

## CHAPTER 6

# INTEGRATION AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, information obtained from the individual series in chapter 5 is integrated to compile an initial general behavioural profile of the South African serial rapist, his victims, and his modus operandi. This initial profile can serve as a starting point for both future investigations into serial rape as well as any future research into the phenomenon.

The information will be discussed in the following order: victim demographics, offender demographics, and modus operandi. The section on modus operandi will be divided into the following three sub-sections. The approach phase, attack phase, and sexual behaviour. During each section, the verbal interaction, the method of approach, the location where the offender obtained his victim, and the location where the actual rape took place, the levels of violence, and methods of controlling the victim, will be analysed.

Throughout the chapter, the findings will also be compared to the victims' and offenders' characteristics listed in the US research conducted by Hazelwood and Warren (1989a; 1989b) and Stevens (2000; 2001), as well as other research where relevant. Due to the lack of research utilising large samples that focus on both the offender's and the victim's demographical information, and on the general modus operandi of the serial rapist, the work of Hazelwood and Warren (1989a; 1989b), and Stevens (2000; 2001) will be primarily utilised.

### 6.1 VICTIM PROFILE

The total number of victims in this study was 75, sixty four of whom were raped. Three of the victims were sexually assaulted, four were involved in attempted rape incidents, and four were involved in unsuccessful attempts. The unsuccessful attempts involved incidents where the offender was caught with the victim and prevented from raping the victim, the victim managed to escape the offender, the victim frightened the offender away, or the offender simply did nothing to the victim.

Throughout the chapter, depending on which behavioural variable is being discussed, only the applicable victim count will be used.

In terms of the current research, the focus of the victim profile will be on the age of the victim as well as the occupational categories. The relationship between the victim and the offender will also be discussed. The victim profile will also include an examination of the population group of the victim data set. The aim of the victim profile is to determine whether any predictive characteristics exist that can assist investigators during future investigations (i.e. linkage), for example, by determining which cases, based on victimology, are most likely to be part of a series, and therefore need to be prioritised. Compiling a victim profile provides context and connections for the investigator, and if the suspect is unknown, a victim profile can assist in defining a possible suspect type (Turvey, 2003:138). A victim profile also allows investigators to determine who is at greater risk, which is relevant to crime prevention strategies.

### 6.1.1 Victim demographic information

Table 26 shows the demographical characteristics of the victims in the data set, according to the population group, age, and occupational category.

Table 26  
*Demographic characteristics of victims (n=75)*

	Black	White	Coloured
<b>Population group</b>			
<b>Percentage</b>	84%	13%	3%
<b>Age distribution</b>			
<b>Average age</b>	21.6	24.1	19.5
<b>Occupation</b>			
<b>Professional</b>	-	1%	-
<b>Semi-professional</b>	1%	1%	-
<b>Clerical</b>	3%	-	1%
<b>Domestic</b>	7%	-	-
<b>Unemployed</b>	37%	3%	-
<b>Student</b>	36%	8%	2%
<b>Average age per occupation</b>			
<b>Professional</b>	-	-	53
<b>Semi-professional</b>	28	-	49
<b>Clerical</b>	26	35	-
<b>Domestic</b>	42	-	-
<b>Unemployed</b>	23	-	22
<b>Student</b>	14	14	16

Table 26 shows that 84% of the serial rape victims of the current study were black, 13% were white, and 3% were coloured. None of the victims were Asian or Indian. According to the results of a quantitative study conducted by Statistics South Africa, 78.9% of reported *single* rape victims were black females, 13% were coloured females, 2.4% were Indian females, and 5.7% were white females (Quantitative research findings, 2000). These figures are comparable to the general South African population statistics. Statistics South Africa indicate that, 79.5% of South Africa’s population is black, 8.9% coloured, 2.5% Indian/Asian, and 9.2% white (Mid-year population statistics, South Africa 2006).

Table 27 shows a cross tabulation between the South African population group and the population group of the general SA rape statistics and the current research.

Table 27  
Cross tabulation of population group – SA rape statistics, Current research statistics, and general South African population group

<b>Population group</b>	<b>SA population %</b>	<b>SA rape %</b>	<b>Current research %</b>
<b>Black</b>	79.5%	78.9%	84%
<b>White</b>	9.2%	5.7%	13%
<b>Coloured</b>	8.9%	13%	3%
<b>Asian/Indian</b>	2.5%	2.4%	-

Table 27 shows that compared to the overall rape statistics of South Africa, in the current research, black females were slightly over represented in the current study. White female victims also represented a higher percentage of the victims compared to the general rape incident statistics, while coloured, Indian, and Asian victims were under-represented in the current study.

Three of the offenders in the data set targeted victims from outside their own population groups. Offender A (white) and offender C (black) targeted both black and white victims, while offender H (coloured) targeted black and coloured victims.

There was a wide age-range in the data set, with victim age ranging from 6 to 53 years. The mean age of the victims in the data set was 22 years. Twenty-five percent of the victims were aged younger than fifteen at the time of assault, while the majority of the victims (75%) were aged between 11 years and 25 years. According to South African rape statistics, rape victims are likely to be aged between 16 and 25 years (Statistics South Africa, 2000).

Table 26 shows that the average age of the victims was very similar, across all three population groups the age difference was no more than five years. Table 28 also shows that, on average, white victims of a serial rapist are likely to be older, approximately three to five years, than black and coloured victims.

The majority of the victims in the data set were unemployed (40%) or were students (45%) during the time of the incidents. Table 26 shows that the majority of the victims were black students or unemployed black females. These findings illustrate a high probability that, students and unemployed individuals are more likely to be targeted across the three population groups. A cross-tabulation of the average age and occupation of the victims showed that the victims in this study were on average 14.6 years (students) and 22.5 years (unemployed) old at the time of the incidents. The average age of the students and unemployed victims were distinctly similar, irrespective of population group.

### **6.1.2 Victim-offender relationship**

Eighty-four percent of the victims in the data set did not know their attacker, while 14% knew their attacker. One of the victims had met her attacker at a bar and was raped that same evening. He was therefore categorised as a casual acquaintance. There was no general type of relationship observed between the offenders and the victims where the offenders were known to the victims in the data set. One of the offenders (offender A) knew one victim through business dealings, offender G was related to one of his victims (cousin), offender H was in a relationship with one of the victims' mother, and offender B knew all the victims through his sister. Only one offender knew all of his victims, during the other series the instances in which the offender knew the victim were in the minority.

An investigation of the victim-offender relationship and the victim and offender population group showed that in the majority of the cases in the data set, the offenders were unknown to the victims, irrespective of the population group of the victims.

Table 28 shows the general information obtained from the victim data set. The information is arranged according to the three population groups represented in the research. The table shows that black victims have a higher probability of being targeted in the data set 84% of the victims were black females. Students aged between 14 and 16, and unemployed individuals

approximately twenty-three years old, are also the most likely targets. There is also a high possibility that the offender will be unknown to the victims.

Table 28  
*General information of victim data set (n=75)*

	<b>Black (63)</b>	<b>Coloured (2)</b>	<b>White (10)</b>
<b>Pop group % of overall sample</b>	84%	3%	13%
<b>Avg. age (Data set - 22)</b>	21.6	19.5	24.1
<b>Occupational category %</b>	Student (43%) Unemployed (44%)	Student (50%) Clerical (50%)	Student (60%)
<b>Avg. age per occupational category</b>	Student (14) Unemployed (23)	Student (14) Clerical (35)	Student (16)
<b>Vic-offender relationship</b>	Unknown (98%)	Unknown (50%)	Unknown (80%)

### 6.1.3 Discussion

Constructing a basic victim profile allows the investigator or researcher to determine potential high-risk victims, which could be targeted by the offender. It can also determine which cases, based on victimology should be considered for inclusion in a serial rape investigation (Savino & Turvey, 2005:217-218). By constructing a basic victim profile, the researcher or investigator is able to establish a general link between the offender and the victim(s). This is especially relevant once a serial rapist's activities are suspected in an area and a task team needs to review old cases to determine whether they may also be the work of the serial rapist.

This research revealed several differences and similarities between the victims of the South African serial rapist and international findings. In a study conducted on serial rape by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (Hazelwood and Warren, 1989b: 24), the average ages of the victims during the first, middle, and last attack were 22.8, 26.1 and 24.4. This does not differ greatly from the findings obtained in this study. The majority of the US victims were adult females and there was a significant minority of children. In the South African context 25% were children under the age of 15, while 27% of the victims were between 16 and 20 years at the time of the incidents.

In the same study conducted by Hazelwood and Warren (1989b: 24-25), none of the white offenders targeted victims from another population group. Black offenders raped both black and white victims. The current study, in comparison, has a higher incidence of mixed population group offending. Black, white and coloured offenders targeted victims outside of their own

population group. Within the current study black and white offenders also never targeted coloured victims, and coloured offenders, never targeted white victims. This could and should be an important fact to note when investigators are screening potential cases to include in a serial rape investigation.

In the current research the offender was unknown to the victims during 84% of time which is similar to Hazelwood and Warren's (1989b: 23) research, where the offender was unknown to the victims 80% of the time across the first, middle, and last incidents. The current findings are contrary to the general rape statistics of South Africa, in which 34.6% of victims were raped by a relative or someone they were intimate with, 24.4% did not know their attacker, 17.3% were an acquaintance, 8.9% were a known individual, 13.4% indicated they knew the offender by sight, and 1.4% refused to respond (Statistics South Africa, 2000). Thus 74.2% of rape victims at least knew their attacker either by sight or more intimately. Therefore initial findings indicate that, in the South African context, stranger rape could be seen as being potentially serial-related. The implication would be that the occurrence of stranger rapes should be thoroughly examined by law enforcement for links to other cases.

## **6.2 OFFENDER PROFILE**

The initial general offender profile will consist of basic demographic information, which consists of population group, age, occupation, educational level, and criminal history. The data set consisted of nine offenders in total, six black, two white, and one coloured offender.

## 6.2.1 Offender demographic information

Table 29 shows the basic demographic characteristics of the offender data set.

Table 29  
*Demographic characteristics of offenders (n=9)*

		Black (6)	White (2)	Coloured (1)
<b>Population group</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	67%	22%	11%
	<b>Age distribution</b>			
	<b>Average age</b>	32.3	28	24
<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Professional</b>	-	2	-
	<b>Labourer</b>	5	-	-
	<b>Unemployed</b>	1	-	1
<b>Education level</b>	<b>Higher education</b>	-	2	-
	<b>Medium (Gr 7 – Gr 12)</b>	1	-	1
	<b>Lower (Gr 1 – Gr 6)</b>	5	-	-
	<b>None</b>	-	-	-
<b>Criminal history</b>	<b>Attempted murder</b>	-	1	-
	<b>Rape</b>	3	1	-
	<b>Robbery</b>	4	-	-
	<b>Assault</b>	2	-	-
	<b>Burglary</b>	2	-	-
	<b>Other</b>	1	-	1

Table 29 shows that the data set comprised of 67% black, 22% white, and 11% coloured offenders. In comparison to the results of the research conducted by the FBI (Hazelwood & Warren, 1989b), and research conducted by Stevens, (2001), the current findings differ significantly. Table 30 shows a comparison of the three data sets.

Table 30  
*Comparison of offender data set - population group (S.A.; FBI; Stevens)*

	South Africa (n=9)	*FBI (n=41)	**Stevens (n=61)
<b>White</b>	22%	85%	56%
<b>Black</b>	67%	12%	41%
<b>Coloured</b>	11%	-	-
<b>Indian/Asian</b>	-	-	-
<b>Hispanic</b>	-	2%	3%

\* Hazelwood and Warren (1989b: 23); \*\*Stevens (2001:111-112)

The population dynamic for the United States according to the US Census Bureau (2006) is, 73.9% White, 12.4% African or African-American, 4.4% Asian, 0.8% American Indian or Alaska Native, 0.14% Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, 6.3% some other race, 2% two (combination)

racess. Each of the groups also includes individuals who list their ethnicity as Hispanic or Latino. U.S. federal law defines Hispanic or Latino as any person with ancestry from a Spanish-speaking Latin American country or Spain, regardless of race (14.8%). This differs markedly from the South African group, but can be attributed to the different population dynamic within the South African context. According to Statistics South Africa, the majority of the population (79.5%) are black, 8.9% of the population is coloured, 2.5% Indian/Asian, and 9.2% white (Mid-year population estimates, 2006). Overall, the variations across the three studies should be treated cautiously due to the small sample size.

The youngest offender was 22 years old and the oldest offender was 44 years old at the time of the first incident. In total, 8 out of 9 (88.9%) of the offenders in the data set were below 35 years old at the time of the first incident. The average age of the offenders at the first incident was 30.4 years. Black offenders were aged 22 to 44 years, with an average of 32.3 years. White offenders were aged 23 to 33 years, with an average of 28, and the only coloured offender was 24 years old at the time of the first incident.

Table 29 shows that most of the black offenders in the data set were labourers, typically involving working as painters, tilers, or cleaners. The white offenders were employed in professional capacities, and the coloured offender was unemployed.

Table 29 also shows that 56% of the offenders had a low education level (grade 1 to 6), 22% had a medium education (grade 7 to 12), and 22% had a higher education (tertiary level). A cross tabulation between the population group and the education level of the offender showed that the majority of the offenders possessed a lower education at the time of the incidents. All of the offenders with lower education levels were black, while the two offenders who possessed a higher education were white. The average age of offenders who possessed lower education levels (Gr 1 – Gr 6) was 30 years. The offenders who had a higher education level (university degree) had an average age of 28 years. Two offenders, one coloured (24 years) and one black (44 years), had medium education levels.

Table 29 also shows that the most frequent conviction observed in the data set prior to the series was for robbery (4) and rape (4). Burglary (2), assault (2) and other (e.g. theft (2)) were also part of the criminal histories of the offenders. Only two of the offenders had no previous criminal convictions. A cross tabulation between the population group and the criminal history of



the offenders indicated that black offenders had more prolific previous offences of which robbery, rape, assault, and were common. It is therefore possible that when compiling an offender profile of a suspect, once population group is determined, one can make predictions regarding the possible criminal record of the individual being sought, bearing in mind the small sample size. The offences listed in table 29 were the offences for which the offenders were convicted. It therefore does not include cases where the charge was withdrawn or they were found not guilty.

Table 31 highlights the basic biographical information of the offenders obtained from the data set. The table is arranged according to the three population groups represented in the study. The focus of the table is mainly on the offender demographical information pertaining to specifically the population group, average age, occupational categories, education levels, and prevalent criminal histories, as already discussed.

Table 31  
*Offender data set basic information (n=9)*

	<b>Black (6)</b>	<b>Coloured (1)</b>	<b>White (2)</b>
<b>Pop group % for the entire sample</b>	66.6%	11.1%	22.3%
<b>Avg. age (Data set – 30.4)</b>	32.3	*24	28
<b>Occupational category</b>	Labourer	*Unemployed	Professional
<b>Avg. age per occupational category</b>	34	*24	28
<b>Education level</b>	Lower	*Medium	High level
<b>Criminal history</b>	**Rape (3) Robbery(4)	Other (1)	***Attempted murder(1) Rape (1)

\*The data set only consisted of one coloured offender. \*\*One of the black offenders had no criminal record. \*\*\*One of the white offenders had no previous criminal record.

## 6.2.2 Discussion

Generating a profile of the offender is a multi-faceted exercise, and can include aspects such as basic biographical information, for example age, occupation, education, and can also include aspects that describe the offender's personality characteristics. The profile may also contain recommendations concerning possible interview techniques that might best be employed with the subject (Ainsworth, 2005:108-109; Girod, 2004:88). The focus of this study was more on static aspects relating to biographical information.

In comparison to the results of the research conducted on serial rape offenders by the FBI (Hazelwood & Warren, 1989a; 1989b) and Stevens (2000; 2001), the current study shows

several similarities and differences. In the seventy-page protocol created by the FBI the average age range of the offenders comprising the US data set was between 23 and 55 years of age (Hazelwood and Warren, 1989a: 15-17). In the study conducted by Stevens the ages ranged from 18 to 52 years, with an average age of 32 years (Stevens, 2000:113). The SA age range for the offenders was 22 – 44 years. The seemingly common youngest age was between 18 and 23. All three studies show that serial rapists can be active until their mid 40's and 50s, a factor that should be taken into account during the sentencing of these offenders. The offender might be sentenced when he is in his twenties and be eligible for parole in his early thirties, he could still be a threat to society.

Hazelwood and Warren (1989a:13) indicated that 54% of their respondents indicated a stable employment, 38% of the offenders stated that their employment was unstable, and eight percent characterised themselves as 'chronically unemployed'. The types of employment held by the offenders in their study ranged from unskilled jobs (labourers) to white-collar occupations (business managers). According the research conducted by Stevens (2000:113) 62% of the offenders had 'menial' jobs, 11% had white-collar jobs, and 27% were unemployed. In comparison to the current findings the occupational of the offenders is very similar across all three of the studies. A large percentage of the offenders (56%) in the current study were employed as labourers or in unskilled positions. A smaller percentage (22%), were unemployed and 22% were employed in a professional capacity.

In the Hazelwood and Warren (1989a:14) research, the education level of the offenders ranged from five to seventeen years of formal education, with an average of 11.3 years. Twenty-five of the respondents (61%) obtained a high school diploma and nine (22%) held either a bachelor's or associate degree. Stevens (2000:111) found that the offenders possessed an average education level equivalent to the eighth grade, prior to their convictions. In comparison with the South African data set, 55% offenders possessed a lower education, while 22% of the offenders had tertiary level education. Therefore, in general, it would appear that South African serial rape offenders are less educated than their US counterparts.

In the research conducted by Stevens (2000:113), five percent of the offenders were convicted for homicide, five percent for armed robbery, twenty-eight percent for assault, twenty-eight percent for sexual assault, seventeen percent for parole violations, ten percent for larceny, and seven percent for drugs and alcohol. The arrest history of the offenders in the FBI research

ranged from a variety of property offences, nuisance sexual offences (peeping tom, voyeurism), and other sexual assaults (Hazelwood and Warren, 1989a: 15-16). In comparison to the current data set, the results differ slightly, but the variance can possibly be attributed to the smaller sample size.

### **6.3 MODUS OPERANDI**

According to Ainsworth (2005:138-139) modus operandi (MO) can be described as “the way offenders typically commit their crimes”. This includes aspects such as how the offender approaches the intended victim, how the offender selects the victim, and other actions undertaken in the process of successfully committing the crime.

The modus operandi will be broken down into three sub-sections; the approach phase, attack phase, and the sexual behaviour. Although the sexual behaviour occurred during the attack phase it will be explored as a distinct section on its own. The aim is to determine if any predictive characteristics exist in terms of the method of approaching the victims, the verbal interaction during the approach and attack phase, and the verbal interaction during the sexual behaviour. The focus will also be on the location where the attack occurred, how the offender got to the rape location, and how the offender controlled the victim. The amount of violence utilised during the incident and escalation of behaviour across the series will also be examined.

This section will also focus on the possible predictive characteristics that relate directly to victim selection. The first aspects which will be discussed are the offender and victim ages, and a comparison of victim and offender population group. The goal is to determine if any connection exists between the offender and victim age and population group. The aim is to establish if any behavioural consistency exists which could assist in future investigations.

#### **6.3.1 Offender and victim age and population group correlation**

As illustrated in figure 30, in the data set when the average victim age in a series was below 26.8 years, the offenders were on average 11.3 years older than their victims. Once the average victim ages were 32 and above, the suspects were younger than the victims by an average of 12.9 years. The average age of the offenders represented in the data set was 30.4 years.

Figure 30  
The average age of victims per offender in the data set

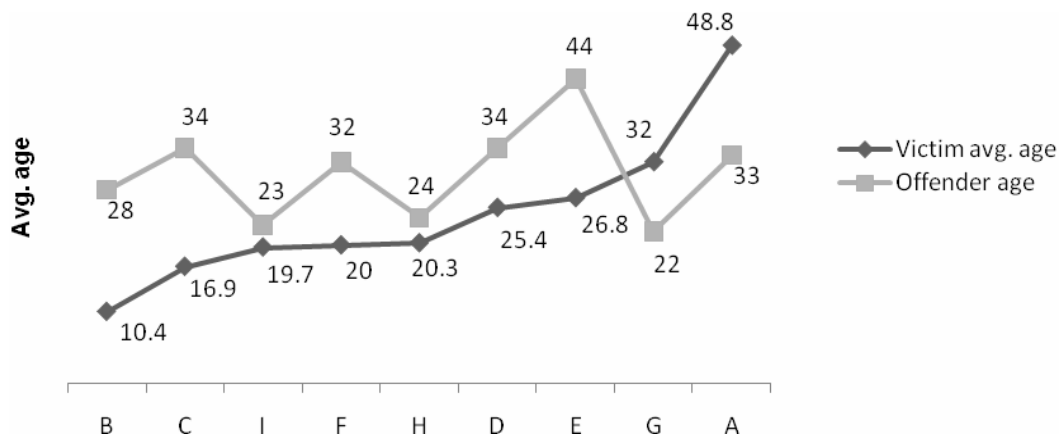


Figure 30 illustrates that in the current data set serial rapists do not often target victims who were in a similar age range as themselves. Offender I and H were the only two offenders who targeted victims who were on average no more than five years younger than them. This could suggest that investigators or individuals compiling a profile could make more accurate predictions of offender age by calculating the average age of the victims.

The average age of the black victims in the data set was 21.6 years, the coloured victims were 19.5 years, and the white victim's average age was 24.1 years. The average age of the black offenders were 30.8 years and the white offenders were on average 28 years old. The data set only consisted of one coloured offender who was 24 years old at the time of his rape series.

An examination of the offender and victim ages and the population groups of the data set illustrated that the average ages of the coloured and black victims were similar, while the white victims tended to be slightly older. A notable feature was that the black offenders were approximately ten years older than the average black victim. The coloured offender was approximately four years older than the coloured victims, and the white offenders were also four years older than the average white victim.

Table 32 indicates the victim population groupings for each individual offender.



Table 32  
*The victim population groupings for each individual offender (n=9)*

Offender	Black	White	Coloured
A (4) – White	2	2	-
B (8) – Black	8	-	-
C (16) – Black	15	1	-
D (17) – Black	17	-	-
E (6) – Black	6	-	-
F (6) – Black	6	-	-
G (3) – Black	3	-	-
H (8) – Coloured	6	-	2
I (7) – White	-	7	-
<b>Total – 75</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>2</b>

As shown by table 32 the data set consisted of three series, a total of nine incidents, where the offender targeted victims outside of his own population group. There is no clear identifiable pattern in terms of the age difference between the victims and offenders in the data set. In five of the nine incidents the offender was older than the victims, and during four of the incidents, the victims were older than the offender.

A cross tabulation between the offender and victim population groups showed that the majority of the incidents were committed within the same population group. Eighty-seven percent of the black victims were ‘attacked’ by a black offender. Ninety percent of the white victims were involved in an incident with a white offender and all of the coloured victims were ‘attacked’ by a coloured offender. The offender’s same race preference was calculated by applying Cohen’s kappa to determine the correlation coefficient. Robson (2002) reports that a kappa in the range of 0.4 to 0.6 is fair, between 0.6 and 0.75 are good, and above 0.75 are excellent. In the current study the kappa, for the same race preference coefficient was calculated as being **0.66**.

Table 32 shows that none of the offenders in the data set solely targeted victims outside of their own population group. In three of the nine series the offenders ‘attacked’ victims outside their own population group. Six (10%) of the black victims (n=63) were raped by a coloured offender and two (3%) by a white offender. One of the white (n=10) victims (10%) was raped by a black offender.

In the Hazelwood and Warren (2001b:451-452) research the white offenders never targeted woman from other population groups in their crimes against women. The black offenders reported that they had raped both black and white women. Compared to the current research, the South African serial rapist appears to be more inclined to target victims from other

population groups, but prefers to stay within his own population group. The only exception was the coloured offender who primarily targeted black victims. Another interpretation for this finding could be that ethnic majority offenders (i.e. whites in the USA and blacks in RSA) tend to target ethnic majority victims, due to the fact that offender preference and victim availability coincide.

These results indicate that those tasked with investigating similar cases should not necessarily use population group as a means to include or exclude cases in a series. This is illustrated by the fact that three of the nine series (33%) in the data set had incidents where victims of different population groups to the offender were also targeted.

### **6.3.2 Modus operandi sub-sections**

In this section, a detailed exploration and description of the phases of offender's modus operandi observed in the data set will be given. The sections are the approach phase, attack phase, and sexual behaviour.

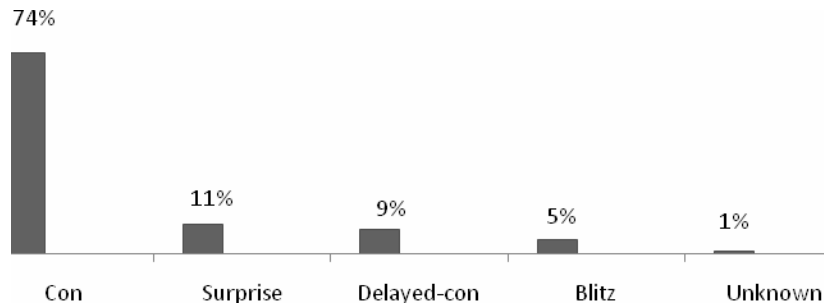
#### **6.3.2.1 Approach phase**

##### **6.3.2.1.1 Method of approaching the victim**

As illustrated in figure 31, the method of approach that was utilised most frequently during the incidents in the data set was the con approach (74%). The con method of approach is illustrated in the following example:

Offender E - the victim was standing outside a store waiting for a friend when the offender approached her. He asked her why she was standing there and she told him she was waiting for someone. The offender asked the victim if she had a job and the victim said no. He told the victim that his manager was looking for a maid and that if she wanted he could take her to his office. The victim agreed and went with the offender to the taxi rank.

*Figure 31*  
Methods of approach utilised by the offender throughout the data set (n = 75)



The delayed-con method of approaching the victim was employed in 9% of the incidents. The delayed-con approach differs from the con approach in that there is an extended period of time, between one and five days, from the initial contact between the victim and offender where the con was initiated, and second contact when the incident occurred. For example:

Offender D - the offender approached the victim on a Tuesday, he told the victim that he had found a job for his sister as a maid with his employer. He and his employer were going away on a fishing trip and his employer wanted someone to stay with his wife. His sister had found another position and now he needed another person to fill the position. He told the victim that his employer never met his sister and she could pretend to be her he would never know the difference. He asked the victim if she wanted the job, and if she could meet him at the same location on Thursday, two days later. The victim went back to the location they had agreed upon two days later (Thursday), and met the offender there. They took a taxi out of the town to the location where she would eventually be raped.

The con and delayed-con approaches were used in 83% (62) of the incidents of the data set. Thirty-eight of these (61%) involved some variation of a story where the offender offered the victims employment. The remaining 24 (39%) incidents involved various stories ranging from asking for directions to asking to use the victim's bathroom. Four offenders (D, E, F, and G), were consistent in terms of the content of their 'con' story. This consisted of an offer of employment, throughout their entire series. Offender H and I were also consistent in terms of the 'con' story they utilised. Offender H asked his victims if he could use their bathrooms to gain access to their homes while offender I asked his victim for directions. Offender C utilised two

distinctly different 'con' stories throughout his series. One version entailed him offering the victims employment, while the other story consisted of him asking the victim to go with him to his girlfriend's house to get a set of keys. Offender A and B also made use of a 'con' story during their individual series. There was no real consistency in terms of the types of stories they utilized. In all of the cases the story was functional allowing the offender the opportunity to lure the victim away.

The findings suggest that when investigators are screening cases to determine whether or not they form part of a series, 'stories' involving some form of employment could be considered as a strong indicator that the case could be part of a series. A starting point would be the use of a con story, as well as evaluating the actual content of each story, in order to distinguish between cases belonging to separate series.

The surprise approach was utilised during eleven percent of the attacks. The surprise method of approach is illustrated in the following example:

Offender B - the victim was playing at a friend's house inside their bungalow when the offender suddenly stepped into the room, closed the door behind him, and threatened the victim with a knife. He instructed the victim to take off her clothes, and proceeded to rape her.

The blitz approach was used during five percent of the incidents. The blitz approach is illustrated in the following example:

Offender C - the victim was on her way home from a party early in the morning. The offender attacked her from behind and dragged her into the bushes where he raped her repeatedly.

An examination of the data set of the individual offenders and the methods of approach utilised showed that three offenders (F, G, and I) solely used a con approach during their series, and one offender (C) used the con approach 94% of the time. Two offenders (A and E) use both a con and a delayed-con approach throughout their series, while offender D utilised a con and delayed con approach 89% of the time. One offender (B) utilised a surprise approach 75% of the time. Only offender H displayed a wide assortment of approach methods across his entire series.



Only three of the offenders (C, D, and H) also used a blitz style of approach during their series. In these three series, the blitz approach made up 6%, 11%, and 13% of the total incidents for offender C, D, and H respectively. During the majority of their series they employed a con or delayed-con approach. The findings confirm the belief that offenders remain relatively consistent throughout their rape series in terms of the methods they utilised to approach their victims. The implication for investigators could be that they can use the methods of approach as an initial screening method when searching for other similar, new or old cases when dealing with such an investigation. Investigators could also utilise such a consistency in distinguishing between two or more serial offenders active in an area. According to the research conducted by Hazelwood and Warren (1989b:12) the surprise method of approach was the most frequently utilised method of approaching the victims. Therefore South African offenders appear to differ significantly from the US sample.

### 6.3.2.1.2 Approach location

The majority of the victims (44%) in the data set were approached while walking alone. For example, offender I approached six of his victims while they were walking home from school. Offender A approached two of his victims while they were walking to work early in the morning. During 28% of the incidents, the offender approached the victim at her own home, 11% of the victims were approached in populated areas in a town. For example, offender F approached one of his victims at a post office. Therefore, walking alone or being home accounted for 72% of the victim-approach locations. This information could be utilised in crime prevention strategies. By identifying areas where individuals are at risk of being exposed to crime, law enforcement agencies can increase police visibility in that specific area. It will also assist in creating a greater public awareness of the potential hazards facing individuals in a specific community. Table 33 shows the approach locations of each individual offender in the data set (nine offenders; 75 total victims).

Table 33  
*Locations where the offender approached the victims (n=75)*

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	%
<b>Taxi ranks</b>	-	-	-	2	3	1	-	-	-	8%
<b>Bus stops</b>	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	3%
<b>Walking alone</b>	2	-	13	8	-	3	-	1	6	44%
<b>Home</b>	-	8	2	-	-	1	2	7	1	28%
<b>Shops</b>	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1%
<b>Populated areas</b>	-	-	-	4	2	1	1	-	-	11%
<b>Other</b>	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	4%

Table 33 indicates that most of the offenders in the data set, except for offender B, had two or more types of locations where they approached their intended victims. In future investigations, utilising the locations where the offender approached the victims should not be the only selection criteria for including or excluding cases when investigating similar cases. Table 35 also illustrates that victims who are alone, either walking alone (44%) or home alone (28%), are potentially at significant risk of becoming victims of a serial rapist. The location where the actual attack took place will be discussed under the attack phase. This research, however, did not specifically examine how geographically close by the different locations of the crime scenes were.

#### **6.3.2.1.3 Verbal interaction**

In order for the offender to gain the victim's trust during the con and delayed-con approach, the offender had to be pleasant, believable, and come across as non-threatening. For example, offender A had been in contact with his fourth victim several days before the actual attack. He persuaded the victim to meet him at his house on a Sunday under the impression that they were going to have a meeting in regards to a business venture.

The con and delayed-con approaches involve the offender in successfully interacting with the victim without arousing any suspicion for a period of time. These two methods of approach are predicated by the offender's ability to communicate with the victim (Hazelwood & Warren, 1990:12).

An examination of the verbal interaction observed in the data set between the offender and the victim during the approach phase showed that during 85% of the incidents the interaction was conversational. This figure is not surprising due to the fact that the con and delayed-con approach was utilised during 83% of the cases.

#### **6.3.2.2 Attack phase**

In this section, aspects pertaining to the actual (physical) attack phase will be discussed in terms of location, verbal interaction, violence, and sexual behaviour.

### 6.3.2.2.1 Location

During 75% of the incidents observed in the data set, the offender approached and acquired the intended victim at one location and led her to another location. For example, offender E approached one of his victims at a taxi rank where she was selling fruit. They took a taxi to the isolated location where he would ultimately rape her. During 25% of the incidents, the offender approached and attacked the victim at the same location. This difference in approach and actual rape location is not unexpected, due to the fact that a con or delayed-con method of approach was utilised. These two methods of approach are based on a con story that included aspects where the victim had to go with the offender to an undisclosed location to meet with a prospective employer. During the incidents, where victims were approached and 'attacked' in the same location, the attacks usually occurred inside the victim's own home. For example, offender H approached seven of his eight victims at their own homes and raped or attempted to rape them on their own beds.

Four of the nine offenders' rape series were committed within a single police station's policing boundary, while five of the series in the data set were committed across multiple station boundaries, thus highlighting the need for cross-station co-operation between various investigation units. The closure of specialised units such as the Family violence, Child protection, and Sexual offences units, which would cover up to 28 station policing areas, has also been a setback in terms of identifying and investigating of serial rape cases. At present individual stations are tasked with the investigation of individual cases that occur only within their station area. This highlights the need for cross-boundary communication and a task-team when dealing with serial rape cases.

The majority of the attacks (74%) in the data set, irrespective of the outcome, took place outside in isolated locations where the offender could be assured that he would be alone with the victim for an extended period of time. During 26% of the attacks, the offender raped the victim in a residential area (next to, or inside, the victims own home). According to the findings of Hazelwood and Warren (2001b:452-453), in 50% of the U.S. cases the incidents occurred at the victim's own residence, this differs significantly from the 26% in this study. The offenders in Hazelwood and Warren's (1989b:23) research indicated that the incidents occurred in the victim's own home 50% of the time. This differs somewhat from the findings of the present study. According to Hazelwood and Warren (1989b:24-25), the majority of the offenders in their

research had been involved in stealing and breaking into homes as children. This experience gave them the confidence in gaining access to the residence while the victim was alone.

Table 34 shows the locations where the incidents of each individual offender in the data set occurred. Six of the offenders (offenders C, D, E, F, G, and H) remained 100% consistent in the choice of their rape locations. One offender, A, was split evenly (50%) in his choice of locations, while offenders B and I were consistent during 75% and 86% of their incidents respectively, in their choice of locations. Offender A and I were both white offenders. White and coloured offenders seemed to have a preference for committing their crimes inside homes or cars, while black offenders tended to commit their crimes outside. The offenders who attacked their victims outside remained consistent in terms of the choice of their locations during the duration of their series. The offenders who chose to attack their victims inside also remained relatively consistent in terms of their preference for attacking victims inside. This could act as preliminary screening criteria when examining new and old cases.

Table 34  
*Incident location of the entire offender data set (n=9)*

	Inside	Outside	Car
<b>A (4) – White</b>	50%	-	50%
<b>B (8) – Black</b>	75%	25%	-
<b>C (16) – Black</b>	-	100%	-
<b>D (17) – Black</b>	-	100%	-
<b>E (6) – Black</b>	-	100%	-
<b>F (6) – Black</b>	-	100%	-
<b>G (3) – Black</b>	-	100%	-
<b>H (8) – Coloured</b>	90%	10%	-
<b>I (7) – White</b>	-	14%	86%

The high level of consistency observed in the data set in the choice of location correlates with the findings of LeBeau (1993:130-131). He indicated that rapists repeatedly utilised the same geographic and ecological space when committing their crimes. The choice of crime location evolved out of four distinct factors; spatial knowledge, time, distance, and type of area. Canter and Larkin (1993:64) state that the security offered by a location with which the offender is familiar with will greatly influence his decision-making process in terms of his choice of location for committing his crimes. This high level of consistency regarding the choice of rape location could also be significant for future investigations when the investigator is linking cases within a specific series as well as pro-active policing actions such as surveillance.

In 52% of the incidents in the data set, the offender walked to the attack location (for example the incidents which occurred at the victim's home or the incidents where the offender happened upon the victim) or the offender and the victim walked to the intended rape location. During 31% of the incidents, the offender and the victims utilised public transportation, for example busses and taxis, then walked the remaining distance to the attack location. During 17% of the incidents, the offender made use of his own vehicle to transport the victim to the intended rape location. The majority of the incidents where the offender utilised his own vehicle occurred in two rape series (A and I) the two white offenders, and they exclusively made use of a vehicle in each incident. This can be viewed as another screening criterion investigators can take into account when examining cases for linkage purposes.

Table 35 shows the methods of transportation utilised by the offender to get to the intended location.

Table 35  
*Methods of transportation utilised by the offender throughout the data set (n=75)*

Offender	Walked	Walked + Public transportation	Vehicle
A- White	-	-	4 (Own)
B- Black	8	-	-
C- Black	5	10	1
D- Black	10	6	1
E- Black	-	6	-
F- Black	5	1	-
G-Black	3	-	-
H- Coloured	8	-	-
I - White	-	-	7 (Own)
<b>Total percentage</b>	52%	31%	17%

A vehicle of some sort (private or public transport) was used during six of the rape series utilised in the data set. In two of these, the offenders utilised their own private vehicles. During these two series, the vehicle was the only method of transport utilised, and the two offenders were also the professionally employed white offenders. It seems, therefore, that when a vehicle is utilised, it is constantly used, and therefore an important indicator for investigators when comparing cases. The use of a private vehicle also seems to be correlated with race and occupational category. However, specific mention should be made that it was the offender's own private vehicle or it could be a company vehicle. In either case stable employment is implied. Hazelwood and Warren (1989b:16) found that 62% of their respondents used their own vehicle during the incidents, compared to 17% in this study.

### 6.3.2.2.2 Verbal interaction during the attack phase and sexual contact

Throughout the data set, once the offender and the victim arrived at the specific location, there was a discernible mood change in the offender from the approach phase. During the majority of the incidents, the verbal interaction between the offender and the victim became threatening and aggressive. For example, offender C threatened to stab his victims with a knife if they attempted to scream or did not do what he instructed. Offender I told one of his victims “you have a choice, either do what I say or I am going to break your fingers.” During most of the series, the overall ‘tone’ of the offenders during the **attack phase** was consistent, for example aggressive or threatening.

Table 36 shows the various verbal interaction styles for each offender in the data set during the attack phase (n=72). It is important to note that the attack phase verbal interaction excludes the incidents where the offender was caught with his victim on their way to the rape location. The murder victim, as well as one unsuccessful incident where the victim screamed when she saw the offender and he jumped out the window is also not included.

Table 36  
*Verbal interaction during the **attack phase** (n=72)*

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
<b>Threatening</b>	1	7	6	10	4	3	1	2	5
<b>Aggressive</b>	1	-	9	7	2	3	2	4	2
<b>Complimentary</b>	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Conversational</b>	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Demeaning</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-

The verbal interaction between the victims and the offender during the **sexual contact** (64 rapes, including the three sexual assaults excluding the murder victim) was diverse. During 42% of the 67 incidents the offender gave the victims explicit instructions with regards to how he wanted the sexual contact to be scripted. For example, offender D gave his victims specific instructions “hold me like you would your boyfriend”, offender F told one of his victims to “lift up your legs and pull them back”. The interaction was aggressive during 28% out of 67 of the incidents and demeaning during 10% of the incidents. For example offender H told one of his victims, “shut up bitch or I am going to kill you” he also said “suck me bitch”. During 16% of the incidents the offender was threatening towards the victims. For example offender I told one of his victims he would break her fingers one at a time if she did not do what he told her to do.

Only one offender was complimentary to one of his victims during one of the incidents in the data set. Offender A complimented one of victims during the sexual contact. For example, with his fourth victim he told her she was very successful businesswoman, and he respected her because she was so “strong.” The verbal interaction between the offender and the murder victim was unknown.

#### **6.3.2.2.3 Violence utilised and methods of control**

Various methods of control were utilised by the offenders in the data set during their series (n=75). In the majority of the cases, the offender employed multiple methods to ensure victim compliance. In 52% of the incidents, the offender only employed verbal threats to ensure victim compliance. For example, offender I told his victim that he was going to break her fingers one at a time if she didn’t do what he said. However, he never resorted to physical violence. Offender A told his last victim not to play games or “this is going to get violent”. Physical violence was utilised during 31% of the incidents.

In the majority of the series in the data set where the offender did employ physical violence as the primary method of control, the levels of violence were instrumental. There were two instances where the physical violence was more expressive. For example offender A physically assaulted his first victim, hitting her in the face and throttling her. He then proceeded to drag her out of the car where he hit and kicked her repeatedly until she was unconscious and left her naked in the road. Only one of the rape victims was murdered. Offender H stuffed cotton wool laced with chemicals down the victim’s throat and taped her mouth shut, which resulted in her death.

During 8% of the incidents, verbal threats and the presence of a weapon were utilised in order to ensure victim compliance. For example, offender G told his victims that if they did not do what he said he was going to stab them with a knife, which he showed the victim. During 6% of the incidents, the mere presence of a weapon was enough to ensure victim compliance. The series in the data set also had two incidents (3%) where no method of control or physical violence was observed. During one of these two incidents, the offender was scared off when the victim screamed. During the other incident, the offender was caught with his victim before anything could happen. None of the offenders in the data set tied any of the victims up prior to actually attacking them. Only one offender (H) tied his victims up after the incidents, he used electrical

cord or tape to tie their hands and feet and then proceeded to force them into a closet, apparently to facilitate his successful escape.

Table 37 illustrates the primary methods of control utilised during the series.

Table 37  
*Method of controlling the victims during the attack phase (n=75)*

	Frequency	Percent
Verbal threats	39	52%
Presence of weapon	5	6%
Verbal threats + presence of weapon	6	8%
*Physical violence	23	31%
N/A	2	3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100%</b>

\*Includes murder victim

Two of the offenders in the data set did not resort to any form of physical violence. They only relied on verbal threats to ensure victim compliance. The other seven offenders utilised a variety of methods to ensure victim compliance including physical violence. The instances where physical violence was utilised were spread across the series of seven of the offenders. Thus, there was no discernable pattern of violence either increasing or decreasing across the series in the data set. For example, offender A's first rape incident was characterised by expressive levels of violence. However, during the rest of his series he resorted to verbal threats to ensure victim compliance. Offender G's series was characterised by the immediate use of high expressive levels of violence, which continued and escalated across the rape series. Offender F illustrated a level of escalation from the first incident (attempted rape), which continued throughout his series. By contrast, offender D's series, was characterised by the fact that the level of violence exhibited during his series was directly related to the amount of resistance he encountered from the victims.

As mentioned two of the offenders (A and D) exhibited expressive types of physical violence during their individual series. Three of the offenders (C, E, and H) only exhibited instrumental types of violence throughout their series. Only two of the offenders (F and G) exhibited both instrumental and expressive types of physical violence. An escalation in the levels of violence was only observed during three series (offenders D; F; and G) in the data set.

Instrumental aggression and behaviours relate directly to the offender attempting to gain or obtain what he set out to achieve with the crime. The victim is merely a 'vehicle' through which he can gratify some need (Fromm, 1973:280-283; Salfati and Bateman, 2005:6). Expressive



behaviour is aimed at physically harming the victim. This type of behaviour is often provoked through some form of emotional or interpersonal response. It often appears unprovoked, and occurs irrespective of victim compliance.

The majority of the incidents in the data set were characterised by instrumental types of physical violence in the beginning of the incident. However, during some of the incidents the levels of violence progressed to extreme levels of physical violence. These levels of violence were much more than needed to ensure victim compliance. There is no clear distinction for this type of violence where instrumental aggression escalates and changes into expressive aggression. Further research into this aspect is recommended.

Table 38 shows the types of physical violence (instrumental and expressive) exhibited by the individual offenders.

Table 38  
*Types of physical violence exhibited by the offenders (n = 23)*

Offender	Type of physical violence	
	Instrumental	Expressive
<b>A</b>	-	1
<b>B</b>	-	-
<b>C</b>	6	-
<b>D</b>	-	3
<b>E</b>	3	-
<b>F</b>	3	1
<b>G</b>	1	2
<b>H</b>	3	-
<b>I</b>	-	-
<b>Total</b>	16	7

What is surprising is that the majority of the physical violence incidents in the data set occurred during incidents where initially the victims were approached with a 'con' story. Two of the violent incidents did occur during blitz attacks. The immediate and injurious use of force is usually associated with the blitz method of approach, while the con method of approach is usually characterised by the offender utilising a trick or ruse and less violence (Hazelwood & Burgess, 2001:118-119).

Determining the type and levels of violence that occurred during an incident can be useful as an investigative link. Consistencies that occur in terms of the violent reaction to any form of victim resistance by the offender can be used in determining a common behavioural link in similar cases.

### 6.3.2.2.4 Time of incidents and forensic precautions

Table 39 illustrates the time of day when all the incidents occurred in the data set, including the attempted rape incidents and the unsuccessful incidents. The majority of the incidents (92%) occurred during the day, and only 8% of the incidents occurred at night.

Table 39

*Time of day during which the attacks occurred throughout the data set (n=75)*

Offender	Time of day	
	Day	Night
<b>A</b>	3	1
<b>B</b>	8	-
<b>C</b>	14	2
<b>D</b>	17	-
<b>E</b>	6	-
<b>F</b>	4	2
<b>G</b>	3	-
<b>H</b>	7	1
<b>I</b>	7	-
<b>Total</b>	69	6

Five of the offenders (B, D, E, G, and I) in the data set were consistent in only attacking their victims during the day. Four of the offenders (A, C, F, and H) attacked some of their victims during the night. This occurred in less than a third of their incidents in the data set. During the four series where some of the incidents occurred at night, the night time incidents made up 25%, 13%, 33.3%, and 13% of their series respectively. During three of these four series, the night-time attacks occurred during the beginning of the series. This could relate to a lack of confidence on the part of the offender, that he felt more at ease under the cover of darkness, and later moved to daytime attacks as he felt more and more confident, or needed more excitement due to the increased risk associated with daytime incidents.

None of the offenders in the data set took any precautions in an attempt to hide their identity from the victims. Only one offender used a condom once during his entire series. None of the offenders wore gloves and many of the offenders returned to the same area to commit future rapes. This could indicate a lack of concern regarding detection from the authorities because of arrogance or the offender not having faith in the abilities of the police. It could also indicate a lack of forensic and investigative knowledge. The reluctance to take any precautionary steps could also be due to traditional beliefs. One of the offenders told one of his victims that he had powerful 'magic' protecting him from the police. This magic known as 'muti' is often used by criminals in South Africa to aid them in the commission of crimes and avoid detection (Labuschagne, 2004). Davies, Wittebrood, and Jackson (1998) indicated that offenders with

previous criminal convictions are more likely to attempt to conceal their identity. For example semen destruction and fingerprint precautions, in an attempt to evade detection, yet this is not so in this study, as eight were known to have had criminal records prior to the start of the series.

### 6.3.2.2.5 Series length and victim frequency

The data set revealed that the highest number of victims per offender was 17 and the lowest number of victims per series was three. The average number of victims per offender was 8.3 victims.

Table 40  
*Series length observed in the data set (n=9)*

<b>Offender</b>	<b>Series length</b>
<b>A</b>	*14 months
<b>B</b>	9 Months
<b>C</b>	13 Months
<b>D</b>	12 Months
<b>E</b>	4 Months
<b>F</b>	8 Months
<b>G</b>	2 Months
<b>H</b>	4 Months
<b>I</b>	8 Months
<b>Average</b>	8.2 Months

\* Offender A's series was calculated a 14 months due to the eight year inactive period between the first and the second rapes. He committed the majority of his rapes across a fourteen- month time span.

Table 40 shows series lengths recorded in the data set per offender. The average length of the series in the data set was 8.2 months. The longest time span for a series was eleven years. During this time there was an eight-year period of 'inactivity' between the first and second rapes, and the majority of the rapes were committed across a fourteen-month period. The shortest series spanned two months.

The majority of the offenders (6) in the data set showed an increase in victim frequency during the latter part of the series. Offender H had a high victim frequency in the beginning of his series, which levelled off as the series progressed. Offenders A and B had no discernable change in their victim frequency. This general increase in the frequency of incidents highlights the need for speedy identification of a series and offender apprehension.

### 6.3.2.3 Sexual behaviour

Table 41 shows the various sexual behaviours exhibited by the offenders in the data set. The total number of acts exceeded the total number of victims. Offenders often engaged in multiple

sexual acts with a single victim. The sexual behaviour most prevalent during the incidents in the data set was vaginal penile penetration, which occurred 80 times. Forced oral sex (victim on offender), anal penetration, and digit insertion also occurred. All of these actions would be classified as rape in this study, which is consistent with the new sexual offences act (Criminal Law - Sexual offences and related matters Amendment Act, no 32, 2007). The remaining behaviours such as vaginal fondling with no penetration were grouped under sexual assault, which is also consistent with the new sexual offences act.

Table 41

*Summary of the total number sexual behaviour exhibited by the offenders (n=67)*

Offender / nr Victims	Sexual assault	Digit insertion	Oral sex	Anal penetration	Vaginal penetration
A - 4	1	1	1	-	4
B - 7	3	-	-	1	4
C - 13	-	-	-	-	13
D - 17	-	1	1	-	32
E - 6	-	-	-	-	7
F - 5	-	-	-	-	6
G - 3	-	-	-	1	4
H - 7	-	-	4	1	7
I - 5	6	2	3	-	3
<b>Total</b>	10	4	9	3	80

During several incidents, multiple sexual behaviours were exhibited by the offenders in the data set. For example, offender D vaginally penetrated (penile) several of his victims multiple times. He also ordered his victims to perform oral sex on him, and he would resort to digit insertion when he was unable to penetrate (penile) his victim successfully.

Five of the offenders (penile) vaginally raped one or more of their victims multiple times during a single incident. Only one of the offenders, (B), raped one victim twice, one vaginal penetration and one anal penetration, during two different incidents. Multiple penile vaginal rapes per incident were not a characteristic of the data set. Only one of the five offenders, (D), had several multiple same victim penile vaginal rapes during his series. He vaginally raped 49% of his victims multiple times and one victim was raped five times during a single incident.

The majority of the offenders in the data set were consistent in terms of the type of sexual behaviour exhibited throughout their series. They also engaged in some other form of sexual behaviour at least once during one of their incidents. Only two of the offenders, engaged in multiple sexual behaviour in more than half of the incidents (offenders H and I).

Hazelwood and Warren (1990:14) found that the sexual acts the victims were forced to perform remained relatively consistent across the series. This was also observed in the current data set. The most common acts were penile vaginal intercourse, oral sex, digit insertion and anal penetration.

#### **6.3.2.3.1 Frequency of sexual activities**

An increase in frequency of sexual activities can occur in two manners: (i) either an offender can have more victims, but the number of sexual activities per incident remains the same, (ii) or the offender can remain constant, or even attack fewer victims as the series progresses but increase the number of sexual activities with each victim.

An overview of the frequency of sexual activities throughout the entire data set revealed that three of the offenders (D, E, and I) had a high frequency of sexual activities during the beginning of their rape series, but low victim frequency. They showed an increase in the victim frequency at the end of their series with a marked decrease in sexual activities. The three offenders thus substituted numerous sexual acts with a single victim at the beginning of the series, with less sexual acts with more victims at the end of the series.

Offender H illustrated a high sexual activity frequency along with a high victim frequency during the beginning of his series, but showed a marked decrease in both sexual activity and victim frequency at the end of his series.

Two offenders (F and G) showed an increase in sexual activity frequency during the latter part of their series as well as a victim frequency increase. This is indicative of an increase in sexual 'appetite'. One offender (A) also showed an increase in his sexual activity frequency at the end of his series. However, he showed no victim frequency increase during his series. Offender C showed a marked increase in his victim frequency during the latter part of his series, while offender B showed no victim frequency increase.

Table 42 shows the relationship between victim frequency and sexual activity frequency presented in the data set. It illustrates that the offenders had either an increase in victims (6 of the 9 series) at the end of the series or a high frequency of sexual activities per victim (4 of the 9 series) at the beginning of the series.

Table 42

*Cross-tabulation between frequency increase of victim and sexual activity across the data set*

<b>Offender</b>	<b>Victim frequency increase</b>	<b>Sexual activity frequency increase</b>
<b>A</b>	None	End series
<b>B</b>	None	None
<b>C</b>	End series	None
<b>D</b>	End series	Beginning series
<b>E</b>	End series	Beginning series
<b>F</b>	End series	End series
<b>G</b>	End series	End series
<b>H</b>	Beginning series	Beginning series
<b>I</b>	End series	Beginning series

Table 42 shows that there is no real correlation between the increase of victim frequency and the increase of sexual activity.

## **6.4 GENERAL PROFILE CONSTRUCTION**

### **6.4.1 General victim profile**

In general, black females aged between 11 and 25 years were the victims targeted most frequently by a serial rapist in the data set. A total of 23% of the victims were older than 26 years and 3% were younger than 11 years. Coloured and white females were also targeted, but not as frequently. Most of the victims in the data set were students (45%) or unemployed (40%). Seven percent of the victims were domestic workers at the time of the incidents. The majority of the victims (85%) in the data set were strangers to the offender, while 13% knew their attacker. Typically the victims were younger than their attackers.

### **6.4.2 Offender profile(s)**

Due to the low number of offenders (9) and the diverse nature of the offender data set, compiling a general offender profile would be subject to criticism. To that extent, a basic overview of the offenders in terms of the population representation in the data set will be given.

The average age of the black offenders (6) in the data set was 32.3 years. The offenders were generally employed as labourers at the time of the incidents and possessed low levels of education. The criminal records of the offenders consisted mostly of previous convictions for robbery and rape. The data set only consisted of one coloured offender who was 24 at the time of the first incident. He was unemployed and obtained a medium education level. He had a

previous criminal conviction for theft. The average age of the two white offenders was 28 years. They were employed in a professional capacity and possessed high levels of education. One of the white offenders had previous convictions for rape and attempted murder.

The offenders in the data set mostly targeted victims within their own population groups, but in three of the nine series, the offenders did attack victims outside their own population groups. Black offenders had the highest incidence of targeting victims outside their own population group. The victims in general were younger than the offenders by an average of 11.3 years in the data set. There were two series where the offenders were younger than their victims by an average of 12.9 years. The average number of victims per series was 8.3, the lowest victim total in a series was three and the highest victim total was seventeen.

### **6.4.3 Modus operandi**

#### **6.4.3.1 Method of approach**

The most frequently utilised method of approach (74%) in the data set was the con method of approach. In most of the cases, the offender utilised an elaborate story that consisted mostly of an offer for work or some variation thereof, in order to gain the victim's trust. The delayed-con approach was also utilised. During this approach the offender also used an elaborate story to gain the victim's trust but the pick-up phase was extended over a period of time ranging from one to four days. The offender arranged with the victim to meet her at a specific location later at a specific time and place. The offenders in the data set remained consistent throughout their rape series in terms of where they approached the intended victims (44% walking alone and 28% home alone).

#### **6.4.3.2 Location**

During 85% of the incidents in the data set, the offenders approached their intended victims at one location, and raped or sexually assaulted them in another location. In most of the cases (74%) in the data set, the attacks took place outside in pre-selected isolated areas. The black offenders in the data set illustrated a higher tendency for committing their crimes outside in open isolated areas. Whereas white and coloured offenders, displayed a preference for committing their crimes inside (homes or vehicles). The offender and the victim would in most cases make use of public transport, then walk to the actual rape location. In some instances they simply walked from the location where the offender approached the victim to the actual

rape location. In the data set it was evident that when transport was utilised it was usually public transport systems. The offenders also remained constant in terms of the methods of transportation utilised to get to the actual rape locations. White offenders primarily utilised their own vehicles during their incidents. Black and coloured offenders mostly utilised public transportation or walked to the locations.

The offenders in the data set did exhibit some degree of prior knowledge of the areas in terms of the selection of the isolated locations. The choice of locations where the ‘attacks’ occurred remained consistent. Five of the offenders repeatedly returned to the same location to commit the rapes. During one series, the offender was caught with a young girl walking to the area where he raped his previous victims. Another offender was also caught with one of his victims by pedestrians passing by. Four of the nine offenders committed the rapes within a single police station policing boundary, while five of the offenders committed their rapes across multiple police station policing boundaries. The offenders in the data set whose series crossed multiple police station boundaries were also the offenders who either utilised their own vehicles (two white offenders) or primarily made use of public transportation systems during their series. These offenders were also the offenders whose series length was eight months or longer (offender A – 14 months; offender C – 13 months; and offender I – 8 months). In the majority of the cases (92%) in the data set, the incidents occurred during the day. The incidents occurred at night during eight percent of the cases.

#### **6.4.3.3 Methods of control and levels of violence**

An examination of the methods of control and levels of violence in the data set revealed that once the victim and the offender were at the intended location, there was a discernible change in the offender’s mood, and the verbal interaction became aggressive and threatening. In order to ensure victim compliance the offender utilised various methods. For example, verbal threats involving a weapon, combined with physical violence such as slapping the victim. In some of the cases in the data set, the offender also resorted to physical violence combined with verbal threats to ensure victim compliance. The level of violence and aggression exerted by the offender are in many respects linked to the victim resistance. During the majority of the incidents observed in the data set where physical violence was utilised, it was found to be instrumental. Four of the seven offenders demonstrated expressive levels of physical violence during some point in their series.



#### 6.4.3.4 Sexual behaviour

The offenders in the data set were consistent throughout their series in terms of the sexual behaviour exhibited during any sexual contact (rape and sexual assault). The most prevalent sexual behaviour exhibited by the offenders consisted of vaginal penile penetration. There were isolated instances where the offender instructed the victims to perform oral sex on him and digit insertion also occurred. In some of the series, multiple rapes occurred during a single incident. Vaginal ejaculation also occurred in just over half (45) of the incidents. Only one of the offenders in the data set used a condom during one of the incidents. The verbal interaction between the offender and the victims during the sexual contacts observed in the data set was mostly aggressive and specifically instructional in terms of what he wanted her to do and how he wanted her to act. Most offenders in the data set showed an increased sexual appetite by either increasing the frequency of attacks on victims as the series progressed (6 of the 9); or an increase in the number of sexual activities per victim as the series progressed (3 of the 9 series). Only two offenders showed an increase of both victim and activities as their series progressed.

## 6.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, an integrated analysis was conducted of the nine case studies that consisted of seventy-five victims. The goal was to compile an initial general behavioural profile of the South African serial rapist. The focus of the analysis was on the victim and offender demographics, as well as the general *modus operandi* of the offenders. The aim of the integrated analysis was to determine whether the serial rapists in the data set exhibited a measure of consistency in terms of the general behavioural patterns exhibited throughout the series. The integration suggests that the serial rapist does exhibit general, identifiable behavioural patterns which can be utilised to compile a basic profile.