

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Hazelwood and Burgess (1987:16) state that one of the most potent criminal influences that have spread through modern-day society is that of serial crime, in particular serial rape. Serial sexual offenders can create a climate of fear in an entire community. Their victims can number from two to more than 100, and each person who has suffered from this type of sexual attack has felt the fear of losing his/her life (Hazelwood & Burgess, 1987:16-17). Regardless of the sexual offender's characteristics, motivations, method of attack, or coercion, the social costs and psychological impact on victims and their families are immeasurable and devastating (Hazelwood & Burgess, 1987:17). Like other forms of sexual offences, serial rape cannot occur in a vacuum. Serial rape is an extreme form of behavioural expression that is visualised and, to a large extent, thought out prior to the commission of the crime (Turvey, 2003:530). Understanding the motivation behind the serial rapist has until recently been a subject which has received little scientific attention (Hazelwood & Burgess, 1987:17). A review of the major sources of information, (e.g. Sabinet and PsychInfo), confirmed the statement by Hazelwood and Burgess (1987), that there is little scientific research on this phenomenon. In the South African context, there is no empirical research on the phenomenon of serial rape (Prof. G. N. Labuschagne, Head of the South African Police Services Investigative Psychology Unit, personal communication, 24 February, 2005).

Sexual behaviour is a subject fraught with moral codes, myths, norm expectations, and unscientific conclusions (Bartol, 2002:273). In most instances, these general misconceptions and beliefs are also applied to sexual offenders. Typically, sexual offenders are perceived as a homogeneous group. However, research shows that sexual offenders vary widely in their frequency of behaviour, type of sexual activities, and also their personal attributes (Bartol & Bartol, 2005:368). There is no single behavioural profile that encompasses all sexual offenders. The differences are evident in the features of their crimes, for example, the time and place of their offences, the gender and the age of their victims, the planning involved, and the amount of violent behaviour exhibited (Bartol & Bartol, 2005:368-369).

The causes of sexual offences are neither straightforward nor simple, and it is clear from recent research that this type of behaviour is influenced by multiple factors. These factors may include past learning experiences, environmental stimuli, and cognitive expectations or beliefs (Bartol, 2002:274). The answer to the question “why men rape” varies from person to person, and differs from situation to situation. This can be attributed to the fact that no offenders rape for the same reason (Groth & Birnbaum 1979:2; Turvey, 2003:530). In many instances answers to the questions such as “why men rape” oversimplify both the problem and the solution. For example, popular feminist writers believe that only men rape, therefore men are the problem, and the solution is simple: control men (Van Mechelen, 1992).

This chapter will introduce the complex issue of serial rape and the extent of the problem in South Africa as well as worldwide. It will also highlight the need for research as well as the motivation for the study. Definitions of key concepts will also be given in order to distinguish between the different types of rape, and other concepts relevant to the research associated with serial rape. The aim and objectives of the research and an outline of the thesis will also be given.

## **1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

Serial rape, like single event rape, has a significant influence on the community it occurs in, and also on society as a whole. However, due to the elusive nature of the serial rapist, the actions of the serial rapist have a much more lasting effect on the victims, the community and broader society (Turvey, 1997). There is a limited amount of research concerning serial rape. The most notable research on the subject was conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) (Hazelwood & Burgess, 1987) and Stevens (2000; 2001), who focused on the serial rape offender as a whole. Other research focused on specific aspects such as Canter and Larkin (1993) that focused on the environmental range of the serial rapist while Warren, Reboussin, Hazelwood, Cummings, Gibbs, and Trumbetta (1998) focused on crime scene and distance correlates of serial rape. Kocsis, Cooksey, and Irwin (2002) focused on psychological profiling of offender characteristics from crime behaviours in serial rape offences. In the South African context, such basic research has yet to be done (personal communication G. N. Labuschagne, 3 February 2005).

The limited amount of empirical research on serial rape has significant implications in terms of identification and recognition of serial rape cases, not just in the South African context, but internationally as well. According to Santtila, Junkkila, and Sandnabba (2005:88), and Turvey (1997), one of the most prominent problems regarding serial rape is identifying and recognising a rape series. Grubin, Kelly, and Brunson (2001) and Santtila *et al.*, (2005:88) indicate that objective systems exist to compare and analyse physical evidence such as DNA and fingerprints, the same cannot be said for offence behaviours. Various attempts have been made to identify the behavioural variables in serial rape (Douglas, Burgess, Burgess, and Ressler 1992). However, limited progress has been made, and in most instances there are only anecdotal accounts of success. The absence of empirically based research on the phenomenon makes it almost impossible to identify and categorise behavioural variables exhibited by individual offenders. This lack of an in-depth knowledge base of the phenomenon poses a significant problem for investigators and profilers. This dearth of research not only limits the identification of serial rape cases but also impedes any further investigation. A limited knowledge base hampers the identification of behavioural evidence left behind by the offender, which leads to an insufficient analysis and an inadequate offender profile. Further research into the phenomenon of serial rape will assist law-enforcement agencies in overcoming the problems associated with the investigation of serial rape and simultaneously overcome the dearth of knowledge and expand the knowledge base on this elusive phenomenon.

### **1.1.1 Need for research**

Just as there are basic differences between the serial and a single event murderer, there are differences between the single and serial rapist (Palermo & Kocsis, 2005:68-69). Serial rape does share some salient similarities with serial murder. As with serial murder investigation, the most identifiable problem with the investigation of serial rape, is that in most cases, the realisation that the cases could be linked to one suspect occurs late in the series. This is due, to a large extent, to the fact that law enforcement agencies fail to connect the different cases. By the time the serial nature of several rapes are determined, there could be an extensive number of victims and a great amount of unanalysed evidence (Holmes & Holmes, 1998:173; Turvey, 1997). According to Turvey, (1997; 2002:688) this is the result of *linkage blindness*, which is the failure to recognise a pattern that links one crime to another in a series of related cases. Egger (1984:348) defines linkage blindness as the failure to identify a series of offences as the work of one person (or a team).

During the investigation of a rape series, as in serial murder investigations, a useful tool to assist law enforcement agencies overcome the problem of linkage blindness is the process called *behavioural analysis*. Behavioural analysis allows law enforcement agencies to construct a behavioural profile, which can serve to identify the characteristics of the suspect as well as understanding the underlying fantasies and motives (Turvey, 1997). The common denominator in the method is the fact that the characteristics and typologies employed in the profiles are based on a certain amount of empirical research. The implication is then that if the information used during the profile construction were lacking, the profile would be of no use to law enforcement agencies. In the case of serial rape this problem is further exacerbated due to the lack of scientific knowledge on the phenomenon. The dearth of scientific knowledge about the phenomenon of serial rape hampers the efforts of investigators in recognising, collecting, and analysing the behavioural evidence. This limited amount of information is the most important reason why further research is crucial. This research will have direct benefits for law enforcement in South Africa, as it will provide research-based deductions on certain aspects of the phenomenon that were not known before. The research will also be valuable because the study focused on how the phenomenon presents itself within the South African context. According to G.N. Labuschagne (Personal communication, 18 August, 2006), the South African serial rapists display markedly different patterns of behaviour to foreign serial rapists. This fact makes research into the phenomenon extremely valuable. The majority of the existing research on the phenomenon originated in countries that differ greatly from South Africa in its social, cultural, economic, and political contexts. To this extent, the following reasons are listed as the prominent needs for research into the phenomenon of serial rape:

- Little to no research has been conducted on serial rape.
- No research has been conducted on how serial rape presents itself within the South African context.
- South African rape statistics are the highest among Interpol members (Statistics South Africa, 2000, [www.statssa.gov.za](http://www.statssa.gov.za)).
- The President has made crimes against women and children a national priority.
- South Africa has had numerous serial rapists, but without relevant research the exact number cannot be determined.
- 25% of rape victims do not know their attacker. Serial rapists predominantly target strangers.

- Without a basic understanding of the common features and characteristics of a serial rape case, linkage blindness will continue to be an immense problem.
- Without a basic understanding of the occurrence and incidence of serial rape within the South African context, new typologies cannot be developed and new comparisons cannot be made to the international typologies to determine their relevance.

A more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon in the South African context will aid law-enforcement agencies in linking individual cases into a series. It will also allow for a more accurate profile construction of the offender, and speed up the apprehension of the offender.

## **1.2 AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH**

The overall aim of the study is to explore and describe the criminal behaviour of the serial rapist within the South African context. The specific objectives of the research are listed as follows:

- 1) To determine whether the South African serial rapist exhibits a certain amount of general and/or specific behavioural consistency relating to determining the modus operandi, signature behaviours, and fantasy-orientated behaviours.
- 2) If such consistencies are observed, are the consistencies similar and determine whether there are distinct groupings of behaviours within the modus operandi, signature behaviours, and fantasy-orientated behaviours?
- 3) To determine whether the South African serial rapist exhibits behavioural patterns which are comparable to international serial rapist typologies and characteristics
- 4) To determine the victimology of the South African serial rapist.
- 5) To determine the individual offender profiles of the convicted offenders within a specific series under investigation.
- 6) To determine, by applying the specific behavioural frameworks and typologies, whether a general behavioural profile can be constructed that will be applicable within the South African context.

### 1.3 DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

In the following section, key concepts relevant to the study will be defined. It is important to give operational definitions of specific concepts in order to facilitate understanding between researchers as to how concepts were used within the specific study.

#### 1.3.1 Rape

The term “rape” should not be applied as a universal term suggesting uniform behaviour. Different types of rape occur, each with a different motive and method of committing the crime. Date rape, for example, is different from acquaintance rape, and although both crimes are in essence sexual or attempted sexual intercourse with a victim against her will, the crimes are different in method and motivation. Due to the growing incidence of rape and the various “forms” of rape, it is important to distinguish between these, in order to situate serial rape within the general understanding of the phenomenon of rape. Definitions of rape vary widely, and in many instances in other countries abroad the term “sexual assault” has replaced “rape” in the criminal statutes (Bartol, 2002:274). However, for the purpose of this study the term “rape” will be used, as this is the name of the charge used in South Africa.

According to Groth and Birnbaum (1979:2-4) the definition of rape should include any form of forcible sexual assault, whether the assailant intended to effect sexual intercourse or some other form of sexual act. However, the defining characteristic of rape is a **lack of consent**. According to Holmes and Holmes (2002b:139), rape can be defined as “the crime of having sexual intercourse with an individual forcibly, and against his or her will.” Bartol and Bartol (2005:372) state that rape is “the unlawful sexual intercourse with a female by force or without legal or factual consent.” Kaplan and Sadock (1998:854) argue that the conventional definition of rape is “the perpetration of an act of sexual intercourse with a woman against her will and without her consent.” Thornhill and Palmer (2000:1) define rape as “an event that occurs without the woman’s consent, involves the use or threat of force, and involves sexual penetration of the victim’s vagina, mouth or rectum.”

The act of rape can be further subdivided in three categories *statutory*, *forcible*, and *rape by fraud* (Bartol & Bartol, 2005:372-373; Holmes & Holmes, 2002b:139-140). *Statutory rape* is sexual intercourse with a girl with or without her consent. The critical factor is the age of the

victim, it involves a person younger than the age prescribed by statutes as the age of consent. South African law stipulates statutory rape as rape of a girl 12 years old or younger. *Forcible rape*, according to the Federal Bureau of investigation (FBI), is the carnal knowledge of a female forcibly and against her will (Hazelwood and Burgess, 2001:4). *Rape by fraud* is defined as sexual relations with a consenting adult female under fraudulent conditions, for example, the psychotherapist who has sexual intercourse with a patient under the guise of offering treatment (Snyman, 2000:463).

The legal definition of rape according to South African Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters, no 32, 2007) as implemented in December 2007, stipulates that the act of rape can be defined as “Any person who unlawfully and intentionally commits an act of *sexual penetration* with a complainant without the consent of the complainant”. Sexual penetration is defined as “Any act which causes penetration by any extent whatsoever by:

- the genital organs of one person into or beyond the genital organs, anus, or mouth, of another person
- any part of the body of one person or, any object, including any part of the body of an animal, into or beyond the genital organs, or anus of another person, or
- the genital organs of an animal into or beyond the mouth an another person”.

The definition is more in line with the international definitions in that it includes any form of sexual penetration of the genital organs, mouth and/or rectum of the victim. The definition also allows for the use of ‘objects,’ other than genital organs (foreign objects), as well as other body parts to be utilised during the course of a rape incident. The definition also stipulates that non-consensual penetration of a male is now regarded as rape, where before it was indecent assault.

For the purposes of this study the South African definition of rape as of December 2007, will be utilised due to the inclusive nature of the definition. Where relevant, an indication will be given whether it was the victim’s anus or vagina that was penetrated.



### 1.3.2 Serial rape

As with any serial crime constructing a practical and functional definition of serial rape is a complicated task. Serial rape consists of unique motivations and methods of committing the crime. The major difference is the serial rapists' proficiency in placing himself in a position to commit the rape, avoid detection, and continue to rape successfully, without fear that investigators will understand, identify, and apprehend him (Turvey, 1997).

According to Turvey (1997; 2003:529), a serial rapist can be defined as a rapist who has raped two or more victims on different occasions. The adjustment of the number of rapes to two or more is an attempt to be more proactive in the investigation of the rape series. Waiting until there are three or more victims before the investigation into the series begins, will only hamper rather than assist the investigation. According to G.N. Labuschagne (personal communication, 12 March, 2005), a serial rapist can be defined as someone who rapes two or more victims in different incidents over a period of time; the victims are also typically strangers. However, he indicates that the number of victims may be as low as two, since the offender could be apprehended before he could commit the third rape. Hazelwood and Warren (2001b:435) list several criteria that would constitute an individual being characterised as a serial rapist. According to them, a serial rapist is someone who has raped at least 10 times. This is of significance due to the fact that it illustrates the rapist's continuing success at evading law enforcement. However, the Hazelwood and Warren (2001) definition is impractical from a research and investigative point of view.

After reviewing the definitions on serial rape, the following operational definition is formulated for the purpose of this study. Serial rape can be defined as: *When an individual person rapes two or more victims during different incidents.*

### 1.3.3 Behavioural analysis

As stated earlier one of the objectives of the study is to expand and refine the process of behavioural analysis. The process of behavioural analysis is also referred to as *behavioural profiling, criminal profiling, crime scene profiling, offender profiling, criminal personality profiling, and more recently as criminal investigative analysis.*



Bartol and Bartol (2005:329-330) employ the term criminal profiling and define criminal profiling as the process of identifying personality traits, behavioural tendencies, and demographical variables of an offender, based on characteristics of the crime scene, victim information, and current knowledge of offenders from previous research. According to Turvey (2003), who also uses the term criminal profiling, it is a multidisciplinary forensic science; it is a process of investigating and examining criminal behaviour in order to understand and identify the type of person responsible for the act. Criminal profiling can be defined as *the process of inferring the personality characteristics of individuals who are responsible for the criminal acts* (Turvey, 2003:1). Holmes and Holmes (2002a:332) use the terms criminal or behavioural profiling, and indicate that it can be described as the process of using available information about a crime and a crime scene, in order to compose a psychological portrait of an unknown offender. The information that the profiler utilises is often taken from the scene of the crime, and takes into account factors such as the state of the crime scene, the weapons used (if any), and what was done and said to the victim. According to Labuschagne (2003:67), offender profiling can be defined as any activity undertaken specifically with the intention of assisting the investigators in determining the most likely type of individual to have committed the crime.

The linkage analysis process will be incorporated into the behavioural-profiling process. This type of analysis is aimed specifically at examining behaviours that are contained in three distinct components of the crime: the *modus operandi*, *ritual and fantasy-orientated* behaviour, and the *signature* behaviour (Hazelwood & Warren, 2003:587). A more detailed explanation of the process of linkage analysis as well as detailed definitions of modus operandi, fantasy and ritual behavioural components, and signature behaviours, will be provided in Chapter three.

Due to the lack of uniformity and agreement in the application of the various terms used to describe profiling, the term “behavioural profiling” will be used for the purposes of the study. Behavioural profiling, for the purpose of the current research, can be defined as the process where crime scene characteristics, victim information, and criminal behaviour (e.g. the offender’s verbal, physical, and sexual behaviour) are analysed in order for the observable behaviour and actions present during the case to be linked to a specific individual. The behavioural profiling process will also be utilised to identify the modus operandi, ritual and fantasy aspect, as well as the signature behaviours of the offender needed for the linkage analysis process. The process will also be utilised in constructing a behavioural profile of the offender (e.g. age, population group, education level, and criminal history). In Chapter 3, the

process of behavioural profile construction, as well as the models and frameworks associated with the process, will be discussed in more detail.

## 1.4 CONCLUSION

Rape is a traumatic and life-threatening experience, and one that cannot be easily forgotten by the survivor. It leaves the rape survivor full of fear, doubt, and anger. The resulting fear and anger also ripples through to family members, friends, and the community. Like other sexual offences, rape statistics are very misleading, given that some researchers believe that less than 10% of all rapes are reported (Holmes & Holmes, 2002b: 141).

Serial rape is a phenomenon that has received little scientific attention, and in most cases the research conducted on the phenomenon cannot be generalised, especially in the South African context. To further compound the problem, there is no quantifiable statistical information regarding the incidence of serial rape. The most significant influence of the lack of scientific information, general misconceptions, and dearth of statistical information, becomes evident during the investigation of a serial rape case. Linkage blindness causes law enforcement agencies to fail to link different cases together as part of a series. The difficulty for law enforcement agencies in linking the rapes can be attributed to the lack of relevant research into the phenomenon. By addressing the dearth of knowledge on serial rape in South Africa, the findings would enable investigators of such crimes to narrow the investigation by linking cases earlier, prioritising their efforts, and enabling investigators to recognise, collect, and analyse the relevant behavioural evidence.

The focus of this chapter was to address the need for more extensive research on the phenomenon of serial rape, to highlight the aims of the study, and to define key concepts that will be used during the course of the research. Chapter 2 will focus on the available research and literature on the phenomenon, while Chapter 3 will consist of a more detailed explanation of the facets of behavioural analysis. In Chapter 4, the rationale and methods of the research will be explored, and Chapter 5 will deal with the exploration of the individual cases. Chapter 6 will consist of an integration and discussion of the data, as well as the behavioural analysis and profile construction of the South African serial rapist. Finally, Chapter 7 will conclude the research by listing the findings and determining to what extent the aims have been achieved, making recommendations for further research, and finally providing critique on the research.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

What compels men to commit, sometimes spontaneously, sometimes with practiced cunning, one of the most primitively brutal crimes? Data to help solve the puzzling riddle is in short supply. Meanwhile, disturbing statistics are emerging on the sheer incidence of sex crimes. These statistics should serve as encouragement for further research into the phenomenon in order to gain a better understanding of the phenomenon of sexual violence (Swisher & Wekesser, 1994:46). Experiencing sexual violence transforms individuals into victims and ultimately changes their lives forever. Once victimized, the rape survivor never completely recovers from the ordeal, and will probably always carry the physical and emotional scars with them. Rape represents the most serious of all major crimes against the person, short of murder (Swisher & Wekesser, 1994:212). Serial rape, along with serial murder, is one of the most powerful influences to spread through society and yet it has received limited attention from academics and researchers. To further add to this, when the rape is linked to a series, then a community also becomes a victim, due to the fear that such a perpetrator instils (Hazelwood & Burgess, 1987:16). Although some research has been conducted on the phenomenon, controversy abounds on the aetiology of serial rape.

The aim of the following chapter is to explore what literature exists on the phenomenon and what research has been conducted. In order to facilitate a better understanding of the phenomenon, it is first necessary to strip the phenomenon of its misconceptions.

#### 2.1 RAPE MYTHS

In order to illustrate the extent of serial rape and the need for further research, it is important to first understand some of the myths surrounding serial rape as well as rape in general. In most cases, myths can be described as general misconceptions about a phenomenon that has an adverse effect on how individuals view and react towards an occurrence (Burt, 1980). Rape is a complex and emotionally charged issue that abounds with myths and misconceptions (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979:1). Chiroro, Bohner, Viki, and Jarvis (2004:427-428) indicate that rape myths

are stereotypical beliefs which blame the victims and exonerate the offender. The general myths about rape influence how people react towards the victims, and to some extent towards the rapists (Vachss, 2003). According to Bartol and Bartol (2005:393), rape myths are attitudes and beliefs that are generally false, which are widely and persistently held as fact. The myths serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression towards women. According to Abrams, Viki, Masser and Bohner (2003:111) rape myths can be defined as “descriptive or prescriptive beliefs of rape that serve to deny, trivialize or justify sexual violence exerted by men against women.” It has also been proposed that rape myths serve as psychological releasers or neutralizers for men (Bohner, Reinhard, Rutz, Strum, Kerschbaum, & Effler, 1998:258). Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994:134) defined rape myths as “attitudes and beliefs that are generally false but are widely and persistently held, and that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women.”

### **2.1.1 General rape myths**

There are several misconceptions about sexual violence, which interfere with society’s ability to adequately address the prevalence of sexual assault (Vachss, 2003). Vachss (2003) argues that there are a few standard defences in court cases that are not supported by fact or logic, and are merely presented in an attempt to establish reasonable doubt:

- The rape never happened (denial).
- The rape happened, but it was committed by someone else (mistaken identity).
- It was not rape but consensual sex (false accusation).

According to Vachss (2003) one of the most dangerous myths surrounding rape, despite all evidence to the contrary, is the general belief that only certain types of identifiable men commit rape, or that rape is only committed by a certain class of people. Holmes and Holmes (2002c:173) state that many men believe that a woman will respond positively to sexual force even if she initially refuses the sexual advances: “she says no, but she means yes”. Another myth generally put forward is that rape is a crime motivated by an uncontrollable sex drive (Bartol & Bartol, 2005:394; Holmes & Holmes, 2002c:176-179). Some men incarcerated for serial rape and serial murder, where rape was an integral part of the murder, often claim they were driven by a compulsion to rape, and/or murder, that they could not control themselves. However, there is no verifiable evidence that man as a gender is under such a psychological

compulsion that they cannot control themselves sexually (Holmes & Holmes, 2002c:176). According to Groth and Birnbaum (1979:5-6), describing the rapist as oversexed is an oversimplification as well as inaccurate. If this were the case, they could not be held accountable for their acts. Rape is not merely the act of forcible sexual intercourse, it is a more complex phenomenon with varying motivations. The use of the “only hungry men will steal food” paradigm is both ignorant and damaging (Vachss, 2003).

A more disturbing myth that has been romanticised by the media is the “romance story” where the female resisted the sexual advances and even the attack of the rapist, only to melt in a “passionate embrace” (Holmes & Holmes, 2002c:179). It may be true that some women do have rape fantasies, however, such fantasies typically do not revolve around the use of pain or fear. Such fantasies rather revolve around a feeling of being “swept off one’s feet”, and fantasies are not always intended to be acted out (Holmes & Holmes, 2002c:179). Other myths concerning rape also exist, such as a woman can resist rape if she truly wishes to; only strangers commit rape; many women falsely cry rape; and all women want to be raped. One of the most persistent rape myths is the myth that women in some way contributed to the offence occurring, with such beliefs as she was seductive or provocative and “she got what she asked for”. However, even if the victim was in some way seductive or provocative, the victim still has the right to say no (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979:7).

Several myths also surround predatory or serial rape, and it is important to discuss and dispel these myths, in order to adequately answer some of the questions surrounding the phenomenon.

### **2.1.2 Serial rape myths**

According to Stevens (2001:17) it is important to dispel many of the myths surrounding serial rape, because these myths perpetuate common misconceptions and beliefs about the phenomenon. It is important to note that these are not myths in terms of justifying male aggression against women but rather generally held beliefs surrounding the phenomenon as a whole.

*The fear of rape* is a myth perpetuating the general belief that the victims should fear their attackers and comply with all of their demands. The belief is that predatory rape is rooted in

male power trips, personality flaws, and/or uncontrollable impulses towards violence (Stevens, 2000:17; Stevens, 2001:17-18). The implication is that, when the female is sexually assaulted, she should submit to the attacker, because serial rapists are individuals who enjoy violence more than sex, and their mission is the complete physical degradation of the victim. The supporters of this myth argue that a relationship exists between sexual assault, victim surrender, and offender violence (Stevens, 2001:18). According to Hazelwood and Warren (1990:13), force is applied more often to intimidate than to punish the victim, and also to maintain a measure of control over the victim. According to Stevens (2001:20) in most cases, this myth is perpetuated by the media who sensationalise the rape and reinforce victim-learned helplessness. The views of the media publications in most instances are aimed at increasing their readership numbers. Therefore, the information they relay to the public is aimed at scaring them. Another popular myth associated with serial rape is the belief that the *threat of prison* will deter acts of predatory serial rape (Stevens, 2000:26; Stevens, 2001:27). If the threat of incarceration was effective every time a felon was sent to prison, crime rates should be affected.

The general belief that an *increase in police presence* will lead to a decrease of crime is also associated with serial rape. This view, however, is grounded in the assumption that serial rapists are afraid of being apprehended (Stevens, 2000:22; Stevens, 2001:25). Turvey (1997) argues that serial rapists are successful due to the fact that law enforcement officers fail to connect the crimes, are unable to understand their motives, and subsequently fail to identify and apprehend the rapist. Research has indicated that serial rapists develop a number of techniques for keeping their identity unknown and for evading detection by law enforcement officers (Hazelwood & Warren, 1990:15; Turvey, 1997).

## **2.2 INTERNATIONAL AND LOCAL RAPE STATISTICS**

According to Ilove and Estep (1987), rape is one of the world's first crimes, and its occurrence has increased drastically worldwide. The aim of this section is to highlight the incidence of rape by listing rape statistics from England, Wales, the United States of America (USA), and South Africa. For the purpose of the current research the terms international findings, international rape statistics, international offenders, and international research will refer to research findings, statistics, and offenders from other countries.

According to the Rape Crisis Federation of Wales and England (2001), the incidence of rape in England and Wales had increased by over 500% between 1996 and 1997. One in four women experienced a rape or attempted rape, 91% of the women indicated that they knew their attacker, and the most common attackers were current partners or ex-husbands.

Table 1 indicates that despite the increase in the prevalence of rape, cases, convictions have decreased, for example, in 1971, one in three women who reported rape saw their attacker convicted, while in 1996 less than one in ten were convicted (Rape Crisis 2001).

Table 1  
*Incidence of reported rapes and convictions in England and Wales 1977-1996*

Year	Reported rapes	Convictions	Conviction rates
1977	1015	324	32%
1987	2471	453	18%
1993	4598	482	10%
1994	5032	460	9%
1995	3986	578	14%
1996	5759	573	10%

*Note.* Adapted from Rape Crisis Federation Wales and England (2001).

In the United States of America, an analysis of the reported cases of rape indicated that 1,3 rapes occur every minute, which equates to approximately 683 000 rapes a year. However, since only 16% of all rapes are reported to law enforcement, the actual number of rapes per year in the USA is estimated at 4,3 million (Centre for Women and Children in Crisis, 2001). The average age of a rape victim throughout the USA is between 17 and 24 years, with approximately 86% of the rape incidents committed by acquaintances of the victims. According to the Centre for Woman and Children in Crisis (2001), one out of three women will be sexually assaulted in their lifetime, while one out of every four women will be sexually assaulted before the age of eighteen (Centre for Woman and Children in Crisis, 2001).

The incidence of rape reported in South Africa is among the highest of all the Interpol members (Quantitative research findings, 2000). For example, in 1996 the number of reported cases of people who were raped per 100 000 was 119.5. This figure included attempted rapes as well as rapes of children. In 1997 the figure of individuals raped per 100 000 increased to 134 (Quantitative research findings on rape in South Africa, 2000). Table 2 indicates the prevalence of rape in S.A. from the year 2000 to 2007 according to SAPS records:



Table 2  
*Prevalence of Rape in South Africa from 2000 to 2007 for the period April - March*

Year	April – March	Average per month
2000/2001	52 872	4406
2001/2002	54 293	4524
2002/2003	52 425	4369
2003/2004	52 733	4394
2004/2005	55 114	4592
2005/2006	54 926	4577
2006/2007	52 617	4384
<b>Total</b>	374980	

Note: Adapted from SAPS crime statistics for 2007

According to the *Victims of Crime Survey* conducted in 1998 in South Africa, the overall findings indicated that 3% of woman over the age of 16 years across population groups reported being sexually assaulted at least once between the beginning of 1993 and 1998. The survey also indicated that rape victims were likely to be young women aged between 16 and 25 years. The survey also highlighted the circumstance under which the rapes took place:

- 35% by a relative or someone they were intimate with
- 18% by acquaintances
- 9% attacker was known to them
- 13% known by sight
- 25% did not know attacker (listed in Quantitative research findings on rape in South Africa, 2000).

In the case of serial rape, their victims would typically fall under the “unknown attackers” category (25%), as their victims are usually strangers.

The survey also indicated that in 47% of the reported cases, the rape occurred at the victim’s own residence, while 16% of the victims stated that they were raped near their own residence, and another 16% were raped in an open space or an alley. A knife or sharp object was used during the rape in 68% of the reported cases, and a firearm was used in only 16% of the cases.

## **2.3 CURRENT PERSPECTIVES ON RAPE**

Most individuals do not know much about why humans have the desires, emotions, and values that they have, including those that cause rape. It is this lack of understanding that has limited people's knowledge of the exact, immediate cause of rape, limiting society's ability to change the specific behaviour and to protect its individuals (Thornhill & Palmer, 2000:2-3).

At the theoretical level, sexual offending is usually synonymous with the topic of sexual-deviant behaviour (Hollin & Howells, 1991:36). The aim of this section is to review the literature available on rape. The structural schemes of the theories will be discussed in terms of how they are applied to sexual deviance, and more specifically rape. The focus will also be on how the theories can be applied to serial rape.

### **2.3.1 Theories of rape**

In order to begin to understand the basic reasons or theoretical underpinnings of why sex offenders behave the way that they do, it is important to examine the offenders and their motivations. The following section will examine the developmental aspects and principles that psychologists, sociologists, and criminologists accept as important, and how these developmental issues cause individuals to deviate from the socially accepted norms in expressing themselves sexually. Due to the fact that no such theoretical postulating exists with regards to serial rape, the existing theories will be examined and their pertinence in determining the aetiology of the phenomenon will also be discussed.

The theoretical perspective on sexual deviant behaviour which had the most significant impact on the field is the theory put forth by Sigmund Freud (Hollin & Howells, 1991:37). Freud postulated that all sexually deviant behaviours are theoretically and aetiologically similar, in that the behaviour represents a single type of psychopathology, specifically a form of character disorder with infantile sexual desires, which are carried into adulthood (Hudson & Ward, 1997:339).

Most psychological models or theories on rape tend to identify various personality characteristics exhibited by the offenders that, if identified, could be utilised to predict future criminal behaviour (Holmes & Holmes, 2002c:28-29). The majority of students in the social and

behavioural sciences are familiar with the *psychiatric model for sexual deviance*. This model follows the psychoanalytic theories established by Freud with the crux of the model examining and exploring the possible motivations of offenders (Holmes & Holmes, 2002c:29). Freud used the term “perversion” in order to indicate that either the aim or the object of the individual’s sexual desire had become diverted. He located the cause of such perversions in early childhood experiences with infantile sexual desires with these practices continuing into adulthood (Hollin & Howells, 1991:37). According to Freud there are three integral parts of the human psyche which control human behaviour and comprise the building blocks of the individual’s personality. At the core of the human behaviour lies the *id*, which contains the unconscious and instinctual parts of the personality, it is also the centre of instant gratification with most of the impulses grounded in the area of sex and aggression. The second part of the human psyche is the *ego*, which can be best conceptualised as an insulating layer that protects the individual from the primitive impulses generated by the *id*. The *super-ego* is the third building block, and can be described as the mediator between the unconscious self and the external environment (Holmes & Holmes, 2002c:29-30).

This pattern of applying personality theory in an attempt to explain deviant actions such as sexually deviant behaviour served as the forerunner to later researchers to expand on the theories postulated by Freud.

Two **psychodynamic typologies** of rape, created in the 1970’s, using the specific application of the psychodynamic principles, had the most significant influence on subsequent theories and practices specifically aimed at understanding the motivations of the rapist (Hudson & Ward, 1997:339-340). The essence of the two typologies holds that a variety of feelings of anxiety, sexual and interpersonal inadequacy, interact with aggression thought to be directed towards the victim as a substitute object producing a sexual assault (Hudson & Ward, 1997:340).

The first was the typology created by Cohen, Garofolo, Boucher and Seghorn (1971). This typology consisted of three main components focussing on creating a classification based on the aim of the act namely – aggressive, sexual, or sadistic. With the *aggressive* component of the behaviour, the aim is humiliating and defiling the victim. Such men are said to have difficulty forming heterosexual relationships, and the women are victims of the offender’s destructive wishes. In the *sexual* component, the aggression is used in order to service the sexual wishes of the offender. The offender has re-enacted the scene many times in his fantasies, which

involve great sexual skill on his part, and the experiencing of pleasure by the woman. The failure of the fantasy leads to the continual repetition of the physical act by the offender, in the hope that the act will ultimately compare to the fantasy. With the *sadistic* component, the sexual and aggressive drives are fused. In order for sexual excitation and satisfaction to occur, some degree of aggression must always be present. Cohen *et al.* (1971) postulated that the sexualisation of aggression is so intense, that once the rapist is sexually aroused, the feeling of arousal completely overwhelms the ego as well as the social control mechanisms (Hollin & Howells, 1991:41).

The second typology, comparable to the typology proposed by Cohen *et al.* (1971), was proposed by Groth, Burgess, and Holmstrom (1977:1239-1242). In this typology, rape motivations are seen as being dominated by power, anger, and sexuality. The typology specifies that either power or anger dominate, and that rape is in fact the vessel used to express issues of power and anger, rather than being an expression of sexual desire (Groth *et al.*, 1977:1240; Groth & Birnbaum, 1979:12-45). With *power* rape, the rape is the means by which the rapist bolsters his own feelings of sexual adequacy as well as his sexual identity, strength, and potency. The attack is usually preceded by an obsessional fantasy where the rapist fantasises that the victim initially resists him, but eventually submits willingly to his sexual embrace (Hollin & Howells, 1991:41).

Groth *et al.* (1977:1239-1242) proposed two subtypes of power rape, namely *power-assertion* and *power-reassurance*.

In *power-assertion*, the rape is an expression of the rapist's virility and dominance. The rape is a direct result of the inadequacy experienced by the offender in terms of his sense of identity and effectiveness.

The second subtype is the *power-reassurance*, in which the act of rape is an attempt by the rapist to resolve lingering doubts about his sexual adequacy and masculinity.

In *anger* rape, the act of rape can be viewed as the offender expressing his anger and frustration, as well as the offender's attempt at retaliation for perceived wrongs or rejections he believes he suffered at the hands of women. Sex becomes a weapon and rape becomes the means by which the rapist can degrade, humiliate and injure his victims. These rapes are

characterised by the use of unnecessary and excessive violence. As with the power rape, Groth *et al.* (1977:1239-1242) proposed two subtypes of anger rape, namely *anger-retaliation*, where the act of rape is an expression of his feelings of hostility, anger and rage towards women, displaced upon the victim, and *anger-excitation*, where the rapists derives pleasure and a basic sense of excitement and thrills from the suffering he inflicts on his victims, comparable to the motives of a sexual sadist (Hollin & Howells, 1991:42).

The biggest point of critique of the psychoanalytic theory, specifically the views postulated by Freud, is that the psychoanalytical view excludes the influence exerted on the individual by social and the environmental factors. The subsequent typologies rooted within the psychoanalytical school are more detailed in terms of the specific motivations and the ultimate aim of the act. However, because the typologies are grounded within the psychoanalytic school, the motivation for the specific behaviours can also be viewed as entirely intrinsic. The value of the psychoanalytical school in determining behavioural motivations of acts such as rape cannot be understated.

In most instances only selective elements of the psychoanalytical theories as well as the typologies can be applied in the theoretical explanations of serial rape. These elements consist of the view that psychological and emotional factors influence an individual to react to specific circumstances, environmental and situational, with sexual violence. Specific aspects such as the anger, power and sadistic rape behavioural patterns presented by rapists are also incorporated (Stevens, 2000:32; 2001:31). However, due to the complex nature of serial rape, the elaborate and intricate range of behaviours exhibited by the offender, the “serial” nature of the rapes, and the proficiency with which the offender evades detection simply focussing on a single intrinsic motivating factor alone is insufficient. The two typologies put forward (Cohen *et al.* (1971), and Groth *et al.* (1979)) can be useful in terms of classifying the general overall motivation for the serial rapist’s behaviour. However, in terms of determining the specific individual motivations of a serial rapist, the typologies must be reinforced by frameworks and models which take situational factors as well as the social environment into account.

According to Holmes and Holmes (2002c:39), the importance of **biological theories** in understanding the nexus of crime causation has been discounted to a large extent by theorists. However, the *socio-biology* approach has altered perceptions in terms of the role biology may indeed play. The basic principle of the theory indicates that biology is not the sole determining

factor of an individual's decision to engage in criminal activities. It plays a role, in that biological and genetic conditions affect how the individual views and internalises exactly how he "fits" into the social environment (Holmes & Holmes, 2002c:39). The socio-biologists thus indicate that biology, environment, and social learning factors interact with the others. This in essence renders the focus on a single factor alone inadequate to explain the aetiology of the criminal behaviour. The individual may, for example, be predisposed to engage in violent and aggressive behaviour, but it is often an environmental stimulus that triggers the violent episode. It is the individual's perception of the act, whether the specific behaviour hindered or aided the individual from acquiring his or her goal. That "reinforcement" serves as the maintenance mechanism, allowing the aggression to remain part of the individual's personality structure. The socio-biological school can be classified as a trait theory, searching to identify the biological traits that predispose the individual to violence and aggression.

A number of socio-biological models have been developed in recent years to account for the existence of sexual aggression. One prominent socio-biological theory was developed by Ellis (Hudson & Ward, 1997:343). His theory is a combination of evolutionary, feminist, and social learning theories. His theory proposes a relatively pure sexual motivation for rape with dominating and aggressive behaviour viewed as tactics rather than goals. Ellis proposes that humans have unlearned sex drives, and the desire to possess and control, which motivates sexual behaviour. He also proposes that natural selection has favoured men with stronger sex drives and willingness for forced copulation. Ellis also suggested that due to the higher sex drive in men copulation is a more potent source of reinforcement (Hudson & Ward, 1997:343-344).

The **evolutionary theory**, to some extent, supports the claims made by the socio-biological theories. According to the evolutionary theory, selection can be seen as the most reasonable explanation for rape in humans. Selection favoured differential traits in males and females especially when the traits were directly related to "mating" (Thornhill & Palmer, 2000:53). Selection favoured the specific traits because the traits provided better solutions to environmental problems. In this case the act of rape is seen as an incidental effect of traits which was conserved in the species by evolution aimed at promoting the reproductive success of the individual. Thus rape evolved incidentally due to direct selection for obtaining a large number of consensual partners without any romantic commitment (Palmer & Thornhill, 2000:55-56; Thornhill & Palmer, 2000:56-58).

Thornhill and Palmer (2000:59) postulate two likely “ultimate” causes of human rape; it is a psychological *adaptation* aimed at increasing a male’s reproductive success or a *by-product* of a psychological adaptation designed to attain access to a sexual partner. The *by-product hypothesis* state that rape is a by-product, or side effect, of the mechanisms designed to increase man’s mating success by increasing the number of partners that men acquire (Palmer & Thornhill, 2000:56). The mechanisms responsible for the occurrence of rape are the adaptations involved in the male’s greater visual sexual arousal, greater willingness for anonymous sex, reduced ability to abstain from sex, the male’s greater desire for sexual variety, a willingness to engage in impersonal sex, and the male’s less discriminating criteria for sexual partners. The second potential cause for rape put forward by Thornhill and Palmer (2000:64) is the *adaptation hypothesis*. This hypothesis states that men do not have any obvious morphological adaptations aimed specifically at committing or facilitating rape, therefore the focus should rather shift to the male psyche for the likely causes for rape (Palmer & Thornhill, 2000:55). Likely adaptations are mechanisms that allow men to identify the vulnerability of potential victims as well as mechanisms which lower the intrinsic threshold for rape in males who lack access to females (Thornhill & Palmer, 2000:66-67).

Another theory utilising an evolutionary analysis of rape is the **confluence model of sexual aggression** proposed by Malamuth, Heavey, and Linz (1996). The model encompasses the *ultimate* and *proximate* causes of rape distinction. Ultimate causes tend to explain why individuals have developed the particular tendencies. The key principle to the ultimate cause element of the model is that two traits converge to create sexually aggressive behaviour, sexual promiscuity, and hostile masculinity. Men are adapted for impersonal sexual performance while women will prefer sexuality with men who are invested in them. A disinterested or even unwilling sexual partner will not inhibit a man sexually. It has always been in a women’s reproductive interest to withhold sex from insufficiently invested males. When a woman thwarts the sexual advances of a given male during a developmentally formative time, he may develop a chronically hostile personal style. Force and coercion has always been a tried and tested manner in which an individual can assert his own interest over another when they are in direct conflict. When a man perceives, therefore, that a woman is hindering his reproductive success, he will assert his dominance by coercion or the use of force (Malamuth *et al.*, 1996).

In terms of the proximate cause of rape, Malamuth *et al.*, (1996) proposed the *proximate cause model*. The model consists of several central elements. The first element of the model indicates



that sexual offending results from a convergence of risk factors. The implication of this is that no single risk factor – disinhibiting, motivation, or opportunity – can give an adequate explanation as to the development of sexual violence. The risk elements must converge in order for an individual to be at risk of sexual aggression. The second and third elements of the model state that the factors which are used to predict the aggression of men towards women are very specific. These factors can also be utilised in order to predict other forms of violence and aggression that are manifestations of the dissatisfaction over sexual access. The fourth element of the proposed model postulates that all men are born with psychological mechanisms which give them a degree of readiness to coerce a woman sexually. Environmental factors, such as childhood development experiences, peer group interactions, and immediate stimuli, contribute to the mechanisms being or not being activated within the specific individual. Both sexual promiscuity and hostile masculinity paths develop due to the above-mentioned background. The exposure to a delinquent peer group may foster the development of a game-playing orientation towards sexual relations, while coercion and aggression is used to ‘put women in their place’ (Malamuth *et al.*, 1996).

The evolutionary and socio-biological theories attempted to move away from the traditional, purely psychologically grounded approach, by focussing on aspects such as the social environment and genetic predispositions towards aggression and violence. The social-biological theory, while examining the interplay between the social environment and biological traits, fails to explain why not all individuals who are exposed to similar social stimuli, and share comparable biological traits towards violence and aggression, do not resort to criminal acts. The major point of critique against the evolutionary theory is that not all men who have limited access to females, either through social or genetic shortcomings, commit rape.

The focus of the biological perspective in terms of serial rape stipulates that coercion by violence is in itself sexually arousing. The motivation for committing the rape has to do with personality flaws inherited at birth. These flaws become salient as the individual interacts with his environment. Males cross a theoretical point called the forced copulation threshold, influenced by neurological activities closely linked to sex hormones. In essence DNA significantly influences the “blue print” of the serial rapists (Stevens, 2000:32-33; 2001:32). The applicability of the various biological theories is limited. The serial rapist’s actions are not instinctual. The behaviour is well planned, and in most cases carefully orchestrated. The

motivation behind the behaviour of the serial rapist is also not aimed at reproductive success, and in some cases the rapes are not even motivated by any sexual needs.

The **social learning model** is a prominent theoretical model which seeks to answer the question “Why do individuals engage in sex offences?” It is the most generally known model and the most thoroughly researched of all the listed explanations regarding sexual deviance (Holmes & Holmes, 2002c: 32). The social learning model suggests that an individual will learn criminal acts and behaviours, and will acquire the motivation to commit crime from his surroundings. The model recognises that there may be differences in individuals’ cognitive skills and also acknowledges that some individuals are just different from others. The model also indicates that individuals do make choices to engage in illicit acts, and are able to comprehend the consequences of the actions (Holmes & Holmes, 2002c:32). Although the perspective appears very simplistic, the process by which the individual learns and begins to experience the criminal deeds is not. The social learning model is similar to other cognitive models but differs in that the environment does not apply a direct stimulus to the individual. The perspective proposes that it is the individual’s perception which shapes the behaviours and the possibility for increased participation in criminal acts. As such, an individual who engages in a sex crime does so to gain something, whether it is power, control, sexual pleasure, instead of some innate desire (Holmes & Holmes, 2002c:33). According to the model, violent and antisocial behaviour is learned through interaction with the individual’s environment. This process of learning is divided into three separate phases, the *acquisition phase*, *instigation mechanisms* and *maintaining mechanisms*:

- In the acquisition phase, individuals absorb the characteristics of other people into their own personalities by a process of observational learning. According to Bandura (1977) this stage is a passive one in which the individual builds up a wealth of information while not participating in either socially forbidden or socially acceptable acts. Although youths and many adults do acquire patterns of aggressive and deviant behaviour during the interaction with others, being aware of the patterns and acting on the patterns are two distinctly different aspects. In this regard the model takes into account instigation mechanisms which push an individual to act.
- Instigation mechanisms are learned, for example, when individuals desire objects which are not tangible, such as respect or popularity, it is often difficult for children to conceptualise how to go about to acquire the object by using acceptable mechanisms. It is even more

difficult for individuals who were not socialised properly. Individuals who are 'under-socialised' might feel that respect, for example, is due to them. Should such individuals not receive respect or if they are victims of harassment or ridicule, the individuals will experience pain. The pain is not just physical pain but psychological pain as well, and can manifest in several ways. However, for those who lack the cognitive skills to process the pain, it may result in acts of overt aggression. The instigation mechanism for the aggression is thus learned, it does not come from the innate drive to commit pain, it is rather a learned mechanism of behaviour aimed at protecting the individual from internal or external traumatic experiences (Holmes & Holmes, 2002c: 34).

- The maintaining mechanisms are as important as the instigation mechanism and can be seen as the process through which inappropriate or aggressive or destructive tendencies are kept in the personal inventory of individuals. These mechanisms allow individuals to assess the environment and check which behaviours are effective for themselves as well as for others to achieve the desired end. Although not always seen as the most important element of the social learning model, the maintaining mechanisms are defining elements influencing the individual's choice to engage in violent and/or criminal behaviour (Holmes & Holmes, 2002c:34-35).

According to Ward, Polaschek, and Beech, (2006:155-156) elements from the social learning model have also been applied in order to explain the acquisition of deviant sexual preferences. The elements of imitation and modelling proposed by Bandura (1977) suggest that behaviour can sometimes occur without reinforcement. This occurs through three forms of observational learning; (1) *participant* modelling, where individuals observe and then copy the behaviour; (2) *vicarious* learning, which is non-participant observation, e.g. written material or visual media; (3) *symbolic* modelling, in which behaviour and its consequences are developed and elaborated in thought and mental images (Ward *et al.*, 2006:156). The learning principles were applied in the conditioning theory of Laws and Marshall (in Ward *et al.*, 2006:159). The theory indicates that human sexual behaviour is social behaviour, and that the social learning theory concepts are useful in understanding the aetiology of sexually abusive behaviour. As a specific application, the theory states that offenders who had been abused during their childhood can subsequently replicate their own experiences (participant modelling), or might apply the ideas which they have seen in films, or written material, or on the Internet, describing abuse (vicarious learning) or to imagine abusing other individuals (symbolic modelling). Laws and Marshall point out that symbolic modelling is highly important in the development of deviant fantasies (Ward *et al.*,

2006:159). The theory states that a stimulus in the environment is paired with sexual arousal, so that any subsequent stimulus relating to the original one will produce arousal. A sexual fantasy combined with masturbation therefore produces high levels of sexual arousal. Deviant sexual fantasies develop when the original fantasy alone is no longer enough to induce sexual arousal. The original fantasy must therefore adapt and change, for example, the original fantasy involved sex with teenagers and over time the fantasy evolved to fantasies involving younger and younger individuals, resulting in deviant sexual attractions. Such fantasies will increase, through the process of operant conditioning, if rewarded by genital stimulation and ejaculation (Ward *et al.*, 2006:159-160).

The social learning model differs from the above-mentioned theories in that the focus of the model is the individuals' interaction with the social environment, and in how the perception of these interactions influences their behaviour. Although the model can be applied to single episodes of rape, its applicability in terms of serial rape is limited. An individual can be socialised to use force in order to obtain his/her goal. This explains the serial rapist's propensity towards violence or aggressive behaviour (Stevens, 2000:33; 2001:32-33). However, it fails to explain what would compel an individual to commit multiple rapes over an extended period, consisting of elaborate and sometimes ritualistic behaviour, motivated by complex intrinsic motivations.

No discussion on the various theories of rape is complete without discussing the **feminist theories** regarding rape. The feminist theories view rape as a pseudo-sexual act primarily motivated by male socio-political dominance. Feminists view this form of violence against women as a means of enforcing gender roles as a mechanism of social control (Laws & O'Donohue, 1997:341). Feminist theories also describe how culturally derived attitudes towards sex might facilitate sexual aggression. Sex role stereotypes, adversarial sexual beliefs, and an acceptance of interpersonal violence are critical factors in mediating the link between culture and sexual aggression. The view that rape is supported culturally is substantiated by referencing media portrayals of women. The most notable is the pornographic portrayal depicting the women's initial protest giving way to overwhelming sexual desire. According to Groth and Birnbaum (1979) pornography is the media equivalent of rape. The view that the motivation for rape is to preserve sexual role inequality through the use of force has been popular with writers and authors since antiquity (Stevens, 2000: 31; 2001:30).

From an examination of the models and theories of behaviour presented, it is clear that all the theories have different focus points. The role of the unconscious is paramount in the psychoanalytical model, while the socio-biological theories place emphasis on the influence of evolution and genetics. The social learning model, in contrast to the other theories views deviant behaviour as a learned or conditioned set of behaviour in contrast to the feminist theorists who view rape as a cultural mechanism aimed at perpetuating the socio-political dominance of men. At this point it is important to note that the theories and models listed cannot be considered as all-inclusive and it was not the aim of this section to put forward one definitive model of sexual offending. The aim of the section was to illustrate how the traditional views on sexual deviance, rape in particular, are structured.

As illustrated in the section above, several theories and models exist, aimed at providing comprehensive explanations on the motivations of rapists. In the case of serial rape many of the theories and models can be applied to the phenomenon, albeit slightly modified versions of the theories. The following section will highlight a few of the perspectives deemed to be representative of the major theories and models regarding serial rape, and an overview of the research conducted on the phenomena of serial rape will also be given.

## **2.4 SERIAL RAPE**

As illustrated in the section above, serial rape as a phenomenon has received little attention in terms of theoretical explanations as to the cause of serial rape. In most instances, existing theoretical explanations or aspects of the theories are applied to the phenomenon. Research on the phenomenon is just as limited.

In the following section, the most notable research on serial rape will be explored.

### **2.4.1 Serial rape research**

The most relevant research on serial rape in terms of the offender as a whole is the research that utilised actual accounts of convicted serial rapists. In this respect the most pertinent is the research by Hazelwood and Warren (1989a; 1989b; 1990; 2001b), and by Stevens (2000; 2001). The Hazelwood and Warren (1989a; 1989b; 1990; 2001b) research consisted of 41 respondents. The respondents were interviewed for between four-and-a-half and twelve-and-a-

half hours, and interviews comprised open-ended questions which ranged from family constellation to post-offence behaviour. The relevant documentation, police investigatory reports, victim statements, pre-sentence reports, and pertinent prison records were also reviewed (Hazelwood & Warren, 1989a:11; 2001b:435-436). The research performed by Stevens (2001:36) consisted of 62 respondents who were incarcerated at maximum-security facilities.

#### **2.4.1.1 Serial rapist demographics**

The study conducted by Hazelwood and Warren (1989a:12-16; 2001b:436-445) found that the age range of the 41 respondents at the time of the research was 23 to 55 years, with the average age being 35 years. The sample consisted of 35 white males, 5 black males and 1 Hispanic male. The mean age of the respondents at the time their first, middle, and last rape was 21 years, 26 years, and 29 years respectively. The employment history of the respondents showed that 54% of the rapists indicated a generally stable employment history, while 34% stated that their employment histories were unstable. The types of employment held by the rapists ranged from 62 % unskilled jobs, 28% skilled positions to 10% white-collar employment. The majority of the rapists indicated a generally stable employment history while a small percentage was chronically unemployed. In both studies, over 71% of the respondents had been married at least once, while 29% percent of the rapists had been married multiple times. The serial rapists exhibited high levels of general intelligence. The educational levels of the men ranged from 5 to 17 years, with an average of 11 years of formal education. The respondents reported diversified criminal histories such as armed robbery, aggravated assault, sexual assault, larceny, and alcohol and drug abuse.

The research conducted by Stevens (2000:113; 2001:103) consisted of 61 respondents, with the sample consisting out of 34 black males, 25 white, and 2 Hispanic males. The average age of each respondent was 32 years of age with an average education of 8<sup>th</sup> grade prior to the conviction. Prior to incarceration, 31% of the respondents reported that they were married, while 69% indicated that they were single and/or divorced, 66% of the 61 respondents stated that they had had an active and regular sex life. An exploration of the employment history indicated that 63% held a menial job, 10% were employed in a “white collar” job, and 37% reported being unemployed prior to their incarceration. Sixty-five percent of the subjects had been convicted of some form of violent crime for example, homicide, aggravated assault, sexual assault, and armed robbery.

The focus of the two studies was on the same types of demographical information, and in most instances, the research achieved similar findings. Both studies consisted of subjects with an average age of between 30 and 35 years. The respondents had similar educational backgrounds, and most of the respondents indicated that at some point or another they were involved in a consensual sexual relationship, i.e. either divorced, or engaged in an active and regular sex life. Over 50% of the respondents in both studies reported a stable employment in either menial or “white collar” jobs, and most of the subjects had previous criminal histories ranging from homicide convictions to armed robbery.

#### **2.4.1.2 Serial rapist motivations**

An examination of the offender’s (n=61) accounts of their crimes highlighted several possible motives leading to serial rape: *lust, righteous rape, peer rape, control, supremacy, and fantasy* (Stevens, 2000; 2001):

By examining the statements made by the rapists in several of the cases (42%), lust was determined as the primary motivation for serial rape. For example,

*I was watching this babe peddling her bike. She looks good and I was hungry. She's real young. I wanted that cunt. I knew she couldn't stop me. I ran along her and asked her if she saw my little sister. She stops and I smell her sweat. I want to taste it. We walked together and talked about my little sister. We walked past a field and I took that little girl and raped her* (Stevens, 2001: 40).

The descriptions and statements made by the rapists were indicative of offenders driven by lust. Lust is not a new idea concerning serial rape, however, most writers has suggest it as a secondary motivation As evidenced by the above statement the rapist was driven by a desire to have immediate sexual intercourse with females and prefers sexual intercourse with the intended victim (Stevens, 2001:38-40).

Several of the statements (15%) made were characterised by aspects which indicated righteous rape as a possible motive. From the perspective of this type of offender, it is better to blame someone else for the crimes he commits, rather than putting the blame on himself. The statements of the offenders pointed to the fact that their victims produced the circumstances and conditions which led to the rape. For example,



*I got drunk this one time with this bitch I worked with. We started making out in her car. I went down on her and she touched me like she enjoyed it. She got me so excited that I'd have a stroke if she didn't make me come. I told her she had better finish me off or else...I figured that whatever, I was horny. I pushed her down and took her right there, coming as I did...(Stevens, 2001:43).*

These offenders are trying to justify both their method of coercion as well as the sexual acts. The righteous rapist will describe his victims by vulgar adjectives, such as “bitches” the righteous rapist also indicates both vaginal penetration and oral sex as a necessity (Stevens, 2000:41-42; 2001:41-43).

Peer rape is in many cases similar to righteous rape in that it is used as an excuse (3%). For example,

*Bernard and his partner went camping. A woman was hiking along the trail. Bernard's friend told him that this was the opportunity he was waiting for. He grabbed the woman tore off her clothes and told him to take his off. He then forced her into oral sex with Bernard, when he hesitated he was called a chicken shit. She was skinny and didn't turn Bernard on. He was shaking and afraid of getting caught. His partner whispered that they should kill her but Bernard said no. Having a partner is like being drunk, you feel braver and stronger (Stevens, 2001:45).*

It is not clear what really motivated these rapists when they committed their crimes. A possible explanation is that sexual desire does play a role and/or possibly their virility. It is also conceivable that it is convenient blaming their friends, saying that they forced them into sex with an unknown individual (Stevens, 2000:43; 2001:45-47).

In some of the cases (8%) control and anger came through as the primary objective leading to serial rape. In these accounts, more violence was described by the respondents than was necessary to commit the rape. Violence was used during the entire encounter even after the victim had submitted. The respondents who reported the use of excess violence also indicated a great degree of anger. For example,

*I picked up this chick at some bar. We got in my car and started petting. She stopped and said she should be with her husband. Imagine, she is going down (oral sex) on me and now I am not*

*good enough for her. I pull her hair almost off her skull and shove my beer bottle in her as far as I could. You should have seen her face when I pull her out of the car with hair in one hand and the bottle in the other! She found out who was in charge, and it ain't her. I pulled the bottle out of her and slammed her a homer (rape) while I held her by the hair. I think she was off the ground the whole time (Stevens, 2001:49).*

Control and anger were related in all the narratives, which is consistent with the perspective that sex is simply a means of expressing the aggressive desires underlying the offender's motivation (Stevens, 2000: 48; 2001: 48-49).

An extension of the control and anger motivation is the supremacy motivation where the emphasis is upon unnecessary violence before, during, and after the attack, in order to gain complete victim submission. Thirteen percent of the respondents indicated that the emphasis of their attacks was unnecessary violence. For example,

*Me and a lot of other kids were in this temporary foster house for abused kids. The daughter of the house('s) parents was always bossing us around, so one day that was it! I threw her on the bed. We fought for a while. I won. And put it to that little whore. After that I forced her into sex whenever I had nothing to do, and made her come up to my room to spend the night. I told her I'd tell her parents that she was screwing all of us and would get pregnant if she told. A few times I forced her to have oral sex with some of the other guys. I think she was like 10. This went on a few weeks till they found me a foster home. I showed the little bitch about sex" (Stevens, 2001:50).*

Although sexual contact played an insignificant role, the punishment they inflicted on their victims took precedence for the rapist. The supremacy rapist has little regard for his victims, he views his victims as "punching bags" designed to absorb his anger and rage. Sex is used as a device to inflict pain and degradation, it is an expression of power and assertion of the rapist's virility (Stevens, 2000:49-50; 2001:49-51).

For many of the respondents (16%) the rapes were an attempt to fulfil imaginary goals bordering on unreality or fantasy rape. These individuals were trying to relive some imaginary goal that had been part of their past. They were attempting to bring those illusions to reality. For example,

*In my head I think about woman in precarious positions. I devise shit like spreading their legs on a rack. I think about hurting them and taking in their cries for help. But I don't do any of that shit, I tell them once, okay bitch you know what I want. This could go hard or easy on you. It's up to you. Most of the time they put out fast and usually say shit like please don't kill me. Hell I don't want to kill them I just want to screw them (Stevens, 2001:52).*

From the section above it becomes clear that no single pattern of rape is representative of all serial rapists, 3% of the respondents indicated an unclear motivation. When individuals think about rape, they visualise a sex-starved madman waiting with a weapon for his prey. However, there is not just one type of serial rapist, just as there is not just one type of serial rape victim. It is important to note that the rapist's statements should not be viewed as prima facie evidence for rapist motivations. The statements serve as examples for the types of motivations exhibited by the offenders.

#### **2.4.1.3 Selection techniques, methods of approaching and controlling the victim**

The question as to which females' serial rapists favour to attack has several answers. When the question was put to several offenders incarcerated for serial rape, the most frequently mentioned characteristic of victim selection was not the female's looks or age but rather vulnerability. The vulnerability of the victim is closely related to the location and the availability of the victim, aspects such as gender and age was a primary criterion for singling out victims. In the Hazelwood and Warren (2001b:452-454) research, 40 (98%) of the respondents emphasised the availability of the victim, while 27 (66%) of the subjects also indicated the importance of location. In assessing the vulnerability of the victims, several recurring categories arose from the data. Some of the rapists viewed their intended victims as *easy prey*. In this regard, young girls were viewed as the easiest prey. This can be attributed to the fact that children rely on their limited experience and unlimited choices when confronted by strangers, which results in a general belief that they are in control and that no harm will come to them. Women who, according to the rapist's interpretation, are viewed as naïve also are seen as easy prey. The rapist is looking for women who are emotional, dependant, and submissive, a woman who possesses "street smarts" is not viewed as vulnerable (Stevens, 2000:55-57; 2001:56-62).

A category linked to the location aspect of vulnerability of victims is *situational targeting*. Situational targeting refers to rapists targeting victims found in a specific social environment or employment. In their quest for victims, rapists therefore sought specific situations or

circumstances, as opposed to specific individuals (Stevens, 2000:63 2001:66). According to Stevens (2000:63-64; 2001:67), the *situational* rapist gives the impression of having the intention of committing the rape prior to finding a victim within a specific ambience.

Once the offender has “selected” his intended victim, he can “employ” three general methods of approach in order to obtain his victim: i.e. the *con*, *blitz*, or *surprise* approach (Hazelwood & Warren, 2001b:454-455; Hazelwood & Warren, 1990:12).

The *con* approach involves deception, and is dependent on the rapist’s ability to interact with women without arousing suspicion. The offender would openly approach his victim under a false pretence, lure her away, and once she is within his control, he would strike (Hazelwood & Warren, 2001b:455; Hazelwood & Warren, 1990:12). The second approach is the *blitz* approach, where the rapist uses a sudden direct physical attack which subdues and injures the victim. In the third approach, *surprise* involves the assailant choosing and observing the intended victim, and gaining knowledge of the victim beforehand. Then, when the victim is alone, the offender would strike (Hazelwood & Burgess, 2001:455-456; Hazelwood & Warren, 1990:12-13).

Once the rapist has made contact and approached his intended victim, the methods of control that he applies to maintain control over the victims are dependent on the rapist’s motivation and the passivity of the victim. From the case accounts, it was clear that a threatening physical presence, and/or verbal threats were most commonly employed by the rapists. Substantially fewer offenders displayed any weapons or physically assaulted the victims. In the cases where a weapon was utilised, the weapon of choice was a knife, due to the intimidation factor which resulted from the women’s fear of disfigurement (Hazelwood & Warren, 1990:13; Hazelwood & Warren, 2001b:456).

#### **2.4.1.4 Use of force and violence**

The amount of force and violence used by the rapist during the rape can provide valuable insights into the motivation and the rape (Hazelwood & Warren, 2001b:456-457; Hazelwood & Warren, 1990:13).

In the research conducted by Stevens (2000:72; 2001:75), 18% of the respondents were unclear in terms of the amount of the violence they had to use in order to ensure their victims' compliance:

*It's a numbers game. Some...believe I'd hurt them if they don't suck me. If they tell me to piss off...I just go out and find another one. Eventually I find one who believes me...(Stevens, 2001:75).*

Thirteen percent of the rapist's descriptions were characterised by accounts of non-violent behaviours of gaining sexual submission from the intended victims. In all the cases, the sexual behaviour was not actual physical sexual contact, but more fondling and masturbation (Stevens, 2000:72-73; 2001:75-76).

In 16% of the rape accounts the use of *minimal* or no physical force was employed by the majority of offenders. Minimal force is defined as non-injurious force employed more to intimidate than to punish. Many offenders use intimidation in order to shock their victims into sexual submission. For example,

*I follow some cute girl from the parking lot to the mall. Inside, I ask her if she owns such and such a car with such and such tags. Maybe I describe something on the seats. I ask her about the small animal locked in...We almost run to the car... I'll say you know what happens next. You can get hurt or it'll be over soon. She goes down on me (oral sex), and I disappear...(Stevens, 2001:76)*

Twenty percent of the subject accounts were indicative of *limited* levels of *violence*. This suggests that the offender would use limited amounts of force and violence in order to meet their intended objectives. One criterion for this category is that the degree of physical abuse used was more than needed in order to gain victim submission; however, the attacker might stop the attack when he is threatened. For example,

*I see this broad walking in the parking lot carrying a load of food with a little kid hanging on...I pushed her into the car and grabbed the kid by the throat. I slide in on top of her and said to the bitch, If you are not a good little girl I will kill the kid. She mumbled something so I slammed the shit out of her with my free hand (Stevens, 2001:77).*

The use of *moderate* violence entails the offender using physical contact but only enough to get the attention of the victim. Twenty percent of the offenders indicated they employed moderate levels of violence. They stated that they rejected violence themselves, and if confronted they would stop their attack. In the case of offenders who demonstrated moderate levels of violence, sexual contact was their primary goal. They would use a slap, a blow, or threats involving a weapon, in order to reach their objective. For example,

*I called for appointments at doctor and dentists offices in another town. Their nurse would tell me they had openings...I went to the offices when I knew the doc's weren't around and three times I found a nurse alone. I'd made up a story about pain in my mouth, one time, and when she looked, I grabbed her hands and threw her on the floor. You know what happens next, I said to her. I had intercourse with her in the dentist's chair. Told her that if she opens her mouth I'd be back, get it...opens her mouth! (Stevens, 2001:78-79)*

In 16% the rape accounts, it was apparent that forcible rape with an emphasis on excessive acts of violence before, during, and after the assault was a primary motivational factor. What was described by the offenders can be defined as *ultimate violence*, where the offenders illustrate a lack of limits or controls in their destruction of others. The offenders who exhibited a willingness and motivation for ultimate violence demonstrated that they were in total control of their actions and in touch with reality – a reality developed and executed in a systematic process to destroy another human being in a variety of ways. The ultimate goal of the offender is the destruction of human dignity and/or the victim. Sexual acts fed from the activities leading to the goal (Stevens, 2000:75-77; 2001:79-81). Hazelwood and Warren (1990:13; 2001b:457) indicated that 24% of the 41 respondents showed a marked increase in the use of violence. The increase of violence, coupled with the progressive interest in anal intercourse suggests that sexual sadism might be a motive for the assailant's behaviour. For example:

*She was carrying a lot of packages...I open my van...my guns are looking at her tits. From my rape case, I take out handcuffs...I took a cord from my case and tied her ankles pulling it up to her wrists. I had to check in at home so I left her in the van. In the middle of the night I left my warm bed and had anal sex with her (in the van). I choked her until she passed out, and did it several more times. In the morning I had to take my daughters to school so I used my wife's car. When I got back I went for a ride (in the van). Out at the city dump, I had intercourse with her and choked her again until she passed out...(Stevens, 2001:79).*

#### 2.4.1.5 Sexual dynamics of the rape

According to the rape accounts, the sexual acts in which the victims were forced to engage remained relatively constant across the rape series (first, middle, and last rape) (Hazelwood & Warren, 2001b:458). The most common sexual acts were vaginal intercourse (54% to 67%), oral sex (29% to 44%), fondling (10% to 18%), and kissing (8% to 13%). Anal intercourse (5% to 10%) and foreign object insertion (3% to 8%) were not as prevalent. In assessing the changes in the behaviour across the first, middle and last rapes, a trend was identified for the rapist's interest in oral sex (fellatio) to increase, whereas his interest in vaginal intercourse significantly decreased (Hazelwood & Warren, 1990:14-15). The data also indicated that 38% of the respondents reported some form of sexual dysfunction during the first rape, 39% reported dysfunction during the middle rape, and 35% during the last rape (Hazelwood & Warren, 2001b:459; Hazelwood & Warren, 1990:15).

#### 2.4.1.6 Developmental characteristics

The information obtained during the research by Hazelwood and Warren (1989a; 1989b; 2001b) is based on self-reported data. The data can be viewed as a general overview of the developmental characteristics of serial rapists, and must not be seen as absolute.

##### 2.4.1.6.1 Family structure

Table 3 summarises the various family structures reported by the respondents during the research. The significance of the findings listed in Table 3 is that 54% of the rapists were raised in average or above-average socio-economic environments. This information in many instances contradicts long-standing beliefs and theories that the majority of such individuals come from economically-deprived families (Hazelwood & Warren, 1989b:19).

Table 3  
*Overview of the Family Environment of the Serial Rapist (n=41)*

Family structures	Number	Percentage
Advantaged	7	17%
Comfortable – Average	15	37%
Marginal – Self-sufficient	11	26%
Sub-marginal – Welfare	8	20%

*Note:* Adapted from Hazelwood and Warren, 2001b: 445-446.

##### 2.4.1.6.2 Parental relationships

The parental relationship with regards to developmental characteristics have been emphasised by several authors and theorist alike. For example, Eric Erikson, who emphasised the conflict



between children and parents (Roazen, 1976:112). As illustrated in table 4 there is no overwhelming evidence that indicates that one parent or the other plays a more significant role in the development of the serial rapist.

Table 4  
*Overview of parental relationship (dominant parent, quality of relationship; mother and father)*

<b>Dominant parental figure (n=40)</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Mother</b>	20	50%
<b>Father</b>	16	40%
<b>Other</b>	4	10%
<b>Relationship: Mother (n=39)</b>		
<b>Warm</b>	14	36%
<b>Variable</b>	12	31%
<b>Cold, distant</b>	2	5%
<b>Caring</b>	4	10%
<b>Hostile</b>	7	18%
<b>Relationship: Father (n=39)</b>		
<b>Warm</b>	7	18%
<b>Variable</b>	10	26%
<b>Cold, distant</b>	12	31%
<b>Caring</b>	3	8%
<b>Hostile</b>	7	18%

*Note:* Adapted from Hazelwood and Warren, (1989(b): 18-25).

According to Hazelwood and Warren (2001b:447), abusive behaviour in the families of serial rapists is well documented. In the research conducted, 30% of the respondents indicated that they were physically abused by a parent or a caregiver, while 70% of the respondents reported psychological abuse within the family. One of the respondents gave an account of how his mother would “hit him with anything that was handy, a belt, a broom handle, iron, whatever” (Hazelwood & Warren, 1989b:20; 2001b:447). Another respondent explained that his mother caught him touching himself one time and she told his father about the incident. His father made him put his penis on a chair and then proceeded to whip it with a belt (Hazelwood & Warren, 1989b:20). Seventy three percent of the respondents indicated that they experienced some form of psychological abuse. Obtaining the information was problematic, however. When one of the respondents was asked whether he was emotionally abused as a child, he responded negatively. At a later stage he was asked how his mother reacted when she was angry he said “she would call me names like, bastard, son-of-a-bitch, asshole, things like that” (Hazelwood & Warren, 2001b:447). Seventy six percent of the men reported that they experienced some sort of unusual sexual experience during childhood or their teenage years. The unusual sexual experiences ranged from being forced to witness disturbing sexual occurrences (26%), being

fondled or involved in fondling of others (22%) and forced to submit to penetration of their bodies (52%) (Hazelwood & Warren, 2001b:447; Hazelwood & Warren, 1989b:21).

#### **2.4.1.6.3 Childhood sexual abuse**

In the last several years, the interest in childhood sexual abuse experienced by individuals, especially rapists, has increased significantly. As indicated in the section above, a significant percentage of the respondents reported some form of sexual abuse or psychological abuse, with just over half being victims of incest (McCormack, Rokus, Hazelwood & Burgess, 1992: 219-220), many indicated that an incestuous experience was their first sexual experience. From the descriptive statistics and the cross-tabular analysis, it became evident that the first incestuous experiences occurred when the men were pre-pubescent (5 to 7 years). The research also demonstrated that the abusive experiences are more likely to involve members of the rapist's family, and that the abusive parent in most cases was the perpetrator of the sexual abuse. This substantiates the long-held belief that sexual and physical abuse, go "hand-in-hand". The nature of the sexual abuse suffered by males differs from that suffered by females. Female victims were forced to engage in sexual experiences, while male victims were subject to witnessing parental sexual activity. Sixty percent of the respondents reported reconstituted family structures, and in all the cases, a step-father had joined the family. Witnessing a new male intruder's sexual activity with the mother may strengthen the feelings of helplessness and powerlessness experienced by the boy. The findings also indicated that male incest victims re-enacted the sexually abusive behaviour within the family. The intra-family sexual abuse reflects the effect of early socialisation to non-normative sexual activity (McCormack et. al. 1992:224.226).

## **2.5 CONCLUSION**

The answer to the question as to "Why men rape?" has no single answer. Opportunity, emotional illness, lust, any of these can be seen as the causes of rape, and in the same instance, none of them can explain the motivation for rape. In many cases, deep-seated anger is a common thread among most rapists. Another common denominator is the fact that something has irrevocably gone wrong early in their lives (Swisher & Wekesser, 1994:46-47).

Like other sexual offences, rape is riddled with moral codes, norm expectations, myths, and unscientific conclusions. Rape statistics are also very misleading, given that some researchers

believe that less than 10% of all rapes are reported (Holmes & Holmes, 2002b:141). Rape myths persist, because it offers an acceptable answer to a very complex phenomenon, and it also reduces the complex behaviour to a very simple single motivation (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979:10-11). The phenomenon of serial rape also suffers from similar misconceptions, myths, and disinformation

Several theoretical explanations and frameworks have been offered as scientific and specific explanations for rape and sexual deviance in an attempt to dispel many of the popular myths surrounding sexual deviance. The theoretical explanations that have had the most significant influence on the field of sexual deviance are the explanations grounded in the psychodynamic theoretical framework and the behavioural theories. The most notable of the psychodynamic theories put forward on sexually deviant behaviour is that of Sigmund Freud, who postulated that sexually deviant behaviour is some form of character disorder (Hudson & Ward, 1997:339). The most notable of the typologies to have evolved within the psychodynamic framework is the typologies created by Cohen *et al.* (1971) and Groth *et al.* (1977).

The socio-biological and evolutionary theories share common denominators in that the socio-biological theory approaches sexual deviance as a product of the interaction between the individual's genetic predisposition and the social environment. The evolutionary theory advocated by Thornhill and Palmer (2000) postulates that the most reasonable ultimate explanation for rape in humans is inconsistent reproductive success. According to the evolution theory several evolutionary adaptations can be seen as the possible cause of rape, most notably the continuance of an evolutionary trait (Thornhill & Palmer, 2000:64). The social learning model is a well-known and extensively researched theoretical position. It is a prominent model used in answering the question "Why do individuals engage in sexual offences?" (Holmes & Holmes, 2002c:32). This model basically postulates that an individual will learn criminal behaviour and the motivation to commit the crimes from his surroundings. The model differs from other cognitive models in that the individual's perception shapes and moulds his or her behaviour. The environment does not apply any direct stimulus to the individual.

There is no specific theoretical perspective which attempts to give an explanation for the causes of serial rape. Various perspectives that which consist of modified versions of the theoretical perspectives on rape, are put forward as probable explanations for the occurrence of serial rape. According to the social role inequalities and the cultural perspective, serial rape is aimed

at males' prohibiting females from gaining independence. The serial rapist also exhibits several, and in some cases all, facets postulated by the psychological predispositions: anger rape, power rape, sadistic rape (Stevens, 2001:33-34). The biological model which postulates that the motivation for rape can be found in personality flaws, and the social learning model that views rape as the result of cultural and observed behaviour, can be applied to serial rape to a limited degree. The propositions of all the theories can be found in some cases of serial rape. There are limitations to the theories, however, and these should be supplemented in order to provide a more in-depth explanation for the occurrence of serial rape.

Limited research was done on the phenomenon of serial rape, the most prominent and noteworthy research was conducted by Hazelwood and Warren (1989a; 1989b, 1990; 2001), and Stevens (2001). The focus of the research was on various aspects, such as serial rapists' demographics, serial rapists' motivation, selection techniques, and methods of approach. Their research also focused on controlling the victim, use of force and violence; sexual dynamics of the rape and developmental characteristics focussing on family structure, parental relationships, and childhood abuse. The data gathered by the research cannot be applied to the South African context and accepted as general fact within this context. It can only serve as a general "blueprint" and led research conducted within the South African context, as to what aspects should be focused on.

In the following chapter, a more detailed exploration and explanation of behavioural analysis, the facets, aspects, and the process of behaviour analysis will be given. Attention will also be given to the processes and strategies involved in investigating serious crimes.