harassed.

The findings of the study also revealed how research participant A believed that the clothes she wore made her susceptible to sexual harassment. The acceptance of these myths range from physical appearance, dress code and beauty to the belief that they provoked the sexual harassment. In this regard research participant B believed that she asked for the sexual harassment. In addition to this, when research participant A reported the incident to one of the lecturers, the lecturer's response was that she should stay out of trouble and should not go to the professor's office again. Research participants A and B also revealed how not only victims, but also the administrators and parents supported in these stereotypes. By accepting these justifications, victims contribute to the denial of responsibility on the part of the perpetrator, thereby shifting the blame to the victim. Believing in these stereotypes might thus contribute to women being vulnerable to sexual victimisation.

Another central theme that emerged was that students, lecturers, administrative staff and security personnel accept sexual favours as "normal work behavior". The above are indicative of the work ethics that exist among some lecturers at the University of Venda and from the current research, it is evident that this increases the vulnerability of female students as they are taught by these lecturers.

Based on the above discussion, the first objective, namely to investigate the nature of sexual harassment of female students at the University of Venda has been achieved.

6.1.2 AIM 2

The second aim was to investigate the nature of rape of female students at the University of Venda. The researcher established the biographical informa-

tion of the research participants. The research findings indicate that all the research participants who were subjected to rape were single, between the age groups of 18 and 25 and were residing in the residences. Five research participants who were raped (D, E, F, G, & J) were in their first year of study. Seven research participants were acquainted with the perpetrators as they were subjected to rape by lecturers (research participants D & G), classmates (research participants H & J), ex-boyfriends (research participants C & F) and hostel mates (research participant E). The two research participants (D & G) who were exposed to rape by their lecturers were invited by them to their offices to discuss academic related matters. Both research participants were also subjected to sexual harassment in the form of verbal harassment and unwanted touching prior to and after the rape. Research participant I, who had been coming from the library at night, was followed and raped by a stranger behind a building on the university premises.

Two research participants (C & F) were victimised in their ex-boyfriends' rooms, three (research participants E, H & J) were raped in their own rooms, while two incidents (research participants D & G) were perpetrated in the perpetrators' offices.

Research participants C, F and E were threatened with violence while research participant C was physically assaulted by the perpetrator. In the case of the latter research participant the perpetrator had a knife and threatened to drown her in the river. The perpetrator, in the case of research participant E, also had a gun and threatened to shoot them (the victim and her roommates) if they screamed. Research participants D, F, G and J were verbally coerced and bribed with money to submit to rape. Research participant D was given higher marks by the perpetrator, while in addition to the marks, research participant G was supplied with money to buy food and clothes. In the case of research participant F, the perpetrator lied by saying that he had a message for her, while research participant J was brought under the impression that the perpetrator viewed her as "special".

Research participants C, D, H, I and J used a number of strategies to prevent the rape. These included crying and screaming (research participants H & I) to attract attention hoping that someone would hear them, as well as pushing the perpetrator away (research participant D).

Various incident related factors were found to have played a role in the rape of the female students in the current study. Throughout the study the acceptance of myths and stereotypes by research participants D, G and H predominated. These included myths such as “No one would believe me”, “I asked for it” and “I shouldn’t have worn that” which led to the victims justifying the acts of the perpetrators thus blaming themselves for the rape. The adherence to these stereotypes was also found to exist within the society, the police and amongst other students. In this regard, when research participant C went to the police station to report the incident, the police officer advised her to “go back to her ex-boyfriend as they do not entertain such cases”, emphasising the reluctance of society to accept that rape happens between people who know each other. Two research participants (C & F) were also led by the perpetrators to believe that “no one would believe that they were raped”. Their previous involvement with the perpetrators, in the form of dating relationships led to this belief. Research participant F also thought that because she did not suffer any physical injuries following the rape, nobody would believe her. In addition to this the perpetrator and his friends subjected her to embarrassment and humiliation emphasising that no-one would believe that she had been raped.

The patriarchal attitudes learnt from the parents that often exists among male students seemed to play a role in the rape of female students on campus. In the case of research participant F, the perpetrator explicitly practised patriarchal attitudes in the dating relationship by forcing the victim to cook and do the laundry in return for the money he provides. He also expected the victim not to “talk back” to him.

Alcohol use was found to be another incident related factor that played a role in the rape of female students on campus. Two perpetrators, in the cases of research participants E and J, had consumed alcohol before the rape. One of the incidents (research participant J) was perpetrated after the victim and the perpetrator had attended a social event on campus where alcohol use was prevalent. It was also discovered that two perpetrators (in the cases of research participants E & J) were reportedly drunk during the rape, while research participant H was coerced by the perpetrator into drinking liquor before she was subjected to rape.

The role of money was also found to have played a role before and after the rape of female students. As mentioned previously, research participant G was supplied with money to buy food and clothes prior to the rape. Her parents also received money from the perpetrator in exchange for the withdrawal of the charge. Due to the fact that research participant F has no money to support herself and her child, she is still being subjected to victimisation because the perpetrator threatens not to give her money if she ends the relationship.

In the light of the above discussion, the aim namely to ascertain the nature of rape at the University of Venda, was also accomplished.

6.1.3 AIM 3

The third aim was to examine the reactions and responses of significant others as well as university administrators and the police after the incidents of sexual victimisation. In the case of the research participants who were subjected to sexual harassment, research participant A reported the incident to the security officers on campus. Although they initially assisted with the investigation of the allegation, the perpetrator was however not arrested as one of the security officers alerted the perpetrator about the allegation. The perpetrator subsequently resigned and left the institution before he could be charged. This research participant was also advised by university

administrators to submit to sexual advances in order to get money from the perpetrator.

Research participant B did not report the harassment to the police or the security personnel on campus as a result of the reaction she received from her parents who blamed her and accused her of not attending classes as well as disrespecting her lecturers. She also believed she could deal with the situation on her own. In the case of the research participants who were subjected to sexual harassment, the reactions of significant others as well as university administrators and the campus security officers, can therefore be described as negative.

Five of the research participants who were exposed to rape (research participants C, E, G, I & J) did report the incidents. The security personnel on campus arrested the perpetrator in the case of research participant E. The perpetrators were, however, in the cases of research participants C, I, G and J not punished for their actions. Research participant G withdrew the case after she was offered money by the perpetrator. In the case of research participant J, the perpetrator died before the sentence was passed. Due to the lack of understanding by the victim on what constitutes rape, the perpetrator in the case of research participant C was not arrested. Research participant I who was raped by a stranger could not identify the perpetrator and no arrest was thus made.

The research findings also revealed that the incident related factors discussed in section 6.1.2, led to denial and non-reporting of rape incidents. Three research participants did not report the rape because they felt guilty about receiving money from the perpetrator (research participant D), feared that they would not be believed (research participant F), were ignorant about what constitutes rape (research participant H), did not sustain any injuries and lack of faith in the police and security personnel (research participant F).

Research participants C, E, G and I who were exposed to rape received support from their friends and families. This was in the form of assisting the victims to report the incident to the police and trauma center (research participant G) and also advising the victims to move out of the residence (research participant E). Research participant C received support from her friends who stayed with her after the rape. In the case of research participant I, her parents took her to the police station to report the incident. However after this, the parents did not want to talk about the rape with the victim again. Research participants D, F, H and J did not tell their friends or families about the rape incidents.

In the light of the above discussions, aim number three, namely to determine the reactions and responses of significant others as well as university administrators and the police after the incidents of sexual victimisation, was also attained.

6.1.4 AIM 4

The fourth aim was to determine the consequences sexual harassment had on the victims of this crime. The research findings uncovered that the two victims of sexual harassment displayed a number of emotional side effects such as anger directed towards themselves and at the perpetrators. They also experienced feelings of guilt, blaming themselves for the clothes they wore during the incidents (research participant A), for being known by the perpetrator (research participant B) and visiting the perpetrators' offices (research participants A & B). Lack of self-respect and self-worth such as "I feel like a dust-bin" as well the violation of trust was also reported by the two research participants as they were sexually harassed by people they trusted.

Exposure to sexual harassment, also resulted in social consequences such as the victims changing their lifestyles - thus depriving them of the freedom to partake in activities they are used to. Both research participants A and B decided to stop attending classes in order to avoid the perpetrator.

Both research participants were also not able to concentrate in class, which led to them failing the modules. Research participant A had to re-register the module she had enrolled for while research participant B had to find an alternative module in order to be able to obtain necessary credits to finish her degree. This also resulted in financial consequences.

Based on the above discussion, the aim, namely to determine the consequences sexual harassment had on the victims, was also achieved.

6.1.5 AIM 5

The fifth aim was to determine the consequences rape had on the victims of this crime. During the interviews it became evident that all eight research participants who were raped were very traumatised by the incidents. The findings in the current study revealed that most victims suffered emotional consequences such as feelings of anger (research participants C, D & F) which was directed toward themselves and the perpetrators. Fear of the perpetrator (C, D & F), of people walking behind them (research participant I) as well as fear of being alone (research participants C & E) was also expressed. Lack of trust was experienced by research participants C, D, F, H and J. Feelings of guilt and self-blame were reported by research participants D, F, G, H, I and J. Research participants F, I and J verbalised low self-esteem while research participants D, I, J and H were humiliated and embarrassed about the rape incidents. Due to the fact that research participant D was still a virgin before the rape, she resents having sexual relations after the rape. However, even though research participant C was sexually experienced, she also expressed experiencing difficulty in having sexual relations after the rape.

Contrary to the belief that acquaintance rape victims do not suffer any physical injuries after the rape (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974:983), the results of the study proved otherwise. Three research participants experienced physical consequences after the rape. Physical effects that were reported by

research participant D include bruises and wounds as a result of the beatings she was subjected to by the perpetrator (an ex-boyfriend). Other physical consequences that were reported include headaches (research participant D), abdominal pains (research participant D), sexually transmitted diseases (research participants D & H) and an unwanted pregnancy (research participant F).

It was also found that the way in which the research participants socially conducted themselves after the rape was affected. Research participants H, I, J and E manifested typical post traumatic stress symptoms such as avoidance of places that reminded them of the rape. Research participant H avoided going to the library at night. Research participant I even changed her room fearing secondary victimisation, while others decided to move out of the residence (research participants E & J). These victims restricted themselves to activities or surroundings which would pose lesser risk of being subjected to further sexual victimisation.

Similar to the two victims who were exposed to sexual harassment by their lecturers, the two research participants (research participants D & F) who were raped by their lecturers also failed the courses presented by their lecturers. The financial repercussions this had on the victims was that they had to repeat the modules they were registered for (research participants D & F) in order to be able to complete their studies. The results of this study also indicated that seven research participants (C, D, F, G, H, I & J) subjected to rape did not go for counselling after the rape. The main reason highlighted was that they did not need counselling. However, their non-verbal communication such as uncontrollable crying (research participants C, D & F) as well as their verbal communication illustrated below indicate that they were not coping with their feelings.

[the participant starts sobbing]. (Research participant C)

[the participant starts sobbing].... [the participant starts crying again].... [a long pause – the participant smiles anxiously and starts crying uncontrollably]. (Research participant D)

[the participant starts sobbing]... [the participant starts crying]...[the participant cries again] (Research participant F)

All these research participants were referred for counselling to the Victim Empowerment Center in Sibasa.

Based on the above discussion, the aim, namely to determine the consequences rape has on victims on campus, was also achieved.

6.1.6 AIM 6

The sixth aim of the study was to get the opinions of female students regarding the prevention of sexual harassment and rape in tertiary institutions. The victims of sexual harassment (research participants A & B) suggested that information regarding students' rights on campus be communicated to new students. Various programmes aimed at the empowerment of all female students were also recommended by research participant B while financial assistance to needy students was also highlighted by research participants A as well as F and G who were exposed to sexual harassment prior to the rapes they were subjected to.

Research participant B who was a victim of sexual harassment as well as E, G and I who were exposed to rape recommended that security measures on campus should be upgraded. Research participants H and J also suggested that workshops geared towards awareness of rape on campus be conducted. Warnings to new students about potential ex-boyfriends who are potentially dangerous on campus were also made by research participants C, D, F and G.

The aim, namely to get the opinions of victims regarding the prevention of sexual harassment and rape in tertiary institutions, was also achieved.

In conclusion, it is the opinion of the researcher that all the aims of the study have been achieved. With this study, the understanding of sexual harassment and rape on campuses has been enhanced. This was achieved through the use of a qualitative research design, which entailed in-depth face-to-face interviews with ten research participants who were subjected to sexual victimisation on campus. Through this method, the researcher was able to obtain rich information regarding the research participants' experiences of sexual harassment and rape.

The possible measures to prevent sexual victimisation provided a platform for the researcher to formulate recommendations regarding the prevention of sexual victimisation on campus.

6.2 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

As no research is problem free, this section focuses on the limitations of the research. Some of the challenges that were experienced during the study are highlighted below.

6.2.1 SMALL SAMPLE SIZE

Only two victims of sexual harassment and eight victims of rape at the University of Venda, volunteered to participate in the research. From the onset, the researcher struggled to get enough respondents to participate in the study. After putting advertisements on the university notice boards requesting female students who had experienced sexual harassment or rape on campus, only one research participant volunteered to participate. To overcome this problem, the researcher conducted a workshop in search for further research participants (see section 4.3.2).

After this workshop, fifteen individuals approached the researcher to participate in the study (see section 4.3.2). However, only nine research participants met the purposes of the study and could be included in the research. Possible reasons for the low response rate might be that victims do not characterise some forms of rape such as acquaintance rape as rape (see section 2.2.5). The trauma experienced by the victims after the incident, fear of not being believed, fear of the stigma associated with being a victim of rape, belief in myths about sexual victimisation, lack of faith in the police as well as absence of deterrence, also contributed to the low response rate.

In spite of the small sample size, De Vos (2001:15) as well as Fouche (2002:275) are of the opinion that a qualitative research design allows and accepts the use of a smaller sample size. Thus, even though the ten research participants included in the study were not representative of the total population, the aim of this study was not to make generalisations but to explore and understand female students' experiences of sexual harassment and rape on campus.

6.2.2 LANGUAGE BARRIER

Two research participants (research participants A & I) experienced a problem in expressing themselves in English. In spite of the fact that they indicated the opposite before the interview and expressed their willingness to participate in the study, both research participants struggled to verbalise their experiences and feelings in English. To overcome this, the researcher also explained all the questions in their language and allowed the research participants ample time to express themselves. The researcher also reflected on their verbal communications by repeating their words and asking for confirmation to ensure a better understanding of their experiences. The researcher also simplified certain questions. For instance instead of asking the research participants to talk about the nature of their experiences, the researcher rephrased this and asked the research participants to explain what happened to them. The question regarding the recommendations to prevent sexual

harassment and rape on campus was also rephrased to what can be done to stop sexual harassment and rape on campus.

6.2.3 SENSITIVE NATURE OF SEXUAL VICTIMISATION

It also became clear during the interviews that although all ten research participants had approached the researcher out of their own free will to participate in the research, they were initially hesitant to provide too much detail regarding their experiences. Research participants B and I feared secondary victimisation because the perpetrator was a lecturer (research participant B) and a student (research participant I) on campus. The researcher also decided to conduct two interviews with research participants B and I at the Victim Empowerment Center in Sibasa, which is not on the university premises (see section 4.4.1). This was due to the fact that the perpetrators were still on campus and the research participants feared secondary victimisation if they were interviewed on the university premises. To overcome this problem, the researcher referred the research participants to the informed consent form and emphasised that confidentiality will be assured at all times.

Another possible reason why research participants found it difficult to talk about their victimisation might be the trauma associated with sexual harassment and rape. Examples of this include the avoidance of eye contact by research participants C, F, G and I during the interviews as well as the fidgeting with hands (research participants G & J). Research participants D, I, J and H were also ashamed and embarrassed because they did not want anyone to know that they had been subjected to rape. They also feared that nobody would believe that they had been raped. The researcher took special care to establish rapport and afforded research participants enough time to drink water, cry and compose themselves while assuring them that counselling had the potential to empower and restore them to the individuals they were before the incident.

6.3 POSSIBLE THEMES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In spite of the rich data obtained during the interviews, certain areas which warrant further research have been identified. These areas will be highlighted next.

6.3.1 RESEARCH AT OTHER UNIVERSITIES WITH BIGGER SAMPLES

For reasons mentioned at the beginning of this study, the decision was taken to rather follow a qualitative approach to conduct research on sexual harassment and rape at the University of Venda. Although this study was aimed at exploring and understanding the female students' experiences of sexual harassment and rape on campus, it is as mentioned in section 6.2.1, not representative of all female students exposed to sexual harassment and rape.

To increase the validity and reliability of this research and to allow for broader generalisations, it is recommended that similar research be undertaken at other universities with bigger samples. From the current study, it is evident that sexual harassment and rape are crimes that seem to occur often on campuses, however universities tend not to react on allegations of sexual harassment and rape in fear of damaging their reputation. A great need thus exists to improve the universities' commitment to the safety of their students. Comparative empirical research also needs to be conducted to distinguish the causes, nature, extent as well as consequences of sexual harassment and rape in universities situated in rural and urban areas. This type of research could establish if there are any similarities or differences between the factors related to the occurrence of these incidents on campuses.

It is also recommended that a longitudinal study be conducted on sexual harassment and rape on the campus of the University of Venda. A sample of first year students who were victims of sexual harassment and rape on campus could be drawn and multiple interviews conducted over a period of time. This would be aimed at determining the extent of the consequences of

sexual victimisation in the long term. Additionally, research of this nature can establish if the victims are subjected to further or other forms of victimisations during the remainder of their studies. The effectiveness of prevention measures could also be determined.

6.3.2 INCIDENT-RELATED FACTORS

Based on the integrated model of sexual harassment and rape as well as the research findings in Chapter 5, certain incident related factors warrant extensive research in an attempt to prevent sexual harassment and rape on campus.

6.3.2.1 Victim related incident factors

The following victim related incident factors that were identified require further research:

- **Acceptance of myths**

The belief in myths by research participants regarding sexual victimisation was identified as one of the reasons which contributed to the non-reporting of sexual harassment and rape. Furthermore, this study also revealed that perpetrators of these incidents also enforce these myths on female students thereby justifying their acts. Urgent research which includes both female and male students, is required to determine the extent of the belief in myths about sexual victimisation. This study should also focus on the belief systems among university staff and administration members and the influence and effect these beliefs could have on the outcome of a reported incident of sexual victimisation.

- **The relationship between sexual victimisation and economic circumstances**

From the research findings, it became evident that victims are often subjected to sexual victimisation by lecturers or other students who lured or bribed them

with money to buy food and clothes. Priority research that focuses on the link between sexual victimisation and socio-economic factors and how to meet the financial needs of female students, is also warranted.

- **Postgraduate students as victims of sexual victimisation**

Seven research participants in the current study were in their first year of study when they were subjected to sexual harassment or rape. However, research conducted by Shoop and Heyhow (1997:7) on campuses in the USA indicates that postgraduate students are more likely to be at risk of especially, sexual harassment because of the direct contact with their lecturers or supervisors. Thus, research on the extent and nature of sexual harassment among postgraduate students at the University of Venda and other universities, is recommended.

6.3.2.2 Offender related incident factors

Further research could also focus on establishing the profile of perpetrators and on determining factors which influence them or facilitate the perpetration of these crimes on campus.

- **Work ethics**

One of the major findings of the research is the fact that sexual favours are accepted by students and lecturers as part of the daily activities of the university. Urgent research is needed regarding the work ethics of lecturers at the University of Venda (see section 6.3.2.1) and other universities. Due to the fact that lecturers have power over the students in terms of their academic progress and educational benefits, students tend to accept the situation. The fact that they interact with their lecturers in class and in office on a daily basis, increases the vulnerability of students to sexual victimisation.

- **Dating relationships**

The current study revealed that two research participants (research participants D & F) were raped by their ex-boyfriends because they had ended their relationships. The nature of these relationships, especially dealing with the termination of relationships, needs to be thoroughly researched. Special attention should be given to a possible relationship between rape as a form of punishment and ending a relationship.

One of the research participants (research participant F) was subjected to abuse because of the perpetrator's belief in patriarchal systems learnt from parents. Regardless of the abuse, this research participant is still in a courtship relationship with the perpetrator because she depends on him financially. South African based research on the relationship between patriarchy and the level of violence in sexual or dating relationships among students at the University of Venda and other universities is also recommended.

- **The role of alcohol and drugs**

Another major finding of this study was that alcohol played a role in the rape of female students. The extent of alcohol abuse and its link to the sexual victimisation of female students, at the University of Venda and other campuses, should be studied in detail.

Since researchers such as Vera (1994:58) is of the opinion that drug abuse is also prevalent at the University of Venda, and no in depth study has been conducted on drug abuse on this campus, the researcher recommends that scientific research be done to determine the nature as well as the link between drug abuse and sexual victimisation of female students. Similar research should also be done at other tertiary institutions.

6.3.2.3 Institutional related risk factors

Despite the fact that some incidents were reported to security personnel on campus and one perpetrator was arrested, no form of action was taken by the university management to discipline perpetrators. Urgent research needs to be undertaken on why this and other universities are so reluctant to take a stand in this regard, to acknowledge the occurrence of sexual victimisation and to commit themselves to the prevention thereof. These studies can evaluate existing rules and regulations in this regard especially the immunity of staff members and certain student members such as the SRC. Their influence on decision making at the university should be studied as well as the factors which make them immune.

Other institutional factors that warrant further investigation include the rules and procedures on how to report incidents of crime and how to monitor the incidence of sexual related offences on campus. This could help to establish the extent or incidence of sexual victimisation on campus.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING THE PREVENTION OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND RAPE ON CAMPUSES

In this section the focus will be placed on recommendations to reduce the level of sexual harassment and rape on the campus of the University of Venda. The discussion is focused on addressing the incident related factors which are associated with sexual victimisation, providing a strong deterrent in the form of effective policies as well as altering the environment in which these incidents occur. Since no single method or technique can be sufficient to address the problem of sexual harassment and rape on campuses, a multi-dimensional approach is suggested.

6.4.1 PREVENTION PROGRAMMES DIRECTED TOWARD VICTIMS

In this section, the researcher will focus on preventing sexual harassment and rape through encouraging reporting of these incidents, the need for victim

support services as well as educating victims, female students in general, parents and the university community.

6.4.1.1 Reporting sexual harassment and rape

The research findings in this study indicate that victims of sexual harassment and rape often do not report their victimisation nor know what to do after they were subjected to sexual victimisation. In this regard, Grobbelaar (2003:6) states that the first thing any sexual harassment or rape victim could do is to move away from the scene of the incident and get to a safe place in order to inform the police, security personnel or any trusted person such as a friend or relative of the victimisation. Due to the fact that the findings of the current study reveal that victims of sexual harassment were subjected to multiple incidents (see section 5.2.1.2.1), reporting the incident immediately could help reduce further victimisation. Victims should thus be encouraged to report any incident immediately.

Due to a lack of faith in disciplinary procedures and the fear of retaliation, most victims do not report the incidents. Students should be encouraged by awareness campaigns and similar workshops such as the one conducted by the researcher, to report sexual victimisation on campus. It should be stressed that sexual harassment and rape will only be brought under control if victims report these crimes and receive counselling.

Braine et al. (1995:129) emphasise the importance of having wide publicised and clear procedures for reporting as well as education programmes detailing the grievance and disciplinary procedures and supportive network available to students. Edwards (1995:267) adds the need for a comprehensive system of complaints that is known to all students and staff. Such a system should include support for the person filing the report, including the possibility of counselling and protection from retaliation; an assurance of confidentiality for all parties; an efficient and thorough investigation in a timely manner and procedures of disciplining those who violate the policy. If such a system can

be placed into effect at the University of Venda, it will help to promote greater awareness in responding more effectively to incidents of sexual victimisation.

With regard to sexual harassment, an anonymous ethics line where students could telephonically report abuse by lecturers should be developed. It should be of such a nature that students (even those who are only aware of these practices and not direct victims) can also report the incidents.

6.4.1.2 The need for victim support services

The current research findings indicate that victims of sexual harassment and rape suffer physical as well as emotional consequences following sexual harassment and rape. The researcher therefore recommends that a medico-legal center with psychologists, legal advisers and medical practitioners (as part of the existing Counselling Center on campus) should be established to cater for the needs of these victims. Braine et al. (1995:148) emphasise that a one stop center of this nature could assist victims to obtain medical as well as psychological assistance immediately after victimisation. Since most of the students did not go for counselling to the Counselling Center available on campus, because they were not aware of its existence, this center should be promoted and publicised even with the existing services they provide.

While restructuring the existing Counselling Center as part of a long-term project on campus, the available clinic or health center on campus could also be better equipped and provided with proper infrastructure to deal with sexual harassment and rape victims and cases. A staffing component consisting of a doctor, nurses, an investigating officer and social worker, are recommended. Since the student population is already familiar and aware of the whereabouts of the health center and it is accessible to most students as it is situated on campus, one room in the clinic could easily be converted to be used as a reception area, while a second one can serve as a counselling room where victims can be interviewed, debriefed and treated for physical injuries and shock. Victims could also be given the medication to avoid unwanted

pregnancy as well as a voluntary test and medication for HIV in this center. It is however important that students should be informed of this change.

6.4.1.3 Educating victims, female students in general, parents and the university community

Dekeseredy and Hinch (1991:59) state that while there are many methods of increasing student, staff and community awareness about the problem of sexual victimisation on campuses, there is a need for discussion groups that address the key issues such as myths associated with sexual harassment and rape on campuses. The researcher is of the opinion that educational programmes to address these, could be made mandatory for undergraduate and postgraduate students. During orientation and the welcoming of new students, topics such as sexual harassment, acquaintance rape, date rape, sexual consent, dating violence, the effects of alcohol as well as strategies to reduce the risk of being victimised on campus, could be addressed.

These programmes should, however, be offered continuously throughout the year and information such as the extent of these incidents should be publicised to members of the university community in order to sensitise the university management, community, student population and staff about the seriousness of sexual victimisation on campus in spite of the possible damage to the reputation of the University. Information about particular places on campus where there is a likelihood of becoming a victim of sexual victimisation should be publicised. In spite of the damage to their reputation universities may face when they publicise this information, they should make it clear that student safety on campus is a priority and that they would prosecute perpetrators and assist victims if the need arises. Knowledge about who the potential offenders could be can also be helpful to prevent sexual harassment and rape.

Students (victims) should be aware of the fact that they are not alone, that sexual victimisation is a reality, that it is their duty to report it and that there

are mechanisms and procedures in place to address these problems. This could be achieved by conducting awareness programmes and campaigns on campuses, which promote a safe environment.

According to Fisher and Sloan (1995:171) awareness programmes of this nature, may prevent potential offenders from committing these offences and keep potential victims from experiencing them. Moreover knowledge of this nature could assist those in the academic community (students, university administration and management, service workers, academic staff members) to better understand and thus respond appropriately to victims who approach them.

Workshops on alcohol abuse, myths about sexual victimisation, the nature, extent and prevention of these crimes, power relationships as well as gender roles, could also be conducted.

Awareness could also be achieved through organising workshops or lunch hour seminars. Brochures or flyers containing information on the prevention of sexual victimisation as well as emergency telephone numbers could be distributed. Frequent articles in the campus newspaper that contain information about the nature of sexual harassment and rape, relationship violence and the dangers associated with it, safe ways to report sexual victimisation incidents as well as contact telephone numbers of resources (existing support services) on campus and in the community could also be published. Brochures, flyers and pamphlets could be made available from the campus information and visitors center, the campus security desk, the dean of students' office and the university health services. They should also be distributed among staff members. Posters put on notice boards in the student center, at campus security offices, in the library halls, the cafeteria as well other campus locations that are frequented by students on the campus, is also recommended. Since one of the findings in the current study was that most acquaintance rapes were committed in the residences, residence managers should take responsibility to disseminate the above information among

resident students (Erhart & Sandler, 1985:14; Schwartz, 1993:13) during student residence meetings that address the problem of date rape and other forms of abuse. New students' orientation booklets could also be changed to include information on sexual harassment and rape on campus.

Since universities are changing towards outcomes based education, classroom presentations on sexism and male violence against women, could also assist in educating students on campus.

According to Barak, Fisher and Houston (1992:34) the need for education programmes and training cannot be overemphasised. Research on and the development of programmes for increasing the awareness of the campus community especially to the issue of sexual victimisation is vital thereby sensitising potential offenders to the unacceptable and punishable nature of their behaviour and sensitising potential victims to means of prevention and redress. The approach needs to go further than information dissemination and should be geared towards empowering women to take up their rightful place in society without fear of harassment, discrimination and exploitation.

- **Empowerment of female students**

In the current study, a silent agreement by way of payment to withdraw charges about the incident was reached by one of the research participants, her parents and the perpetrator after the rape. Incidents of this nature place the victim in an even more vulnerable position. In the light of this, as well as a recommendation made by one of the research participants, the empowerment of female students is recommended.

Empowerment means restoring the individuals' level of functioning, so that the person has freedom and authority to achieve his or her full potential (Hill, 2002:1). In the case of victims of sexual harassment, empowerment refers to the alleviation of the effects of crime (by providing counselling and medical

treatment) to ensure that victims are able to deal effectively with the consequences of the trauma they suffered.

Empowering victims of sexual victimisation on campus thus helps to restore the victim by addressing aspects such as victims' safety, regaining self-esteem, regaining power and control as well as establishing trusting relationships. Support groups for abused women could also be organised to help them share their experiences and difficulties. This could also assist in the realisation that they are not the only ones experiencing abuse. These groups should mobilise support for victims of sexual victimisation on campus.

In addition to this, since two female students are still involved with the perpetrators after the rape, female students need to be made aware of the dangers of being in abusive relationships. They should be educated about their inherent right to be respected as equal human beings and not be objectified for sexual abuse. In this regard, Dekeseredy and Hinch (1991:148) recommend assertiveness training to enhance the self-confidence of victims so as to address and counteract the belief in myths surrounding their victimisation. Such programmes should be designed at helping vulnerable female students to rebuild their self-esteem thus enabling them to learn to make decisions without feeling a sense of guilt if they decide to end a relationship. This would in turn counteract the belief that "no reaction" implies the acceptance of the perpetrator's behaviour, which leads to the denial of the incident.

On a more primary level, women's groups on campuses could assist with educating female students regarding sexual victimisation on campus. Although extensive research has been done by Allison and Wrightsman (1993:99) regarding individual responsibility (and measures to prevent sexual victimisation in general) certain steps that may be helpful in reducing these incidents, can be identified based on the current research. Female students need to be in the company of other students when going to their lecturers' offices. Female students need to exercise some caution when attending

social events with their friends and visiting or inviting ex-boyfriends and classmates into their rooms. Twiggs (2003:6) suggests that when going to a party or any social occasion, if possible, female students should let other roommates or friends know who they are with and where they are. Grobbelaar (2003:6) states that although a rapist might be a trustworthy friend or ex-boyfriend, female students should try never to be alone on the first date. It is important to clarify how far one is willing to go sexually.

Alcohol is widely used during these social events and even though it does not cause rape, it makes it harder for the victim to fight back because of a loss of co-ordination and critical judgement capacities. Female students should use alcohol responsibly and try to remain aware of their surroundings and situations at all times (see the section 6.4.2.4 on addressing alcohol abuse).

Since most of the rape incidents in the current study were committed in dormitories. Female students should take special precautions at the residences such as installing key blocks on all doors. When walking alone either from the library or from attending classes they should be aware of their surroundings and of people walking behind them. When possible they should walk in a brisk manner in well-lighted areas and away from the bushes and alleys (see also section 6.4.3 on institutional risk related factors).

- **Dispelling victims' beliefs and myths about sexual harassment and rape**

Most victims do not find it easy to accept and to acknowledge openly that they had been raped. Such denial may be precipitated by the myths that violence against women is a private family affair or matter. They are often too ashamed or embarrassed to talk about their victimisation. They often feel helpless and lack self-esteem or enough confidence to reveal the violence and seek help. Denial of any incident of sexual harassment or rape taking place may be an attempt by the victims to deal and cope with their experiences (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993:63; Shoop & Heyhow, 1994:59).

Despite encouraging and emphasising the importance of disclosure of incidents of sexual victimisation, the university also has an obligation to address and rebut sexual harassment and rape myths using educational campaigns.

Sexual harassment and rape myths abounding in the wider society should also be addressed and rebutted on campus using educational campaigns (see first part of section 6.4.1.3). Universities could play a vital role in changing cultural norms regarding women and sexual assault in general. A media and public relations philosophy dedicated to debunking myths about sex, women and assault (including date and acquaintance rape on campus) could serve as an important platform to dispel myths about sexual victimisation.

Universities can also reduce sexual harassment and rape by working to replace myths with accurate information. Female students should understand that they have a right to say “no” and to wear certain clothes or underwear. Whether the victim sustained injuries or not, whether she invited a man to her room or kissed him, students should know that it is irrelevant to the issue of whether or not she was sexually harassed or raped. Dispelling these myths could also assist in preventing victim-blaming which leads to justifying the occurrence of sexual harassment or rape (Day, 1994:576).

6.4.2 PREVENTION PROGRAMMES DIRECTED TOWARDS PERPETRATORS OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND RAPE ON CAMPUS

This section attempts to look at programmes that could be directed towards the perpetrator in order to reduce sexual harassment and rape of female students on the campus of the University of Venda.

6.4.2.1 Codes of conduct or work ethics amongst university staff members

Violations of university codes are currently brought under the attention of a Disciplinary Committee (DC) at the University of Venda. The DC is chaired by

the Vice-Rector. Membership to this committee is drawn from the Faculty of Law, the Dean of Students and the SRC (University of Venda Statute, 2004:13). The University of Venda statute, however, does not have a clear policy on how staff members should conduct themselves. It also does not have any disciplinary measures for misconduct of staff members in place. Since the university administration should strive to develop strong policies that prohibit sexual harassment and rape on campus, it is recommended that written protocols on how staff members (academic and non-academic) should conduct themselves (a code of conduct), should be compiled. Due to the fact that four incidents (two incidents of sexual harassment and two incidents of rape) were perpetrated by staff members (four academics and one administrator), a Code of Conduct or Work Ethics Guidelines should be designed and enforced. This should be signed and kept in staff members' files for reference when members defile the regulations or policies of the University.

Barak et al. (1992:34) recommend that the policies should detail the grievance procedures to handle complaints, thereby supporting and implementing the policy and making it clear that sexual harassment and rape is not acceptable and will not be tolerated. Barak et al. (1992:34), Bohmer and Parrot (1997:57), Day (1994:576) as well as Fisher and Sloan (1995:171) identified the following to be included in these policy statements. Firstly, the work ethics or code of conduct form should indicate definitions of sexual harassment and various forms of rape as defined by legislation. If possible, operational definitions that are applicable to universities should also be supplied. Secondly, the policy should clearly articulate who is responsible for handling reported sexual harassment and rape cases and describe the way in which these cases will be handled. This should include both formal or official reporting to the police, campus security, a grievance board as well as informal reporting to a counsellor or health officials. The grievance board in charge of processing the charges, (in the case of the University of Venda, the Disciplinary Committee), should ensure that action is taken as quickly, efficiently, confidentially and

cautiously as possible. Thirdly, consequences for offenders who violate the policies, should be indicated (see section 6.4.2.2 on disciplinary procedures).

The above mentioned policies if enforced vigorously could reduce sexual harassment and rape. It is furthermore recommended that there should be an ongoing evaluation of the effectiveness of the policies as well as monitoring of grievance procedures to ensure that those responsible for enforcement consider these violations seriously.

6.4.2.2 Disciplinary procedures

Schwartz (1989:10) believes that since most universities rarely take punitive action against abusers, perpetrators (male students and lecturers in the current study) may feel that they are above the law when they subject women to sexual harassment and rape. It often happens that these individuals are given virtually absolute protection from prosecution and punishment. In the light of this and in the absence of these procedures at the University of Venda, disciplinary procedures directed at the prevention of sexual victimisation, is recommended.

Some of the disciplinary procedures suggested by Erhart and Sandler (1985:11) which are already in practice at tertiary institutions in the USA could also be applicable to the University of Venda. These initiatives include immediate expulsion or suspension for a specified time during the investigation – pending the outcome of the case. For students who are alleged to have committed sexual harassment or rape, this could be done by denying campus housing. During this period, a letter stating the nature of the allegations could be sent or delivered in person to the perpetrator's parents or family. For staff members, restriction from entering the university premises during the course of the investigation could be put in place. A copy of the allegations could also be placed in the student's file.

Upon the conclusion of the case, if found guilty, the university could decide to either suspend the perpetrator for a specified time, put him on probation or dismiss him or her from the institution. Participation in community services such as conducting presentations and workshops on sexual harassment and rape could also be considered. These disciplinary measures should be made public in the university newspaper, media, internet, resident committees as well as during orientation.

6.4.2.3 Educating male students and lecturers

It is also recommended that male students and lecturers be educated about what constitutes sexual harassment and rape. Changing the attitudes of male students and lecturers towards sexual harassment and rape as well as addressing the patriarchal attitudes and norms that perpetrate and legitimise these crimes (especially in dating relationships) is of utmost importance.

In the light of the current findings, which indicate that perpetrators are often senior students or lecturers, the issue of power relationships in dating and educational circles also needs to be addressed in education programmes. Men on campus should be made aware of socially unacceptable behaviour, encouraged to assume responsibility for their actions and assisted in ending controlling and abusive behaviour. Even though only eleven male students attended the workshop organised by the researcher (see section 4.3.2), other workshops advertised through posters, could be conducted at university residences. For male staff members, seminars advertised on the internet and at university board meetings, are also recommended.

6.4.2.4 Addressing alcohol abuse

As mentioned in section 6.1.2, alcohol consumption was identified as an exacerbating factor especially in the rape incidents in the current study. Similar to the recommendations regarding the prevention of alcohol abuse amongst female students, it is recommended that new students' orientation programmes should also include mandatory sessions, workshops and

awareness campaigns on the effects of alcohol abuse. They should, for example, be encouraged to refrain from sexual encounters when under the influence of alcohol (Braine et al., 1995:148). In the light of the fact that sexual victimisation in campus residences is associated with alcohol consumption, it is recommended that alcohol be banned from dormitories and campus apartments. Furthermore, there is a need for more security to be deployed on campus, particularly at “high risk” times of the year, such as the orientation week, during sporting events and bashes or parties.

6.4.3 PREVENTION DIRECTED TOWARDS THE INSTITUTION (UNIVERSITY OF VENDA)

According to Edwards (1995:215), Fisher and Sloan (1995:170) as well as Roscoe, Goodman, Pepp and Rose (1987:260), the first and most important action that university administration or management can take is to acknowledge that sexual harassment and rape are realities on campus. The second step is to promote education and awareness (see sections 6.4.1.3 & 6.4.2.3) of the dynamics of sexual harassment and rape of students.

Enforcing policies and putting disciplinary measures in place, as discussed in section 6.4.2.2 is one of the ways to address the incident-related factors discussed in the integrated model of sexual harassment and rape (see section 3.4). In this regard, university management could also seek solutions to sexual harassment and rape through improving physical prevention methods such as enhancing the physical safety of female students on campus.

Even though generalisations with regard to the extent and nature of sexual victimisation on campus as well as the circumstances under which it occurs cannot be made, dormitories, offices and university grounds were identified as designated areas on campus where sexual harassment and rape occurred. Actions that could be directed at these areas are discussed underneath.

- **Security personnel**

It is recommended that visible security officers should be assigned to various campus zones such as residences, outside the library and lecture halls as well as in corridors in the university administration and academic offices. It is furthermore important that these personnel should be constantly moving unless assigned to a stationery post. Although temporal and territorial displacement (in terms of time and place) can occur, visible security can act as guardians and should never be underestimated (see section 3.2.1 on the role of the guardians). Bordner and Peterson (1983:198) also emphasise the importance of deploying enough security personnel on campus.

- **Lighting**

One of the research participants in the current study expressed the need to increase security lighting in problem areas and to maintain these regularly. This could be done internally in areas such as dormitories, passages and lifts. Outdoor areas such as entrances, building surrounds, main and secondary parking areas as well sports and recreational areas should also always be lit.

Lighting should be constantly upgraded both inside and outside buildings throughout the campus grounds and burned out light bulbs should be replaced immediately. Campus security could survey lighting on campus to ensure that areas are adequately lit.

- **Dormitory security**

The reduction and in some cases total elimination of curfews and restrictions on male/female visitation as well as the fact that there are no longer same sex residences have resulted in dormitory security becoming a major issue (Labuschagne, 1994:44). In the light of the fact that four incidents of rape in the current study were committed in dormitories, it is recommended that campus security personnel, should be deployed on a full-time basis in and

around residences. Curfews on visitation hours for resident students could also be introduced.

In addition to this, ownership continuity of all duplicate keys should be guaranteed and residence administrators should be in control of these keys. Keys should also only be given to the room occupants and only when the master key is lost. A penalty fee, for a lost key could also be introduced so that the residents can exercise caution not to lose them. Alternatively, a system of code locked doors, whereby a resident only enters her room by using a pin-code, formulated by him/her, could also be introduced in dormitories. Although this could be an expensive exercise, it does not exceed the consequences of sexual harassment and rape on campus.

- **Provision of evening escort services**

The need for escort protection services were mentioned by one of the research participants in the current study. According to Vera (1994:60) these services can reduce the anxiety and fear of the unescorted students who must be on campus attending evening classes or studying in the library and this could help to create a safer and more secure campus environment. Peer participation in campus security has been introduced in other countries such as the USA (Vera, 1994:60). Students know each other and can detect troublemakers. Student volunteers could be given certificates for their contribution in ensuring a safe and secure environment.

- **Proper care of grounds**

At the University of Venda, there are numerous shrubs and hedges. Failure to keep these plants trimmed back or improper location of hedges around the ground and floor windows of female students' dormitories could provide concealment for would be offenders (Labuschagne, 1994:46). If plants and shrubs are constantly trimmed the visibility is increased and guardianship possible (see section 3.2.1 on the role of guardians).

- **Restriction of access to the campus**

The restriction of access to the campus is based on the assumption that outsiders are to some extent responsible for crime on campus. Although only one victim was raped by a stranger and this victim was not even able to identify the perpetrator, the possibility still exists that outsiders can get easy access to the University of Venda. Currently, entrance to the university residences at the University of Venda are not monitored. Students do not have to produce identification cards when they enter into these premises, which increases the risk of exposure to sexual victimisation. In the light of this, it is recommended that formal procedures such as key control (see section on dormitory security) as well as use of identification cards, be introduced at the University of Venda.

The University of Venda also offers geographically unrestricted access, as it is hard to tell where the campus starts and where it ends. Unauthorised people on campus therefore become or remain practically impossible to identify due to the geographical locations of the university. However, Campus Security could assist in this regard and could make regular legal checks of individuals on campus. Stopping suspicious persons on campus and asking for identification should be seen as a technical measure to ensure the safety of students on campus.

- **Crime prevention committee**

According to Bordner and Peterson (1983:199) a crime prevention committee on campus can assist security officers to utilise resources to their best advantage and to make crime prevention a shared responsibility. In the case of the University of Venda, a community policing forum which consists of the members of the SRC, police, campus security personnel and university administration members was formed in 2002. However, this forum has not been successful due to non-commitment of the members. It is recommended that this forum be promoted to address the problem of sexual harassment and

rape on campus. The committee could form part of the University's Disciplinary Committee, conduct research on crime related issues on campus and assist with the implementation of prevention programmes that could prevent sexual victimisation on campus.

The committee can be a means to maintain ongoing communication between the security officers and the entire university community. Community representation and participation can also assist in identifying campus concerns of students, lecturers, university management, service workers and security personnel and seek solutions together.

- **Sexual harassment and rape prevention and sensitivity training for security officers**

Research by Vera (1994:55) done at the University of Venda revealed that the security officers are poorly trained for the task they need to perform. According to him sloppy reports often result in matters which require urgent attention to remain unknown. Apart from this, these individuals are often not trained to deal with trauma of sexual harassment and rape, thus increasing the negative emotional consequences associated with sexual victimisation. The response of one security member who informed the perpetrator about the allegations laid against him, supports this statement and raises the need for the training of security personnel in general.

Training of security personnel should first focus on the importance of correct information and note taking regarding the incident. It is important that the security personnel realise that this report could be the first link in the trial and the outcome of a hearing could depend on the correct reporting and recording of the incident. Security officers should be trained to be aware of their evidence and testimony as the first possible person the sexual harassment or rape is often reported to. Emotional support for the victim, immediately after the incident, could lessen the emotional impact suffered as a result of the incident. The training should also include a short course on how to preserve

evidence and they should be informed about any crisis intervention services that are available to students.

Training of security officers should also include knowledge of the victim's needs such as a need to feel safe as well as information regarding what constitutes a crisis and how to intervene. In this regard, Labuschagne (1994:43) states that security officers should be provided with skills to do crisis intervention which should be aimed at the relief of immediate pain, emotional and/or physical and other symptoms presented by a person in an acute condition.

6.4.4 ROLE OF THE POLICE

The results of the current study show that even though some victims do in fact report sexual harassment and rape on campus, police officers are often insensitive and judgemental when dealing with victims of sexual harassment and rape. In one instance, a police officer believed that because the victim had a relationship with the accused prior to the rape, she could not claim that she had been a victim of rape. This illustrates that the police are as susceptible to the myths and stereotypes about sexual harassment and rape as members of the community and have the same need for education and awareness about the true nature of sexual harassment and rape as well as its effects on all victims. With the implementation of the Domestic Violence Act (Act 116 of 1998), attitudes of this nature by the police is unacceptable. When abuse is reported, the duties of the police officer according to this Act, are as follows:

The police man/woman is required to assist the victim, serve notices on respondents, serve protection orders and without a warrant arrest an individual at the scene of a domestic violence act, when the police suspects a person of having committed a violent act against the victim. Failure of the police official to act according to this duty constitutes misconduct and the official will face a

disciplinary hearing or enquiry by the Independent Complaints Directorate (Parenzee, Artz & Moul, 2001:3).

Since insensitive reactions by the gatekeepers of the criminal justice system could reinforce feelings of guilt and self-blame and may discourage future reporting of sexual victimisation on campus, the role of police officials in terms of the Act should be emphasised.

In addition to this, Labuschagne (1994:43) points out that the first responsibility of the police should be to attend to the needs of the victim. These include providing for the victim's personal safety and ensuring that the victim's injuries are attended to. If the victim is in an extreme emotional crisis, the victim should be referred for counselling. Above all, the officer should attempt to be non-judgemental and non-aggressive towards the victim. The officer should thus exercise patience, understanding and support towards victims so as to reduce the stress associated with being a victim of either rape or sexual harassment. Since it became clear in the current study that the police do not always fulfil the duties or their responsibility towards victims, more training of police officials with regard to the role they should play as victims' first contact with the criminal justice system, is recommended. Addressing myths associated with sexual victimisation is especially important and care should be taken that victims do indeed receive the services they are entitled to according to the Victims' Charter (Labuschagne, 1994:44).

6.5 CONCLUSION

Even though a small sample was used in the current study, the researcher succeeded in exploring and understanding female students' experiences of sexual harassment and rape at the University of Venda. Although this research shed some light on the nature and difficulties victims of sexual harassment and rape have to deal with after victimisation on campus, themes for further research using bigger samples and including other universities in SA were recommended.

Recommendations regarding the prevention of sexual harassment and rape were also made. These were based on prevention programmes directed toward the victim; prevention programmes directed towards perpetrator of sexual harassment and rape on campus as well as programmes directed towards the institution (University of Venda). Three recommendations that stood out were the need for the empowerment of female students through education programmes, the necessity to dispel the myths surrounding sexual harassment and rape as well as alerting the University of Venda management to take note and implement policies to protect women on campus.

Although the recommendations discussed above do not guarantee full prevention of sexual victimisation, they may change the conditions that promote sexual harassment and rape on campuses. It is hoped that this study has made a valuable contribution to the understanding of sexual harassment and rape on campus and that the research findings of this study would encourage much needed research regarding sexual victimisation on SA campuses.

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STUDY ADVERTISEMENT

VICTIMS *of* SEXUAL HARASSMENT *or* RAPE *on* CAMPUS

Would you like to participate in a study that focuses on female students who had experiences of rape or sexual harassment on campus?

If yes, I would like to ask you to participate in this study.
The aims of this survey are as follows:

- ◆ To determine the nature and extent of rape and sexual harassment of female students on campus.
- ◆ To make recommendations on strategies that could be put in place to help solve the problems of sexual victimisation on campus.

THE STUDY WILL BE COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL.

If you are interested in sharing your experiences, please call Pearl Dastile at (015) 962 8550 or 082 840 9570 or E-mail at Pearln@univen.ac.za

WORKSHOP ON THE PREVALNCE OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND RAPE ON CAMPUSES

INTERESTED STUDENTS ARE INVITED TO ATTEND THE ABOVE-MENTIONED WORKSHOP WHICH WILL BE HELD ON THE 3RD OF April 2003 in the AUDITORIUM OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VENDA

PROGRAMME

- 1. Welcome note : Ms M. Botes**
- 2. Content : Ms N.P Dastile**
 - 2.1 Brief description of the aims of the workshop**
 - 2.3 Prevalence of sexual harassment and rape on campuses**
 - 2.2 Examples of incidents of sexual assault**
 - 2.3 What is rape?**
 - 2.4 Is date rape OR acquaintance rape a crime?**

QUESTION TIME

TEA BREAK

- 3. What is sexual harassment?**
- 3.3 What to do if you subjected to rape or sexual harassment?**
- 3.4 What can you do to protect yourself?**

QUESTION TIME

- 4.5 Closure : N.P. Dastile**

If you are interested in attending the workshop please register your name with Ms Dastile at office No F01 (School of Law Building) or telephone (015) 962 8550 or 082 840 9570 or E-mail at Pearln@univen.ac.za

APPENDIX C

Victimisation of female students at the University of Venda with specific reference to sexual harassment and rape

Department of Criminology
University of Pretoria
Pretoria
0002

Researcher: Dastile Pearl 082-840-9570

Informed consent:

1. **Title of study:** Victimisation of female students at the University of Venda with specific reference to sexual harassment and rape.
2. **Purpose of the study:** The aim of the study is for the fulfillment of a Masters Degree at the University of Pretoria. The aims of the research are as follows:
 - 2.1 To investigate the nature of sexual harassment of female students at the University of Venda
 - 2.2 To investigate the nature of rape of female students at the University of Venda.
 - 2.3 To examine the reactions and response of the significant others (family, co-students and administrators) after the incident.
 - 2.4 To determine the consequences sexual harassment has on the victims.
 - 2.5 To determine the consequences rape has on the victims.
 - 2.6 To get the opinions of female students regarding the prevention of sexual harassment and rape in tertiary institutions.
3. **Procedures:** To fulfil the above-mentioned objectives, the researcher will make use of interviews. An interview schedule will be formulated. The interviews will be conducted at the University of Venda.

4. **Risks and discomfort:** Research participants could be emotionally traumatised when recalling these incidents. The researcher will refer such to the Victim Empowerment Center. Also some interviews will be conducted at this Center so that if the need arises, the services of a qualified counselor will be at hand to help the participants.
5. **Benefits:** The research participants will be able to share their experiences with the researcher and in the process will be able to make recommendations on the prevention of future or similar incidents of rape and sexual harassment.
6. **Participant's rights:** Participation in this study is voluntary and as a research participant I can withdraw at any stage of the research. If I choose to withdraw, the information gathered will be destroyed.
7. **Confidentiality:** Research participant's information will be kept confidential. When the study is completed, the data gathered will be used for research purposes.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. Should I have any questions regarding the study, I will raise them and contact the researcher at the telephone numbers provided.

Please indicate your consent by signing a copy of this letter and keeping a copy for yourself.

I have read this letter and understand what is requested. I hereby consent to participate in the study.

Signed : -----

Date : -----

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

VICTIMISATION OF FEMALE STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF VENDA, WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND RAPE

A. BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

1. Age

2. Marital status

3. Ethnic status

4. Residential status

5. Degree

6. Year of study

B. NATURE OF THE INCIDENT

C. REACTION AND RESPONSE AFTER THE INCIDENT

- **Reporting the incident**

- **Consequences of the incident**

- The effects of sexual harassment on the victims

- The effects of rape on the victims

D. POSSIBLE PREVENTION/REDUCTION OF SIMILAR INCIDENTS

* Lines for aesthetic purposes