



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA  
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YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

# **AN EXPLORATORY ANALYSIS OF SERIAL RAPE IN SOUTH AFRICA**

**by**

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All that is necessary for the triumph of evil  
is that good men do nothing  
- **Edmund Burke**



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**DEGREE:** **DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

## **ABSTRACT**

This study is the first of its kind to explore the phenomenon of serial rape from a behavioural profiling perspective within the South African context. The dearth of scientific research on serial rape in South Africa has impacted negatively on the recognition and investigation of such cases.

The data set for the study consisted of police dockets, victim statements, court transcripts, detectives' reports, and correctional services reports on nine serial rapists who assaulted and/or raped a total of seventy five victims. A behavioural profiling framework that was developed from existing literature was used to systematically analyse the victim and offender data using both qualitative and quantitative data analysis techniques.

Initial victim and offender profiles were constructed using key elements such as age, population group, modus operandi, and sexual behaviour of the offenders. The initial results showed that the South African serial rapists typically exhibit the same behavioural elements reported in international literature with respect to aspects such as the methods of approach utilised, average age of the victims, ages of the offenders, offender – victim relationship, and sexual acts. However, the research also illustrated that South African serial rapists also displayed some behavioural aspects that have not been reported in international literature. In particular, South African serial rapists approach and attack their victims at two different locations. The research also showed that South African serial rapists are more willing to target victims outside their own populations groups. Young children also appear to be targeted more frequently by the South African serial rapists. The South African offenders also employed a new method of approaching the intended victim (i.e. the delayed-con approach).



The results are discussed in terms of the extent to which the behavioural patterns, similarities and differences with observations made in international literature, and current police practices with respect to the investigation of serial rape in South Africa could be utilised to enhance investigative processes. Also, specific areas in need of further examination are identified, as are strategies that could assist in decreasing the occurrence of 'linkage blindness' in serial rape investigations in South Africa.

### **KEY TERMS**

Serial rape, behavioural profiling, descriptive-exploratory, qualitative, quantitative, case study research, linkage blindness, document study, serial rapist typology, behavioural profiling framework.

## 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.

## CHAPTER 3

# BEHAVIOURAL PROFILING

It is generally believed that “profiling” originated in the 1970’s with the work of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). In reality, profiling has been used for much longer. Profiling occurs in all human interactions, individuals tend to assess the behaviour of others automatically during their daily encounters. It is a natural social process to wonder about the personality, character, and even intentions of another (Palermo & Kocsis, 2005:10). Turvey (2003:2), indicates that one of the first published criminal profiling texts appeared in 1486, *The Malleus Maleficarum (The Witches’ Hammer)*, a professional manual for witch hunters. It served as a guide for those engaged in the Spanish inquisition to assist in the identification, prosecution, and punishment of witches.

The attempt to derive a hypothesis about the personality characteristics of individuals committing criminal acts, based on the analysis of a crime scene, victim information, and other relevant sources of information has commonly been referred to as *criminal profiling* (Bartol, 2002:237; Turvey, 2003:1). Professionals engaged in the investigation of criminal behaviour include behavioural scientists, social scientists, and forensic scientists. However, there is still some confusion as to the use of the term “profile.” Various agencies use the term to describe different activities, and to compound the problem, an image of the “profiler” has been created by popular media that has influenced even academic ideas as to what profiling consists of (Labuschagne, 2003:67). Criminal profiling has been referred to, among other less common terms, as *behavioural profiling*, *crime scene profiling*, *criminal personality profiling*, *offender profiling*, *psychological profiling*, and most recently *criminal investigative analysis* (Palermo & Kocsis, 2005:viii; Turvey, 2003:1). Due to the lack of uniformity in the use of the terms, as well as the interchangeable and inconsistent application, for the purpose of the chapter, and the research, the term *behavioural profiling* will be used, as defined in Chapter 1.

In the following sections, a more in-depth description and explanation will be given of behavioural profiling, as well as the relevant concepts and aspects associated with the process. Various strategies of investigation will also be explored along with the application of these strategies to crime investigation, specifically serial rape investigation.

### 3.1 OVERVIEW OF THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF PROFILING

According to Douglas *et al.*, (1992:21-22), profiling can be viewed as a form of retro-classification, or reverse engineering, a process of classification, which works backwards. It can be seen as an informed attempt at providing detailed information regarding a certain type of criminal, as well as a sketch of behavioural patterns and tendencies exhibited by the offender. According to Kocsis, Cooksey, and Irwin (2002:144), criminal psychological profiling can be described as a technique used during an investigation whereby crime behaviours are analysed for identifying possible distinct offender characteristics.

Holmes and Holmes (1998:179-182), indicate that there are certain assumptions present in the profiling process:

- 1) *Crime scene reflects personality*: A basic assumption of psychological profiling is that the crime scene reflects the personality of the offender. Therefore, through an assessment of the scene, the type of personality of the offender can be predicted, hence narrowing the scope of investigation to certain types of people.
- 2) *The offender's personality will not change*: many personality experts are in agreement that the core of the individual's personality is "fixed" by the time he reaches his teenage years, and fundamentally it remains the same over time. The "criminal" personality will also not change radically, but there might be alterations due to time, circumstances, and other activities.
- 3) *Signature will remain the same*: the *signature* of a perpetrator is the unique manner in which the offender commits the crime. For example, certain phrases a rapist uses with the victims or a specific manner in which the offender leaves something or takes something from the scene. There is some confusion as to the difference, if any, between the signature and the method of operation. The *signature* is the unique mannerisms present during the crime, while the *method of operation* refers to the manner in which the offender commits the crime.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The signature aspect will be explained in more detailed later in the section.

Holmes and Holmes (2002b:7-9), state that the aim of any behavioural profile is threefold:

- 1) To provide law enforcement agencies with a psychological and social assessment of the offender. This would include basic information, such as the core variables of the offender's personality structure, population group, age range, employment, etc.
- 2) To provide the criminal justice system with a psychological evaluation of the possessions found on the offender. This aspect is of great importance, because in most cases, the profile will point to a specific offender, and it will also refer to objects in his possession, such as photographs, souvenirs, and pornography.
- 3) To provide interviewing suggestions and strategies once an offender has been apprehended who "fits" the profile constructed.

### **3.1.1 General terms and definitions of profiling**

According to Egger (1999:243-244), the general premise of profiling, is that an accurate analysis, as well as an interpretation of the crime scene and other locations related to the crime, could indicate the type of individual who committed the crime. Due to the fact that certain personality types display similar behavioural patterns, the development of knowledge and understanding of the behaviour patterns can lead investigators to potential suspects.

Hickey (2002:311-312) offers several types of profiling, and definitions for each, with a distinct use and method of profiling. *Offender profiling* is the process of collecting data from case studies and anecdotal information, and then transforming the data into descriptions of types of individuals who are most commonly associated with a certain type of criminal activity. He also argues that, due to the multiple problems posed by the tracking of serial offenders, psychological profiling is used in order to prioritize a variety of homicides and other serious crimes. According to Labuschagne (2003:67), offender profiling can be defined as the process by which the investigator is assisted in determining the most probable type of individual to have committed a specific crime. This would involve assessing the crime scene, attending the post-mortem examination, and analysing all available material, such as police dockets, photographs, and forensic reports. All the information gathered is then compared against available research and experience. A hypothesis is then formulated as to the "type" of suspect. The aim of the verbal or written report is to aid the investigation in focussing on the most likely suspect.

*Psychological profiling*, or criminal personality assessment, consists of a psychological assessment of the crime scene, in order to produce a profile. The investigators in this way, pieces together the behavioural and physical characteristics of the crime scene (Hickey, 2006:95). The aim is to identify and interpret certain items of evidence found at the crime scene that are indicative of the personality type of the individual or individuals committing the crime (Hickey, 2002:314). According to Kocsis (2003:126), *criminal psychological profiling* can be viewed as the technique of analysing behaviour patterns in crimes, or series of crimes, in order to construct a descriptive template of the probable offender. According to Egger (1999:243), psychological profiling is an attempt at providing investigators with more information on an offender who is yet to be identified. The purpose of profiling is to develop a behavioural composite, combining social and psychological assessments of the offender.

The two types of profiling presented by Hickey (2002; 2006), employ different types of assessment techniques (behavioural assessment and psychological assessment), in order to construct a profile of the unknown offender. The goals of both processes are ultimately similar, in that it attempts to provide direction to the investigation in terms of the unknown offender.

Davis (1999:292) argues that *criminal personality profiling* is the science of reconstructing a picture or “portrait” of the type of crime, as well as of the individual involved, through the examination of the evidence and information acquired during the examination of the crime scene. According to Cook and Hinman (1999:231) criminal personality profiling is a technique used in identifying the personality, as well as the behavioural and demographical characteristics of offenders, based on an analysis of the crimes they have committed. The focus of the analysis is the behaviour of the individual or individuals on the crime scene.

Despite the various definitions and opinions about profiling, criminal personality profiling, psychological profiling, offender profiling, or criminal personality assessment, there are several basic underlying principles evident in all the definitions. The basic foundation of all the definitions is inferring behavioural patterns and personality characteristics from an analysis of the crime scene. The psychological and behavioural assessment is derived from analysing all the available data, including the crime scene, post-mortem report, relevant case dockets, and victim information. A behavioural composite is constructed and a picture of the crime, as well as the offender characteristics is given in order to supply more information about the unidentified offender.

In terms of the basic underlying principles, the *behavioural profiling* process shares several of the tenets. Behavioural profiling is a process by which the behavioural evidence, (observable behaviour, crime scene characteristics, verbal, sexual and physical behaviour, physical evidence, and victimology), is analysed and utilised to construct a behavioural profile of the offender. The aim of the behavioural profile is to construct a behavioural composite or template, and to identify the behavioural salience of the unidentified offender. Establishing the modus operandi, motivation, and signature of the offender can only be successfully determined after the behavioural patterns and offender characteristics have been established.

Behavioural profiling can therefore be defined as the process through which the observable evidence exhibited by the offender in preparing and committing the offence is analysed. The objective of the analysis is to construct a behavioural composite and descriptive template in order to identify the behavioural salience of the unidentified offender. Through the process of moving from general to unique patterns of behaviour, the process of analysing the behavioural evidence facilitates a differentiation of behaviour oriented towards fulfilling a fantasy, behaviour indicating motivation, behaviour indicative of the modus operandi, behaviour signifying signature and general behaviour orientated towards the completion of the crime. A general psychological evaluation of the behavioural evidence, and the inference which can be made in terms of the characteristics and general personality construction, can only be effectively carried out after the significant and unique behaviour patterns have been identified.

### **3.1.2 Criticism**

Numerous points of criticism have been raised with regards to profiling, the most notable criticism is the lack of empirically based research on the validity and reliability of profiling and the techniques, of the typologies, classification systems, models and exploratory frameworks utilised throughout the process. (Canter, 2000; Gudjonsson & Haward, 1998:174-175).

One of the criticisms against the various processes of profiling is the apparent lack of research and studies establishing the reliability and validity of the techniques (Cook & Hinman, 1999:236; Gudjonsson & Haward, 1998:174). Homant and Kennedy (1998:323), Kocsis, Heller and Try (2003:664), and Kocsis (2003:127), indicate that the correspondence between the profile and actual perpetrator has received little scrutiny. The bulk of the information and material cited

supporting the accuracy and validity of profiling consists of anecdotal accounts. No one has attempted to gauge the validity of profiling within a real-life situation or within an academic context.

Possibly the most cited research about *psychological profiling* is the research conducted on the subject by the FBI (Canter, 2000:26; Davis, 1999:291-295). The research was conducted on 36 incarcerated sexual murderers, and resulted in the development of the organised-disorganised dichotomy (Kocsis *et al.*, 2002:145). Although many investigative successes have been accredited to the efforts of FBI profilers, there are also several other examples where the profiles have proven to be ineffectual in terms of assisting the investigation. Due to these circumstances, the validity and subsequent effectiveness of the profiling process has attracted considerable criticism, the bulk of which focused on the organised-disorganised dichotomy. Although this research has attracted much interest and attention, simple empirical replications of the findings have been lacking. Despite the obvious value of interpreting crimes by their behavioural sophistication, a more realistic and practical interpretation of the behaviours would require far more sophisticated research beyond a simple dichotomy (Kocsis *et al.*, 2002:145-146). Kocsis *et al.* (2002:146), also point out that a weak point of the research, conducted by the FBI, is the failure of the material to describe how the findings were integrated.

Although not the aim of this chapter, it is pertinent to take note of the criticism aimed against the various processes of profiling. This criticism is of importance as it can also be directed towards behavioural profiling. In terms of the reliability and validity of profiling, the most notable research conducted on the efficacy of profiling was conducted by Pinizzotto and Finkel (1990:215-233), who conducted a “horse race” outcome study. This involved evaluating a small group of trained profilers, detectives with no official training, psychologists, and undergraduate students. The aim of the study was to compare their ability to correctly profile a homicide and sexual offence case where the offenders were already known. The profilers did outperform the other groups but the results were mixed. According to Cook and Hinman (1999) although far from being unequivocal, their findings did illustrate that in 46% of the requests for assistance, the investigators deemed the profile beneficial to the investigation, while only 17% were of assistance in the actual identification of the offender. However, in 77% of the cases the profiles did give a clearer focus for the investigation process. Their findings also highlighted the fact that some form of relationship exists between case information and profiling proficiency.



The issue of validity and reliability of profiling, and the empirical replication of the processes involved during the profiling process are inescapably connected. The interconnectivity of the two points of criticism is clearly illustrated when the general process of profiling is reviewed.

The skills and the abilities of the profiler have a significant bearing on the reliability and validity of the profile, and also have a direct link with the application of the frameworks and methods involved during the profiling process. Certain attributes are essential to effective profiling, for example the profiler must have an appreciation of the criminal mind, and must be able to understand what type of individual could have committed any given crime. A certain amount of investigative experience in terms of having investigated certain types of crimes is also essential, along with the ability to logically approach a crime without being diverted by personal feelings (Kocsis, 2003:130-131). The skills and the abilities of the profiler have a specific implication on the application of the explanatory frameworks, for example the organised-disorganised dichotomy, employed during the profiling process. The profiler must interpret both narrative and visual case material compiled of a specific case, and by applying the explanatory frameworks to the case information, compile a profile of the as-yet unknown offender. According to Kocsis *et al.* (2003:666) case information, or more importantly, the accuracy of the information, is a crucial element of the profiling process. If the information gathered from the scene is lacking or incomplete, the profile will be incomplete, no matter how much investigative experience the profiler possesses. The explanatory frameworks applied during profile construction are also dependent on the accuracy of the case material as well as on the skill and ability of the profiler.

In evaluating the criticism levelled against profiling, it is apparent that the criticism is valid in many aspects. It is important that the existing models and frameworks, as well as any new proposed frameworks, are perceived as consistent and reliable. This, in turn, will influence the perception of the validity and reliability of profiling as a viable investigative tool. However, the validity and reliability of profiles are a point of concern, due to the fact that it can never truly be established. The success of the profile is often coupled to the case material presented to the profiler, as well as to the skill set and abilities of the individual profiler. In the same instance, the need for empirical replication of the frameworks, and for the models utilised during the profiling process, is inherently flawed. The models and frameworks were created by individuals who had differing levels of experience and expertise as well as different skill sets. During the construction of four different profiles for four different cases, for example, each individual profiler will interpret the models and frameworks according to his skill levels and experience.

In the following sections, a more in-depth description and explanation will be given of behavioural profiling, as well as of the relevant concepts and aspects associated with the process.

## **3.2 BEHAVIOURAL PROFILING**

The basic premise of behavioural profiling is that “behaviour reflects personality”. No two offender’s behaviours are similar, and it is these differences in behaviour that relate to specific characteristics of the offender (Douglas & Olshaker, 1979:29; Kocsis *et al.*, 2002:146). The process of behavioural profiling is aimed at analysing the behavioural evidence exhibited by the offender through an analysis of the crime scene, relevant documentation, the victim’s statement, and post mortem reports, as well as by compiling a behavioural composite and template of the as-yet unidentified offender. By utilising the information compiled throughout the analysis, the profiler can then proceed to begin the process of inference, which will allow him or her to demonstrate the association between the offender and the offence.

The following section is aimed at explaining the processes involved in behavioural profiling, as well as the explanatory frameworks, models, and classification systems, which will be employed during the process of behavioural profiling.

### **3.2.1 Inductive vs. Deductive analysis**

Developing propositions about the relationship between the crime and an offender is one of the central premises of profiling. The reasoning behind the development of the premises must be clarified. Is the process of inference inductive or deductive? This is of importance as each “type” has its own set of strengths and weaknesses, and subsequently has specific investigative implications.

#### **3.2.1.1 Inductive analysis**

According to Turvey (2003:23), inductive analysis or reasoning is a type of inference that proceeds from a set of observations to a generalisation, which is called a premise. Neuman (1997:46) states that during the inductive analysis, detailed observations are utilised in order to move toward abstract generalisations and ideas. De Vos, Strydom, Fouché and Delpont (2005:47) state that inductive reasoning moves from specific observations to the development

and discovery of patterns which represent some degree of order among specific events or occurrences. The process of inductive inference can be described as broad generalisations or statistical reasoning. Canter (2000:23-24), indicates that empirical evidence is the cornerstone of the inductive method of science. Inductive arguments can lead to the formulation of hypotheses, and come in various forms.

There are two types of inductive arguments, *inductive generalisations* and *statistical arguments*. *Inductive generalisations* argue from the specific to the general, conclusions are formed regarding characteristics from single observations of an individual or single event or limited events and individuals. Generalisations are then made, postulating that similar events, or individuals encountered in the future will exhibit the same general characteristics as previously observed events and individuals (Turvey, 2003:24). For example, if a serial rapist always stalks his victims and only attacks the victims when they are alone in their homes, other serial rapist will also exhibit similar behavioural patterns. The second type of inductive argument is the *statistical argument*, where empirical statistical evidence is collected in order to support the inferences made. For example, 65% of all serial rapists stalk their victims and attack them when they are alone. The statistical arguments are very attractive specifically because they “play” on our common sense stereotypes (Turvey, 2003:24-25).

The inductively rendered analysis can, in many instances, be compared to psychological syndromes. The clinical diagnosis of any syndrome comprises comparing the symptoms and behaviours of individuals, with those of other cases that presented similar symptoms in the past that have been researched. A psychological syndrome can thus be described as a collection of symptoms; it is a grouping of characteristics and behaviours suggesting a characteristic of a group of individuals (Turvey, 2003:26).

Inductive behavioural profiling is similar in its structure to the psychological syndrome. The inductive criminal analysis is a set of characteristics that are rationalised from statistical, correlative, and/or experimental inferences shared by offenders who commit similar crimes. It can be best understood as an average, a product of statistical and comparative analysis resulting in educated generalisations. Inductive analysis is also based upon formal or informal research conducted on known and/or incarcerated criminals. The analysis can include individual personal experiences, and can be used as the reasoning behind the formation of the specific offender-characteristics (Turvey, 2003:26-27). The most notable advantage of inductive analysis

is that it is a relatively easy process to employ. The most noteworthy disadvantage of inductive analysis is that the information generated is often constructed from limited population samples, and specifically related to one case. Therefore, it is not always conducive to the analysis of a single offender. Inductive profiles are generalised and averaged from limited data collected from a handful of data sources. Such an analysis cannot fully or accurately take into account offenders who are at large, and who have successfully evaded detection, and as such are lacking an important data source. The inductive analysis process can contain inaccuracies, which can lead to the implication of innocent individuals (Turvey, 2003:28-29).

### 3.2.1.2 Deductive analysis

According to Neuman (1997:46-47), one begins with an abstract, logical relationship among concepts using deductive reasoning, and then one proceeds to move towards concrete empirical evidence. Deductive reasoning can be described as “arguments” in which, if the premises used during the process are true, then the conclusions must also be true. In the deductive “argument” the conclusion flows directly from the premises given. It is also said that the deductive argument moves from the general to the specific (De Vos *et. al.*, 2005:46-47; Turvey, 2003:38). In terms of deductive criminal analysis, this entails recognising an offender’s general pattern of behaviour, as it tends to be suggestive of specific offender characteristics. For example:

- *Premise 1:* The offender disposed of the victim’s body deep within the mountains.
- *Premise 2:* Tyre tracks were found at the disposal site.
- *Conclusion:* If the tire tracks belong to the offender then the offender has access to a vehicle and is mobile.

Both premises are incorporated so that a convergence of physical (tyre tracks), and behavioural evidence (remote area of disposal of the body) suggests a specific conclusion (Turvey, 2003:39). According to Turvey (2003:39-42), deductive behavioural profile construction is a set of offender characteristics reasoned from collected physical and behavioural evidence within a related series of crimes. The information used to argue the deductive analysis must include forensic analysis and behavioural profiling, a study of victim characteristics (victimology), and crime scene characteristics. The advantage of the deductive analysis lies with the thoroughness of the process. It forces the investigation to focus on the forensic evidence, victim behaviour, and criminal behaviour as fundamental parts of a whole. The most notable disadvantage of

deductive analysis is inherent in the statement, “if the premises are true, then the conclusions drawn are valid”. This inevitably is also its greatest weakness, due to the fact that if the premises are false then the conclusion drawn will be incorrect.

Although some authors promote either the inductive (Canter, 2000), or the deductive (Turvey, 2003) analysis process as “perfect” for criminal investigation, it is clear that separately the processes are flawed. The inductive process proposes an analysis supported by theoretical underpinnings, rooted in the supposition that by studying the general criminal behaviour of similar cases, explanatory frameworks can be compiled, enabling the investigator to draw educated conclusions about a specific case. This excludes any unique additional information about the specific offender, however, dismissing it as part of a general pattern followed by other similar offenders. In contrast, the deductive process of analysis postulates that by incorporating and evaluating the specifics of each individual case (behavioural, physical, forensic evidence and victim analysis), the premises derived from the information will be valid, and the subsequent conclusions will be accurate. The potential problem is that the profiler is left to decide “what” evidence to incorporate. Without a general framework or model to use as a guideline, the potential still exists for disregarding vital evidence.

In order to counteract the apparent flaws and disadvantages of both processes with the behavioural profiling process, the two reasoning methods should be combined. It can in effect be described as a process of field analysis. The inductive-deductive reasoning will be a process where the entire “field” of knowledge (crime scene, victim analysis and previous research) is utilised to facilitate a critical analysis. Inductive reasoning will be used in order to infer the general behavioural patterns of the offender. This will include identifying specific aspects, such as unique physical and forensic evidence relevant to the specific offender. The deductive reasoning process will incorporate the information generated from the inductive phase ensuring that the conclusions drawn are specific to the offender. The cyclical nature of field analysis will ultimately ensure that the behavioural profiling of the offender, and also any psychological assessments of the offender, will incorporate behavioural, physical and forensic evidence specific to the offender as well as a victimology assessment.

The following section will focus on the underpinning methodology of the behavioural profiling process, and attempt to answer general questions for example, where will the process of analysis begin, as well as what frameworks and models will be employed during the process?

### **3.2.2 Behavioural profile construction process**

Gudjonsson and Haward (1998:173) state that the process of profiling refers to the use of information obtained from crimes scenes, and sometimes victim statements, in order to infer likely characteristics of a potential offender.

#### **3.2.2.1 Information sources**

Depending on the nature of the crime, for example rape or murder, one or more of the following sources of information may take precedence over the other.

##### **3.2.2.1.1 Crime scene**

A crime scene can be defined as the location where the actual crime has been committed it is also the area where evidence relevant to the investigation can be found (Savino & Turvey, 2005:66). Palermo and Kocsis (2005:83), indicate that a thorough analysis cannot be compiled without a comprehensive assessment of the crime scene.

The analysis process will typically begin with a sketch of the scene showing the interrelationships of people, places and things. The location of all recovered evidence must also be depicted in the sketch. A description of the crime scene should also be made in order to record the initial condition of the scene. Detailed photographs of the scene, including pieces of evidence, entry and exit points, should also be taken (Hazelwood & Burgess, 2001:289-292; Homant & Kennedy, 1998:321; Savino & Turvey, 2005:77). Crime scene characteristics are the distinctive features of a crime, as evidenced by the offender's behavioural choices with regards to the victim, the offence location, and the subsequent meaning of the behaviours to the offender (Turvey, 2003:189). The crime scene characteristics can be viewed as the language used to explain the behaviour of the victim and offender. Douglas and Munn (1992:1) argue that the crime scene tells a story, it has characters, a plot, a beginning, a middle, and, with luck, a conclusion. Human interactions, speech patterns, gestures, and other traits shape human behaviour. It is these individualistic characteristics functioning in concert that causes each individual to react in a specific manner. It is this individualistic behaviour, which usually remains consistent regardless of the activity being performed. The evidence gathered from the crime scene is employed in order to determine offender behaviour and behavioural patterns exhibited

by the offenders. According to Douglas and Munn (1992:1), there are several manifestations of offender behaviour at the crime scene for example, modus operandi, signature and staging behaviours. In sexual assault cases the victim's body can also be classified as a crime scene (Hazelwood & Burgess, 2001:8; Savino & Turvey, 2005:66). In the cases where no primary scene can be located the victim herself becomes of great importance. The advances in DNA evidence collection and analysis has lead to the victim becoming invaluable in any investigation. It is thus of great importance that every possible precaution is taken to ensure that any pertinent medical evidence be collected and documented thoroughly. If possible clothing evidence, the cloths the victim wore during the rape, as well as the medical examiner's report must also be collected (Savino & Turvey, 2005:120-128).

The investigator searches for behavioural clues left by the offender at the crime scene attempting to find answers to questions, such as how the encounter between the offender and victim occurred? While investigating the scene, some facts and details might arise that serve no apparent purpose in the perpetration of the crime, and also obscures the motivation of the offender. This confusion might be due to a specific crime scene behaviour referred to as staging (Douglas & Munn, 1992:6-7). According to Geberth (1996:89), staging a crime scene is a conscious act by the offender to impede the investigation. According to Douglas *et al.*, (1992:251-252), and Douglas and Munn (1992:7), staging principally occurs in order to redirect the investigation from the most logical suspect or to protect the victim or the victim's family. The intent of the criminal behaviour is obscuring the actual events through misdirection (Turvey, 2003:253). According to Palermo and Kocsis (2005:99), the motivation for staging can also be referred to as self-preservation, redirecting the investigation in order to protect the offender's identity. The family member who for example, re-dresses or covers up the victim is attempting to provide the victim with a degree of dignity, this type of staging is motivated by embarrassment and shame, for example, such as in an autoerotic fatality. The investigator must scrutinise each crime scene indicator individually, and then view them in the context of the "whole picture". There are indicators at the crime scene, inconsistencies, which are indicative of a staged crime scene. The focus is on the recognition of these inconsistencies. The inconsistencies in the staged crime scene can be found in three areas, victim-centred, immediate-location, and distant location. *Victim-centred* inconsistencies refer to the information about the victim and the elements of the crime which impact directly on the victim. *Immediate location* relates to the significant facts or conditions present at the scene, near, in and around the location. *Distant*

*locations* refer to other geographic locations associated with the crime for example, a dumpsite, the primary crime scene (Douglas *et al.*, 1992: 253-255; Palermo & Kocsis, 2005:107-111).

### **3.2.2.1.2 Victim analysis**

A thorough victim analysis is one of the most beneficial tools in solving violent crime, as well as an essential part of the behavioural profiling process. First and foremost, it is an investigative tool providing context, connections, and direction for the investigation. The investigator must evaluate why a specific victim was targeted. By determining why a specific victim was chosen, the investigator will be able to determine motive, which will help focus the investigation in terms of the type of offender (Douglas *et al.*, 1992:7; Sorvino & Turvey, 2005:217-218). Understanding the questions of “how and why the offender selected the specific victim”, will also allow the investigator to establish a rational link between victim(s) and offender. Establishing an understanding of how and why the offender selected the previous victims can also aid in predicting what type of victim will be selected in the future (Turvey, 2003:138:139). In order to determine what needs were being served and to arrive at opinions about the characteristics and traits of the unidentified offender the victim is also the only available source of information in regards to the rapist’s behaviour (Hazelwood and Burgess, 2001:129-130).

Victim analysis is done in terms of assessing the victim’s risk, or the amount of exposure to possible suffering or harm. Victim risk is determined across three levels, low, medium and high risk. Low-risk refers to an individual whose personal, professional, and social life does not expose him or her to potential harm. Medium-risk indicates an individual who, through their personal, professional, and social life can be exposed to dangerous situations. The term high-risk is applicable to an individual whose personal, professional, and social life continuously places him or her in potentially dangerous situations, such as a prostitute, unsupervised children, and unemployed individuals (Savino & Turvey, 2005:221-222; Turvey, 2003:143). There are two other denominators in terms of victim risk, the victim’s lifestyle risk, and victim incidence risk. The term victim lifestyle risk refers to the circumstances surrounding the victim’s lifestyle habits, activities, and personality traits. Basically, victim lifestyle risk is who the victim is, and how he or she relates to the world. Victim incident risk relates to the risk present at the moment the offender acquires the victim. The factors that increase victim incident risk include factors such as the victim’s state of mind, time of occurrence, and location of occurrence (Turvey, 2003:144-145). An important aspect, which must also be noted during the victim analysis, is the relationship, if any, which exist between the offender and the victim. This



relationship can be broken down into four categories; the offender was *unknown* to the victim, the offender was a *casual acquaintance*, the offender was an *acquaintance*, or the victim knew the offender. A casual acquaintance can be described as someone the victim only met briefly or was introduced to only once. An acquaintance can be described as someone the victim is familiar with, but not in a social sense. A known offender can be a family member, for example an uncle or a cousin, or someone the victim is in a relationship with (Burgess, 2001:8-9). Another important aspect associated with victim analysis, is understanding the interaction between the offender and the victim. Gaining an understanding of the interactions and behaviours between the offender and the victim will also assist in understanding the motive of the offender. This is especially pertinent in sexual assault cases, due to the fact that the interchanges between the victim and offender include verbal, physical, and sexual activities. The victim can normally provide firsthand recollection of these to the investigator (Douglas *et al.*, 1992:7-8).

### **3.2.3 General behavioural outline of the serial rapist**

The behavioural profiling process operates from the assumption that each individual develops his or her own unique and distinctive personality, characterised by distinguishing and unique behaviour patterns. According to Canter (2000:29-31), there are similar criminal activities that are constant, to a certain extent, across several different offenders. The actions of an individual, to a large extent, are seen as a subset of possible activities of all criminals. Although certain behaviours are consistent over a period of time, or are or variations of one another, there are important variations between crimes, which relate specifically to the individuals who committed the crime. Thus, by distinguishing and identifying the distinct behavioural patterns from general criminal behaviour exhibited during the crime, a “portrait” of the individual can be drawn, which can distinguish the individual from what is known about the class of offenders in general.

A specific serial rapist must be distinguishable from the existing general portrait of known serial rapists (Homant & Kennedy, 1998:328-329). In order to recognize the distinguishable salient behaviour of the individual, a basic picture of the serial rapist is required. This basic “portrait” will consist out of basic demographic information and basic general behaviours exhibited by this type of offender. At this point, it is important to note that any general base behaviour outline and demographic information should not be viewed as a comprehensive illustration of the offender. In the South African context virtually no information on the phenomenon, specifically the basic

behavioural information, is available. Therefore, demographic information and general behavioural patterns compiled from international sources will be utilised in order to construct a basic “portrait” of the serial rapist, to serve as a starting point.

### 3.2.3.1 General demographical information and base behaviours

The general demographics of the U.S. serial rapist can be summarised as follows (Hazelwood & Warren, 1989a, 12-16; Hazelwood & Warren, 2001a, 436-444):

- Male, between 20-35 years of age
- Generally stable employment – unskilled job (e.g. labourer)
- Married or involved in a stable sexual relationship
- Average to above-average level of intelligence
- Criminal history: usually property crime or some form of sexual assault
- Residence is a single family dwelling or apartment
- Owns a vehicle which is used during the commission of the crime

According to Savino and Turvey (2005:303) identifying the “patterns” of the serial rapist is of great importance but can vary between *easy* and *very difficult*. A basic general behavioural outline can be of great assistance, largely because it would simplify identifying the “patterns” of the serial rapists, and may ultimately aid in determining whether or not the rapes are part of a series. Although each individual serial rapist is unique, sets of identifiable common discernable behaviours are exhibited by serial rapists.

Serial rape is a variation of sexual assault, and as such exhibits a certain set of base behaviours. The following base behaviours were identified internationally in most of the serial rape cases:

The interactions between the offender and the victim differ from case to case. The victim’s passivity, or lack thereof, as well as the motivation for the sexual attack, for example, influences the interactions. In general, the surprise approach is employed in order to approach the victim. The surprise approach involves the assailant waiting for the victim, or approaching the victim when she is alone, for example in her house sleeping. Threats and/or the presence of a weapon are associated with this approach, but physical force is rarely applied. This presupposes that the

serial rapist has pre-selected the intended victim through unobserved watching, and knowledge of when the victim would be alone or vulnerable (Hazelwood & Warren, 1990:12; Hazelwood & Warren, 2001b:455-456). Other base behaviours exhibited by U.S. serial rapists, usually consist of interpersonal verbal interactions, and also no reaction towards the victim as an individual, but rather as an object (Canter & Heritage, 1990:196-197). The offender controls the victim by using four control methods in various combinations, mere physical presence, verbal threats, display of a weapon, and the use of physical force (Hazelwood & Warren, 1990:13). In some cases of sexual assault, the presence of violence is a central element. This is highlighted by the fact that the clothing of the victims is ripped or “disturbed”, and by further injuries suffered by the victim (Kocsis *et al.*, 2002:159-160). The sexual dynamic of the rape would include aspects such as the type and sequence of the sexual acts that have occurred. The basic sexual behaviour that occurs in most of the cases is vaginal penile penetration (Hazelwood & Burgess, 2001:458; Canter & Heritage, 1990:197).

Although the aspects listed above are also observed in most cases of single sexual assault, the serial rapist’s sexual attacks are premeditated and reflective of their preferential interest in this type of crime. International sources indicate that serial rapists also show a high level of sophistication in concealing their identities and in their ability to avoid detection (Hazelwood & Warren, 1990:11; Kocsis *et al.*, 2002:161-162). Canter (2000:32) states that it would be unproductive to regard the basic behavioural frameworks as exclusive dimensions. Basic behavioural outlines must only be viewed as a general “blue print” of the behaviour specific to a specified type of offender. Such an outline will serve as a basis for any investigation.

### **3.3 BEHAVIOURAL PROFILING FRAMEWORK**

The aim of the behavioural profiling framework is to identify the salient behavioural features that can be used in individuating the behaviour of the serial rapist. In essence, the behavioural framework will assist in identifying the distinctive behavioural features, which may help identify the perpetrator, as well as indicating the differences between similar types of crimes and offenders. The behaviour that a serial rapist uses in the preparation and commission of his rapes is evidence that can be used to classify and even identify him, because of their collective uniqueness (Turvey, 1997). The actual attack can be divided into identifiable “sections” or features, the modus operandi, ritual and fantasy orientated behaviour, and the signature behaviour.

### 3.3.1 Linkage analysis

The linkage analysis process integrates the information from the three distinct interrelated aspects of a crime pattern, the MO, the ritual or fantasy aspect, and the signature behaviours, in order to identify the sexual offences committed by a single offender (Hazelwood & Warren, 2003:587-588). The linkage analysis process involves the following assessment processes:

- 1) Gathering detailed, varied, and multisource documentation. In a series of rapes, the victim's statement, police and medical reports, and, if possible, a map depicting all the relevant locations associated with each crime must be collected.
- 2) The second phase of the assessment process is identifying the significant aspects of each crime. This allows the profiler to become familiar with all of the offences in the series, as well as to access pertinent behavioural evidence without having to search through large volumes of data.
- 3) In the third phase of the assessment. The profiler analyses each crime and identifies the factors of the crimes that comprise the MO and the fantasy aspects.
- 4) The next step is to determine and identify whether signature behaviours exist across the series of crimes.
- 5) The final step is preparing a written opinion that lists the crime features, and comprises the MO, fantasy aspects, and signature behaviours (Hazelwood & Warren, 2003:593-594).

Aspects such as the modus operandi and signature exhibited by the offender have great significance when investigators attempt to link cases (Douglas *et al.*, 1992:259-261; Douglas & Munn, 1992:2; Labuschagne, 2006:184-185). One of the most identifiable problems associated with the investigation of any serial type of crime is that by the time investigators have linked the crimes together in a series, there already are a high number of victims (Tuvey, 1997). According to Geberth (1995:45), *linkage blindness* can be defined as an investigative failure to recognise the pattern linking one crime with another in a series through the victimology, geographic region, signature of the offender, and modus operandi. It is due to this reason that the modus operandi, as well as the signature and other relevant behavioural manifestations must be recognised. The evidence at a scene can be utilised for reconstruction, it can be utilised to sequence events, determine location, establish direction, or establish time. Evidence can be broken down into several categories (Turvey, 2003:90-91):

- Relational evidence has meaning by virtue of the location with respect to other evidence
- Functional evidence is the term to describe how things work
- Sequential evidence is utilised to establish the order of events
- Directional evidence is utilised in order to determine the actions of the participants at the crime scene
- Action evidence is used to interpret the motions or the actions of the individuals

### 3.3.2 Modus operandi

The term *modus operandi* (MO) is a Latin term, which means *method of operating*, and refers to the manner in which the crime has been committed (Turvey, 2003:229). Douglas and Munn (1992:2), state that *modus operandi* can be described as the offender's actions while committing the crime. Bartol and Bartol (2005:326), indicate that *modus operandi* refers to the actions and procedures the offender engages in to successfully commit the crime. It is a behavioural pattern that the offender learns as he or she gains experience by committing the offence. According to Hickey (2006:103), the *modus operandi*, includes techniques used in committing the crime, and may evolve as the offender becomes more skilful and confident. Hazelwood and Warren (2001a:92), argue that the MO has three primary functions: protecting the identity of the offender, ensuring success, and facilitating escape and persecution evasion. Hazelwood and Warren (2003:588), state that MO is a term used to encapsulate the entire behaviour required to successfully complete the particular offence. This includes all of the behaviours initiated by the offender in order to acquire a victim, and to complete the criminal acts without being apprehended or identified. The MO can be very simplistic or extremely complex with various levels of sophistication that reflects the experience, motivation, and intelligence of the offender. The MO is learned behaviour that develops and changes over time. It is also dynamic and malleable. The MO can also be influenced by the behaviour of the victims, if a specific course of action is unsuccessful, the offender will adapt accordingly (Douglas *et al.*, 1992:260; Turvey, 2003:231-232).

Establishing the *modus operandi* of the serial rapist will consist of determining aspects such as: methods of approaching the victim, method of controlling the victim, choice of location, and criminal sophistication.

### 3.3.2.1 Methods of approaching the victim

The rapist can employ different styles to obtain his intended victim. The *con* approach involves subterfuge, and is dependent on the offender's ability to interact successfully with the intended victim. This technique involves the rapist openly approaching the victim, while maintaining sustained contact with the victim and requesting or offering some type of assistance or direction. Various ploys can also be employed by the rapist such as posing as a police officer, providing assistance for hitchhikers, or picking up women at singles bars or offering employment.

John, a man who has raped more than 20 women, told interviewers that he stopped one of his victims late at night and identified himself as a police officer. He asked for her license and registration and walked back to his car, where he sat for a few minutes. He then returned to the victim, advised her that her registration had expired, and asked her to accompany him to his car. She did so, and upon entering the car, he handcuffed her and drove to an isolated area where he raped and sodomized her (Hazelwood & Warren, 1990:12).

In the *blitz* approach, the rapist employs direct physical force in the form of assault, which subdues and physically injures the victim. The attacker can also use chemicals or gases. In most cases, however, the offender will rely on his ability to physically overpower the victim. The blitz approach results in more injuries than the *con* approach, and can include some of the fantasy components of the rape that may be arousing to the rapist.

Jack, a 32-year-old male, would hide in the forest adjacent to a jogging trail popular with residents of a nearby apartment building. He would wait until a single woman came along and as she passed his hiding spot, he would jump behind her and strike her in the back of the head with his fist. He would then lead the stunned and disorientated victim deep into the woods and sexually assault her (Hazelwood & Warren, 2001b:455).

The *surprise* approach, involves the assailant waiting for the intended victim or approaching her, for example while she is asleep. This approach presupposes that the offender has targeted or pre-selected his intended victim, through unobserved watching and knowledge of when the victim would be alone. Threats and/or the presence of a weapon are in most cases associated with this type of approach (Hazelwood & Warren, 1990:11-12; Hazelwood & Warren, 2001b:455-456).

Sean, a white male who has raped more than 30 women, was arrested in the bed of one of his victims as he slept. He had captured the woman as she entered her car at her workplace. He had been hiding in her back seat. When she got into her car, he placed his hand over her mouth and held a knife to her throat, explaining that if she did as she was told, he wouldn't hurt her. He forced her to drive to her residence, where she lived alone. He then raped her repeatedly, and fell asleep (Hazelwood & Warren, 2001b:455).

Another method of approach, which can be utilised by the offender, is the *delayed-con* approach. In this approach, the offender also employs subterfuge in obtaining his victims. As in the con approach, the offender approaches the victim openly during the delayed-con approach, employing a "story", for example enquiring if the victim is employed and offering her employment or knowledge of employment. However, unlike in the con approach, the offender does not maintain constant contact with the victim. There is a delay of one to five days between the initial contact and the second contact, which leads to the actual attack. For example, the offender might approach the victim while she is with a friend at a store and ask her if she is looking for employment? She replies that she is, but she cannot accompany him at that very moment. He then arranges to meet her at a specific location a few days later, so he can take her to the employer. During this period the offender might also call the victim to confirm their appointment. During their second pre-arranged contact the offender lures the victim away and attacks her.

### **3.3.2.2 Method of controlling the victim**

Several aspects, such as where the attack takes place, influence how the offender maintains control of the victim, once he has her within his control. The passivity of the victim also plays a role, in that it will determine what methods of control would be appropriate, a threatening physical presence, verbal threats, display of a weapon or physical force. In this regard four control methods are commonly used in various combinations or separately during the rape: (a) mere physical presence; (b) verbal threats; (c) display of a weapon; and (d) the use of physical force (Hazelwood & Warren, 1990:13).

### 3.3.2.3 Choice of location

The location aspect of the overall modus operandi of the offender focuses on features such as whether the attack occurred indoors or outdoors, whether the offender moved the victim, whether there is a primary or secondary crime scene, whether materials were acquired at the scene or left at the scene, and whether the scene posed any risks to the offender, in terms of being disturbed or identified (Turvey, 1997)

According to Canter and Larkin (1993:65), it is reasonable to assume that the offender has a “fixed or home base” from which he operates. The area in which the offences are committed has some logical relationship to the home base, and can be termed a *criminal range*. The choice of a specific criminal range can be influenced by a familiarity and sense of security offered by the territory. The offender might travel through a specific area regularly, and become familiar with his surroundings that provide information that the offender can use to plan his next attack (Canter & Larkin, 1993:64). Two models are proposed regarding the spatial behavioural patterns of the serial rapist. The *commuter* hypothesis holds that serial rapist travels from his home base to an area where he carries out the attack. There is no overlapping between the criminal ranges where the attacks are committed and the offender’s home range. Although the offender moves outside his home range to commit the offence, this does not suggest that the criminal is unfamiliar with the criminal range. The *marauder* hypothesis holds that the offender moves out from a central home base to commit the crimes and then returns. There therefore is a large or complete overlapping of the home range and the criminal range (Canter & Larkin, 1993:65). Making assumptions/predictions about the offender’s location based on crime scene location is usually referred to as geographical profiling.

### 3.3.2.4 Criminal sophistication

In most cases, offenders who have committed a criminal act more than once become more skilful in perpetrating the crime – they get better and more proficient or more sophisticated over time. The level of proficiency or sophistication can be determined by examining what the offender had planned by virtue of the materials he brought with him, and how he used the materials (Turvey, 2003:233; 339). Their skill levels can also be determined by the amount of criminal sophistication illustrated by the offender, in terms of the amount of planning on the part of the offender, for example in concealing his identity (Kocsis *et al.*, 2002:160-161).



The modus operandi of the serial rapist would therefore include aspects that are indicative of the behaviour necessary for the rapist to obtain and control his victims, and ultimately allow him to complete the rape, evade detection, and conceal his identity.

### **3.3.2.5 Fantasy and signature behaviour**

Sexual acts, whether considered normal or perverse, originate in *fantasy*. A person must have some form of sexual fantasy in order to be sexually aroused (Holmes & Holmes, 2002a: 79; 2002c: 16). The psychosexual component of the human sex drive is the most variable and individualistic aspect of the human sexual experience, and integrates the highly specific cognitive, sensory, and behavioural stimuli that are arousing to the individual (Hazelwood & Warren, 2001a:84).

The fantasy therefore reflects the unique pattern of experience and development of the individual, and provides the richest source of information about the offender. Sexual fantasies can take on many different forms. Some are extremely simple, while others can be extremely complex (Holmes & Holmes, 2002c: 16). The relationship between fantasy and behaviour is bi-directional. The internal fantasy sets the parameters for the resulting behaviour, the procedural steps that the offender must follow, as well as the prescribed acts that must be done (symbolically done in the fantasy). The fantasy also determines the actual behaviours that must be carried out in order to redefine, refine, improve, and vitalize the fantasy (Holmes & Holmes, 2002a: 80). Sexual fantasies in and by themselves are not dangerous, but the ways in which such fantasies are applied determine whether the fantasy affects our attitudes in a positive or negative way. In most cases, the individual's fantasy is sufficient to satisfy the psychosexual desires; there is no impulse to enact it in reality. It is when the fantasy is no longer satisfactory that there appears to be an aggressive desire to convert it into reality (Hazelwood & Warren, 2001a:86; Hickey, 2006:47).

The internalized fantasy of the offender is revealed in the ritualistic behavioural aspects exhibited by the offender during the commission of the crime. The behaviour is symbolic as opposed to functional, and is extremely unique. The behaviour is reflected in the aspects of the crime scene that are unnecessary in perpetrating the crime, but are essential in expressing the motivation or purpose of the attack itself. The ritual aspect of the crime can be expressed in

different ways over a series of offences, due to the refinement and more complete reflection of the underlying motivations, and of fantasy substrates or the addition of more arousing aspects (Hazelwood & Warren, 2003:589-590). In the case of serial rape offences for example, this can be seen in the escalation of violence or the use of increasingly intricate bindings or more distinctive verbal exchanges.

The *signature* aspect of the violent criminal is an integral and unique aspect of the offender's behaviour (Geberth, 1995:45). The signature can be described as the individual's "calling card" or unique behavioural imprint; it can be explained as the unique combination of behaviour, which becomes apparent across two or more offences (Hazelwood & Warren, 2003:591; Keppel and Birnes, 1997:2-3). According to Bartol & Bartol (2005:327), Douglas & Munn (1992:3), and Hickey (2002:124-125), the signature is the criminal conduct unique and integral to the offender's behaviour, and goes beyond the actions needed to commit the crime. The signature is interconnected with the offender's personality, and frequently is an extension of the fantasies of the offender, no matter how simple or complex this fantasy might be. As the offender dreams and replays the fantasy over and over, he develops a need to act out the fantasy. When the fantasy is finally acted out, some aspect of the crime exhibits some form of personal expression or ritual based on the fantasy. The offender will introduce an aspect of his personality onto the scene through this ritual. This is displayed through particular crime-scene characteristics or unique offender input during the perpetration of the crime. The signature of the offender is not necessarily exclusively linked to the internalised fantasy of the offender. It can manifest through several other means, but it is generally accepted that it is the personal mark of the offender (Hickey, 2006:103).

The signature is distinctive behaviour that serves a specific psychological and emotional need. There are two separate interdependent parts to the concepts of signature, the *signature aspect* and *signature behaviours*. The overall general *signature aspect* is representative of the emotional and psychological designs representing the needs the offender hopes to satisfy by committing the crime. The *signature behaviours* are those behaviours exhibited by the offender, which are not necessary to commit the crime but are suggestive of the emotional and psychological needs of the offender (Douglas *et al.*, 1992:261; Turvey, 2003:279-281; Savino & Turvey, 2005:270-271).

Keppel (2000b:124) states that the signature of the offender is sometimes confused with the offender's modus operandi as if the two concepts were the same thing. The modus operandi of the offender only includes the behaviours necessary to commit the crime. However, over time, the offender learns what behaviours are more effective, and subsequently the characteristics of the modus operandi changes. In contrast, the signature of the offender remains constant. Many offenders are not just satisfied with committing the crime; they feel compelled to go further. The actions beyond those necessary to commit the crime demonstrate behaviours unique to that specific individual. The aetiology of the signature can be described as the individual's fantasies, which are progressive in nature and contribute to thoughts of extremely violent behaviour. When the offender finally does act out, some aspect of the crime will exhibit the unique personal expression of the offender, which had been replayed in fantasies over and over again (Keppel & Birnes, 1997:4-5; Keppel, 1995:670; Keppel, 2000b:500-501).

It is important to note that by their very nature, crime-scenes and crime scene behaviour are never precisely identical across offences, even when the same offender is responsible. Victims differ in their response, which will influence the rapist's responses, and the locations are likely to be different, all of which can ultimately influence the behaviour exhibited by the offender. The mere repetitive nature of behaviour across multiple offences does not constitute the signature. Generally, signature behaviour takes extra time to complete beyond the functional M.O. behaviour. It is unnecessary for the completion of the crime, and may involve an expression of emotion and/or fantasy (Savino & Turvey, 2005:272-273).

### **3.3.3 Components of the sexual act**

The ritual and fantasy behaviour refers to the actual components of the rape behaviour, and all the associated distinctive characteristics. The ritual aspect of the crime emanates from the internal fantasy of an offender, as opposed to the situational demands of committing the crime. These individuating behaviours are derived from the motivation for the crime as well as the sexual fantasies it expresses (Hazelwood & Warren, 2003:589).

#### **3.3.3.1 Elements of the sexual behaviour**

The behaviour of the serial rapist can be classified in terms of the emphasis of the assault, the manner of engaging in the actual rape, and interaction between the offender and the victim. The

distinguishing elements can be found in the specific behaviour that the individual offender exhibits. The distinguishing elements found in the behaviour of the offender represent the dominant behavioural theme of the offence. Categorising the rape behaviour attempts to illustrate the viewpoint of the offender and how he views the victim (Canter, 2000:36-37; Hazelwood, 2001:134-140). The offence behaviour of the offender can be divided into the following:

#### **3.3.3.1.1 Intercourse behaviour pattern**

The intercourse behavioural pattern is characterised by an offender pursuing sexual intercourse for sexual gratification. The offence is less aggressive, and violence is simply not part of the assault. Any application of violence is aimed at attaining sexual compliance, or when the victim attempts to resist the advances of the offender. In most cases vaginal penetration is the main objective while other sexual behaviours, fellatio (oral sex on the male), cunnilingus (oral sex on a woman), and initial anal intercourse can also be present during the attack sequence (Canter & Heritage, 1990:199; Kocsis, *et al.*, 2002:163; Palermo & Kocsis, 2005:204).

#### **3.3.3.1.2 Personal – attempted intimacy behaviour pattern**

The personal-attempted intimacy behavioural pattern is indicative of an offender who believes that by exhibiting pseudo-concern for the victim or by exhibiting some preparedness to relate to the victim as a person, the victim will believe that he really is not a bad person. The offender will attempt to involve the victim in the act, both sexually and verbally, and it is necessary for the victim to act as if she enjoys the activity. This feeds the offender's need for power and acceptance, fulfilling his fantasy. This type of offender will attempt to reassure the victim. He might also voice his concern for her well-being and he will frequently be complimentary telling the victim, for example, she has nice breasts. The offender will also refer to himself in a demeaning manner and might also engage the victim in ego-building verbal activity, forcing her to say that she loves him or that she wants him to make love to her. Any sexual contact will be as "normal" as possible, such as full sexual intercourse. The offender would require the victim to participate both physically and verbally during the assault. The amount of physical violence for the personal-attempted intimacy pattern is typically minimal. Force is used more to intimidate than to punish, and most often the offender relies on threats, the presence or threat of a weapon, and fear, in order to ensure compliance (Canter, 2000:37; Canter & Heritage, 1990:198; Hazelwood, 2001:135-138).

#### **3.3.3.1.3 Brutality behaviour pattern**

The brutality behavioural pattern represents a set of behaviours, which is indicative of an explosive release of anger during the sexual assault. The attack is characterised by overt violence and aggression, and occurs before any sexual contact. The victim is usually beaten severely resulting in considerable blunt force trauma to the body and especially to the victim's face. The excessive violence is not aimed at causing suffering or simple compliance, but rather, to totally dominate the victim and thereby degrading her in some way (Canter & Heritage, 1990:199-200; Kocsis *et al.*, 2002, 162; Palermo & Kocsis, 2005:204).

#### **3.3.3.1.4 Selfish behaviour pattern**

The selfish behavioural pattern is characterised by the offender using the victim as a prop, dealing with the victim as an entity or an object. The offender will be sexually selfish and physically abusive, indicating a callous disinterest in the victim's well-being or comfort. Verbally the offender will be offensive, abusive, and threatening. The verbal interaction will also be demeaning, impersonal, and sexually orientated (Ainsworth, 2005:103-104). He will attempt to demean the victim with extremely profane remarks such as "bitch" or "slut." The offender will be unlikely to be influenced by the victim's responses, acting out a personalised script. Sexually, the offender will do whatever he wants to, the victim plays no part as a human being. The sexual contact will also be more varied for example forced fellatio followed by vaginal penetration (Ainsworth, 2005:104). The offender will not kiss or fondle his victims unless it is to degrade her further, he is more likely to pull, pinch, twist, or bite the sexual body parts of the victim. The level of aggression and violence exhibited by the offender is influenced by the motivation for the attack, and is not related to the resistance offered by the victim. If necessary, the offender will employ large amounts of force to achieve his objective. (Canter, 2000:37; Canter & Heritage, 1990:200-201; Hazelwood, 2001:138-140).

#### **3.3.3.1.5 Ritual behaviour pattern**

The ritual behavioural pattern is indicative of ritualised and paraphilic behaviour closely linked to sexual sadism. The behaviour can be defined as a paraphilia, in that the suffering of the victim sexually excites the offender. The ritualistic fantasy must be acted out and compulsively repeated for the offender to be sexually satisfied. A clear indication of planning is also evident in the use of one or a combination of bindings, gagging, restraints, and blindfolds. The offender could also torture the victim. The close association between force, torture, and fetishism during

sex is evident throughout the assault (Johnson, 2006:410; Kocsis *et al.*, 2002:163; Palermo & Kocsis, 2005:199).

#### **3.3.3.1.6 Criminal intent behaviour pattern**

The criminal intent behaviour pattern is evident in offences where the sexual assault was not the primary motivation for the attack. The pattern is characterised by an impulsive opportunistic sexual assault. Violent behaviour in this pattern is potentially lethal and cruel, but does not show any coordinated purpose as observed in the ritual pattern. The offender can engage the victim in some form of conversation, and can even offer some form of reassurance. The sexual assault does not extend to actual fornication. Instead, it includes aspects such as fondling, digital penetration, and forcing the victim to engage in oral sex on the offender. The criminal intent of the offender is characterised by the offender binding and gagging the victim and stealing from the victim (Canter & Heritage, 1990:201-202; Kocsis *et al.*, 2002:164-165; Palermo & Kocsis, 2005:205).

Once the sexual and offence behaviour of the rapist has been broadly classified, the rape can be further analysed in an attempt to determine the underlying motivation for the assault.

#### **3.3.3.2 Rapist categories model**

Classifying the type of rape allows the investigator to view the attack as a whole, and to outline and determine the behavioural pattern exhibited by the offender. A classification model allows a researcher or investigator to assess the offender's behaviour in terms of aggression used during the offence and of the meaning of the sexual acts (Knight & Prentky, 1987:409; Warren, Reboussin, Hazelwood & Wright, 1991:56). According to Turvey (2003: 310-311) such a model can also be described as a motivational model. Instead of classifying the offenders the behaviours exhibited by the offenders are classified. This shifts the emphasis from an inductive labelling system to a deductive tool. The proposed rapist category model utilised during the behavioural profiling process focuses on the types of aggression exhibited by the offender, as well as on the elements of the sexual acts perpetrated during the attack and how these behaviours manifest during the rape. The model incorporates aspects of several typologies and classification systems, which have attempted, to some degree, to delineate the sexual and aggressive components of rape behaviour.

The model is based on the assumption that power, anger, and sexuality are fundamental components of all forcible rapes (Warren *et al.*, 1991:56). To this extent, the model is divided in terms of the meaning of the aggression utilised during the attack, *instrumental aggression*, and *expressive aggression*. Instrumental aggression and behaviours relate directly to the offender attempting to gain or obtain that which is necessary or desirable from the offence. The victim is merely a 'vehicle' through which he can gratify some need (Fromm, 1973:280-283; Salfati and Bateman, 2005:6; Salfati & Canter, 1999:392-393). Expressive behaviour is aimed at physically harming the victim. This type of behaviour is often provoked through some form of emotional or interpersonal response. Each type is further divided into rapist subtypes, which address the meaning of sexuality during the attack.

### **3.3.3.2.1 Instrumental aggression**

The following two types of rapists characteristically make use of instrumental aggression.

#### **3.3.3.2.1.1 Opportunistic rapist**

The opportunistic rapist can be classified as an impulsive offender who has given no thought to the crime prior to the attack. The primary motivation for the offender committing the act is satisfying the need to have sex with the victim (Hazelwood, 2001:147; Turvey, 1997). The sexual act is not rooted in any strong fantasy or predilection, as the assault is usually an "addition" during the commission of another crime such as burglary. During the course of the other activities in which the offender is involved, he is presented with an opportunity to rape and seizes it. The sexual attack is an impulsive act, controlled more by the situational and contextual factors than by any sexual fantasy or explicit anger towards women (Knight, Warren, Reboussin & Soley, 1998:56). The context controls the rape process, and in most cases the offender will use only a minimal level of force as needed to maintain control (Hazelwood, 2001:148; Turvey, 1997). The aggression present during the attack can be described as instrumental aggression, where the intent of the offender is to gain something. In the case of the opportunistic rapist, the aggression is aimed at securing sexual compliance (Knight & Prentky, 1987:409; Salfati & Bateman, 2005:6). There is little verbal scripting and the offender is verbally and sexually selfish, interested only in immediate gratification. There is very little fantasy behaviour involved, and the victim is merely sexually convenient. The rape is completely unplanned, as evidenced by the carelessness and sloppy nature of the crime scene behaviour and the abundance of physical and behavioural evidence left behind (Turvey, 1997). The opportunistic type of rapist

will exhibit most, if not all, of the criminal intent behavioural patterns examined in the preceding section.

### **3.3.3.2.1.2 Power-reassurance rapist**

The power-reassurance rapist is a highly ritualistic offender. This rapist type is extremely sexualised and fantasy driven. His complex fantasy consists of a relational component where he wants to play the role of a “lover”. The attack is also characterised by the presence of verbalisations and behaviour that reflects an intended person-orientated relationship between the offender and victim (Douglas *et al.*, 1992:214; Hazelwood, 2001:141; Knight & Prentky, 1987:410). The behavioural patterns exhibited by the power-reassurance rapist will be indicative of the personal and attempted intimacy behaviour patterns. The purpose of the assault is an effort by the offender to reassure himself, and to protect himself from lingering pervasive feelings of his sexual inadequacy and masculinity. The aim of the attack is to restore the rapist’s confidence or self-esteem (Knight *et al.*, 1998:58; Knight & Prentky, 1987:408; Savino & Turvey, 2005:276; Warren *et al.*, 1991:56). He wants to place the victim in a position where she cannot deny him and by exercising his will over her, strengthens his failing sense of self-esteem and adequacy (Ainsworth, 2005:104; Graney & Arrigo, 2002:29-30; Groth *et al.*, 1977:1241; Hazelwood, 2001:141). The power-reassurance rapist exhibits pseudo-unselfish verbal and sexual behaviour, and employs minimal levels of force. He will also attempt to involve the victim in the sexual activity, and will allow the victim to negotiate the sexual activity (Savino & Turvey, 2005:277). The aim of the assault is to affect sexual intercourse and the force used is instrumental in this. Usually the offender has no conscious intent to hurt or degrade this victim. The amount of force used during the attacks may increase as the offender becomes more desperate to dispel his feelings of inadequacy (Groth *et al.*, 1977:1240; Hazelwood, 2001:141-142). The offender usually commits the attack within an environment where he feels geographically comfortable, and can keep mementos of the attacks such as a piece of clothing (Hazelwood, 2001:143).



### 3.3.3.2.2 Expressive aggression

The following three types of rapists characteristically make use of expressive aggression.

#### 3.3.3.2.2.1 Power-assertive rapist

This type of rapist demonstrates low levels of impulsivity, and fantasy does not play a dominant role in the commission of the crimes. The behavioural patterns exhibited by this type of rapist will, in most cases, correlate with the selfish behavioural patterns. The assertive type of offender has no doubt about his virility and masculinity the behaviour is intended to restore the rapist's self-confidence and self-worth. The behaviour of the power-assertive rapist suggests an underlying lack of confidence and a sense of inadequacy. He uses rape as an expression of his virility, masculinity, dominance and authority (Graney & Arrigo, 2002:29; Savino & Turvey, 2005:280). The rapist experiences a sense of entitlement, and the victim is merely an object he can use for his own gratification. The offender may also subject the victim to repeated assaults during the time frame of the rape (Graney & Arrigo, 2002:29). The sexual assault is distinguished by behaviours explicitly intended to harm, degrade, and humiliate the victim (Knight *et al.*, 1998:58). The victim has little or no psychological meaning to the offender, and merely represents a masturbatory object to the offender. The attack is an expression of the inadequacy he experiences in terms of his sense of identity and sexual effectiveness (Groth *et al.*, 1977:1240-1241; Hazelwood, 2001:143; Knight & Prentky, 1987:410; Turvey, 1997; Warren *et al.*, 1991:56-57). The power-assertive rapist is verbally and sexually selfish in his attacks, he will do with his victim whatever he wants. He can engage in behaviours such as pulling, pinching and biting. He exhibits no empathy towards his victim, and shows no concern for her physical or emotional well-being. He utilises the victim as a prop; his own pleasure is primary. The verbal interaction between the offender and victim is one sided. He does not want the victim to be verbally or otherwise involved in the rape, he will give explicit sexual instructions and commands using a great deal of profanity (Savino & Turvey, 2005:282; Turvey, 1997). The offender will usually employ a con approach, and use moderate to excessive force to subdue and control his victim in a surprise attack. The amount of force employed is expressive of his belief that he is a "man's man", his sexual dominance is his way of "keeping his woman in line" (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979:25-26; Hazelwood, 2001:142-144).

### **3.3.3.2.2 Anger-retaliatory rapist**

The assault of the anger-retaliatory rapist is characterised by physical brutality. The rape is an expression of the anger, rage, contempt and hatred he feels towards women, a specific person, group, or institution (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979:13-14; Groth *et al.*, 1977:1241; Savino & Turvey, 2005:286; Warren *et al.*, 1991:56). This is a highly impulsive offender who is extremely violent. Fantasy plays less of a role than in the preceding types, the offender hates women, and wants to punish and degrade them. He is in essence “getting even” with women who represent or symbolise a perceived wrong or degradation he has suffered at the hands of women (Hazelwood, 2001:144; Groth *et al.*, 1977:13-14; Knight & Prentky, 1987:410-411). The offender displays a great deal of anger and contempt towards the victim, and intentionally punishes the victim with brute force. The assault can often be attributed to an uncontrollable impulse (Knight & Prentky, 1987:411). The amount of aggression displayed by the offender in this case, is expressive in that the aim is to harm the victim, often inflicting high levels of physical injuries on the victim (Knight *et al.*, 1998:58; Savino & Turvey, 2005:287; Salfati & Bateman, 2005:6). The rapist is sexually and verbally selfish, and employs excessive levels of force that fulfil an emotional need of the offender to attack, punish, and destroy his victim (Hazelwood, 2001:145). He derives pleasure from humiliating and degrading his victim, not from the sexual contact. The offender does not achieve sexual excitement or arousal; sex in this case becomes a weapon (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979:14-15; Groth *et al.*, 1977:1242; Knight & Prentky, 1987:411).

### **3.3.3.2.3 Sadistic rapist**

The sadistic rapist is the most dangerous type of rapist because he aims to harm the victim physically and mentally (Hickey, 2006:412; Holmes & Holmes, 2002c: 192). The sadistic rape is characterised by levels of violence that clearly exceed the necessary force required to ensure victim compliance (Burgess, Hazelwood & Burgess, 2001:172). When discussing the sadistic criminal, it is important to list the definition of sadism:

The experience of sexual pleasure sensations (including orgasm) produced by acts of cruelty or bodily punishment afflicted on one’s person, or when witnessed in others, be they animals or human beings. It may also consist of an innate desire to humiliate, hurt, wound, or even destroy others in order to create sexual pleasure in oneself (Hickey, 2006:413).

According to Shaffer and Penn (2006:74), sexual sadism is a paraphilia in which sexual arousal and/or orgasms are achieved by inflicting pain and humiliation on another individual, and/or by watching another individual suffer.

The sadistic rapist has made the connection between aggression and sexual gratification; his sexual arousal is a function of the victim's pain, fear and discomfort. The more aggressive the rapist becomes, the more powerful the rapist feels, and the more powerful they feel, the more aggressive they become (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979:46; Knight & Prentky, 1987:411). The sadistic rapist's aggression is thus eroticised, and he finds pleasure and excitation in the suffering of his victim (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979: 45-46; Groth *et al.*, 1977:1242; Savino & Turvey, 2005:294). Fantasy behaviour (verbal and behavioural scripting), plays a major role in the sadistic offender's behaviour (Hazelwood, 2001:146). The offender is sexually selfish, and the primary function of the victim is to suffer sexually (Turvey, 1997). The rape behaviour can consist of actions such as whipping and bondage, while violence is directed specifically towards the erogenous zones of the body, for example cutting or mutilating the victim's breasts, anus, buttocks or genitals. Foreign object insertion into the vagina and anus is also a common factor in the sadistic rape (Douglas *et al.*, 1992:227; Burgess *et al.*, 2001:172). The aggression displayed by the sadistic rapist is both instrumental in facilitating the fantasy behaviour, and expressive, i.e. the offender's sexual arousal is coupled to the pain and suffering experienced by the victim.

Although recent research indicates that most rapes have clusters of distinguishing behaviour, it is also important to note that, like individuals, no two rapists are alike (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979; Groth *et al.*, 1977). Similar acts are performed for different reasons, while different acts can serve similar purposes. The variations of exhibited behavioural patterns are almost limitless, and in any given instance of rape, a multitude of meanings can be expressed by the observable behavioural patterns. To this extent, no rapist will completely "fit" into one of the types listed above in pure form. It is likely that a rapist may fit into more than one of the categories listed in the preceding section. The aim of the model is to serve as a general guide that the investigator can employ to characterise the observable behaviour, and then determine which typology or combination best represents the particular rapist.

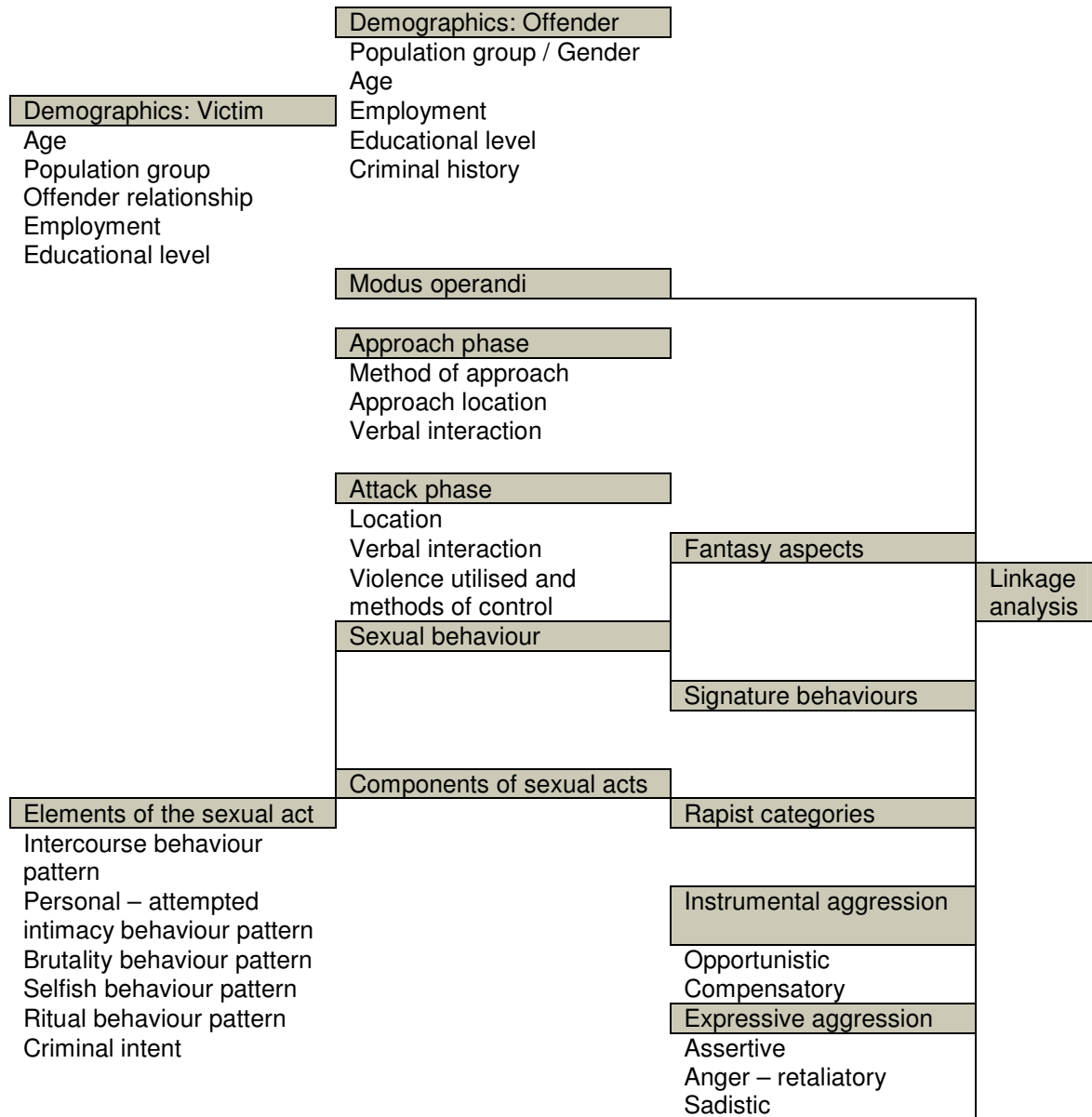
### 3.4 SYNTHESIS

Figure one is schematic representation of the behavioural profiling framework stipulated in the section above. The framework incorporated all the aspects which are relevant to constructing a comprehensive behavioural profile. A detailed and complete behavioural profile will also allow for a more in depth behavioural motivation analysis of the offender, and answer questions such as “why” more thoroughly.

The framework was constructed from various psychological and criminological typologies and models created by Burgess *et al.*, (2001); Canter, (1989); Douglas *et al.*, (1992); Groth and Birnbaum, (1979); Groth *et al.*, (1977); Hazelwood & Burgess, (2001); Hazelwood, (2001); Hazelwood & Warren, (1990); Knight & Prentky, (1987); Knight *et al.*, (1998); Palermo & Kocsis, (2005); Savino & Turvey, (2005); Turvey, (2003), in order to ensure that the framework and models are as comprehensive as possible. This will ensure that the relevant information will be gathered, and a more thorough profile of the offender can be constructed. The aim of the behavioural profiling frameworks discussed above is to assist investigators in formulating a more detailed picture of the serial rapist from the information obtained from both the victim and crime-scene analysis.

In terms of the current study the framework, as illustrated in figure 1, will be used in a descriptive-exploratory capacity in order to determine how serial rape presents itself within the South African context. Because no research-based information on serial rape exists within the South African context, the comprehensive nature of the framework is ideal for determining the behavioural nuances of the South African serial rapist. The similarities between South African serial rape and international offenders, as well as distinct behavioural patterns exhibited by serial rapists in South Africa will also be highlighted. The comprehensive nature of the framework will allow for the identification of any distinct and unique behavioural patterns that can be used in developing new distinctive typologies, which can be utilised in future research.

Figure 1  
Schematic representation of the Behavioural-profiling framework



### 3.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the various definitions regarding profiling have been listed. The aim of the chapter was to illustrate the basic underlying principles of profiling shared by the various concepts. The basic foundation of all the various processes is inferring behavioural patterns and

personality characteristics from an analysis of the offence behaviour. Along with shared underlying principles, the process of profiling also has numerous points of criticism levelled against it. The most notable point of criticism is the apparent lack of empirical research regarding the validity and reliability of the profiling process.

The general aim of any behavioural profile is to assist investigators in sorting out complex offender behaviour, which will aid in determining aspects such as the modus operandi, fantasy motive and signature behaviour of the particular offender (Turvey, 1997). The basic premise of the proposed behavioural profiling process is that “behaviour reflects personality” (Douglas & Olshaker, 1979:29). The reasoning process, which will be employed in order to make the necessary inferences during the process, will be a combined inductive-deductive analysis process. By combining the two processes, the inferences made will include all the relevant information and will ensure that any conclusions are specific to the offender. The process is aimed at analysing the behavioural evidence exhibited by the offender, by breaking down the attack into individual elements.

Any analysis process will start with a detailed description of the crime scene as well as a victim analysis. The crime scene tells a story, it is a reflection of the human interactions, speech patterns, and individual behavioural characteristics of the individuals involved during the attack (Douglas & Munn, 1992:1). A detailed victim analysis is one of the most useful investigative tools available, especially in serial rape cases. The victim essentially is a direct link to the offender. The victim can provide first-hand recollections in terms of the verbal and physical interactions between offender and victim, which could ultimately assist in determining and understanding the motivation of the offender (Douglas *et al.*, 1992:7-8).

Through a thorough analysis of the crime scene, unique behavioural representations such as the modus operandi, signature, and fantasy behaviours can be identified. The behavioural framework is aimed at determining the salient behavioural features that can be utilised to determine the individuating features of the serial rapist. The framework is aimed at distinguishing the behavioural features indicative of the modus operandi, as well as the fantasy and signature behaviours. The linkage analysis process will integrate the elements of the three distinct crime components in order to assist in the behavioural profiling process. Once the features of the MO, the fantasy elements, and the signature behaviours have been established, the focus can shift to the sexual act.

The sexual and offence behaviour exhibited by the offender is distinct, and can be classified in terms of the emphasis of the behaviour. The sexual and offence behaviour exhibited by the offender can be classified under six general behavioural patterns. In the first two patterns the dominant themes are in some way associated with sexual gratification, brutality, selfishness, and ritual patterns. The dominant themes are not sexual, but rather themes associated with anger, aggression, dominance, degradation, and sadistic paraphilic acts. In the criminal intent behaviour pattern, the sexual assault is secondary to the original criminal intent, such as burglary. By classifying the elements of the sexual and offence behaviour, the rapist can be categorised and in the process can determine the underlying motivation for the rape.

The categorisation model focuses on the fundamental elements of forcible rape, the meaning of the aggression exhibited by the offender, and the meaning of the sexual behaviour. The aggression exhibited by the offender can be classified into two behavioural indicators, instrumental and expressive. The sexual behaviour categorisation is divided into five subtypes each with its own distinct behavioural characteristics, the opportunistic, the compensatory, the assertive type, the anger-retaliatory, and the sadistic type rapist.

In terms of the proposed research, the framework will be applied to South African serial rapists, in order to determine how serial rape presents itself within the South African context, as well as assessing the reliability and validity of the framework. The diversity and extensive nature of the framework will also allow for the identification of any unique behavioural patterns exhibited by the South African serial rapist.

In the following chapter the research methodology employed during research, will be explored.

## CHAPTER 4

# RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

As explained in Chapter one, the current research is a descriptive-exploratory study on serial rape and on how it presents itself within the South African context. The research is a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methodological aspects, and aims to build a general 'picture' of the South African serial rapist.

Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) generated the most relevant information on serial rape as a whole. The FBI research was aimed at providing insight into the development of the serial rapist, and of his behaviour prior to, during, and after the crime. In terms of the development of the offender, the research gathered information about the offender's family, education, sexual development, military experience, employment, and sexual activity during marriage (Hazelwood & Burgess, 1987). The research also focused on the behaviour exhibited by the serial rapist such as the methods of approach, use of violence, and verbal activity (Hazelwood & Warren, 1990). The mostly interview-based research consisted of interviews with 41 incarcerated serial rapists responsible for 837 rapes and more than 400 attempted rapes. Relevant documentation was also utilized in order to corroborate any information gathered.

Due to lack of research on the phenomenon in the South African context, a similar descriptive type of research would yield valuable information, which could assist law- enforcement agencies in the investigation of other similar types of crimes and future research.

In this chapter, the methodological approach adopted for the study, the data collection process, and the data analysis process, is explained.

### 4.1 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In the present study, a combination of both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection and analysis were deemed most appropriate for the present study. By moving between the qualitative and quantitative designs, the researcher was able to achieve a more



coherent and structured description and explanation of the phenomenon (Bailey, 1994; De Vos, Strydom, Fouché & Delport, 2005; Thomas, 2003; Yin, 1989). No empirically tested statements or specific research questions had been formulated for the research. Instead, each case study was explored, and a descriptive-explanation of each individual case was constructed.

With respect to the nature and type of data utilised in the course of the study, a document case-study methodology was deemed the most appropriate. According to De Vos *et al.* (2005:314) a document study involves an analysis of any written material, which contains information on the phenomenon being studied. A variety of classifications exist of the types of data sources that can be utilised during a document study. According to Bailey (1994:294), primary sources are seen as original written material, and include the author's personal experiences and observations. Secondary sources are derived from someone else who was not physically present at the event (De Vos *et al.*, 2005:315). The research data was obtained from primary documentation consisting of official police dockets, court reports and other relevant information regarding each individual case of serial rape.

In the data analysis, content analysis was used as the primary technique. Content analysis is guided by a question or a set of questions that the researcher wishes to answer. The type of question can be limited to either qualitative features or quantitative aspects (Thomas, 2003:57). According to Carney (1972:24-25), quantitative and qualitative methods can supplement each other. The aim and objectives of the current research lend themselves to both qualitative and quantitative data analysis techniques. According to Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (2004:324), content analysis is "...a technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of verbal data." Thomas (2003:57) states that content analysis entails the analysis of a document's contents by answering questions or a set of questions about the phenomenon being researched. Neuendorf (2002:10) states that content analysis "...is a summarizing, quantitative analysis of messages that relies on a specific scientific method and is not limited to the types of variables that may be measured or the context in which the messages are created or presented". Clark-Carter (2004:10) defines content analysis as a technique to quantify aspects of writers or spoken text or some form of visual representation. The role of the researcher is to decide upon a unit of measurement, and then apply that measurement to the text or other form of representation.

Content analysis involves coding the content into categories or relevant variables, which summarize and systematize the data. The categories which the researcher utilises during content analysis can be determined inductively or deductively by means of some combination of both. These categories can be derived either by ‘immersing’ oneself in the data and identifying relevant themes, for example utilising the grounded theory approach (inductively) or from utilising prior categorical schemes suggested by theoretical frameworks (deductively) (Berg, 2004:272-273; Carney, 1972:168-169; Neuendorf, 2002:102; Smith, 2006:196). In terms of the current research the categories which were utilised during the data collection and data analysis portions of the research was constructed by a combination of inductive and deductive measures. In order to facilitate the category construction each case was analysed individually by utilising the case study method. Through the application of a theoretical framework the empirical as well as abstract properties of the data could be analysed. This allowed the researcher to construct mutually exclusive categories which are theoretically sound, completely grounded within the data and unique to the phenomenon being studied (Charmaz, 2003:81-82).

#### **4.1.1 The Case study method**

The case study method involves systematically gathering information about a group, social setting, or phenomenon, in order to effectively understand how the subject operates or functions (Berg, 2004:251). The case study method is the preferred research method when questions such as “how” and “why” are being asked about a contemporary set of events over which the investigator has no control. This method is also preferred when a current phenomenon within a real life context, is researched (Yin, 1989:8-13).

According to Thomas (2003:33), a case study typically consists of a description of the event or situation being studied, and the actions exhibited by the individual during the event or in the situation. The case study also offers an explanation as to why specific behaviours occur during the event or situation. The unit of analysis in a study utilising the case study method can vary from individuals or groups to organizations (Thomas, 2003:33-34). The description and exploration of the case take place through a detailed in-depth data-collection method involving multiple sources such as interviews, documents, and archival records. Where multiple cases are involved, it is referred to as a collective case study method. The product is an in- depth description of the case or cases (De Vos *et al.*, 2005:272).

When the study contains more than a single case, such a study is said to utilise a multiple-case study design. Evidence gathered from the multiple-case study is considered more credible, and the overall results are regarded as more compelling (Tellis, 1997). In a study in which the multiple-case study method is used, each case must serve a specific purpose within the overall scope of the research. Each case utilised in the multiple-case study design should relate specifically to the research. Multiple-case studies should be viewed in the same light as multiple experiments, and subsequently must follow replication logic. Replication logic specifies that, if the researcher has access to a certain number of cases, and if similar results are obtained for all the cases during the research, replication has taken place. The same logic underlies the use of multiple case studies. Each case must be selected so that it either (a) predicts or will produce similar results (literal replication) or (b) produce contrasting results, but for predictable reasons (theoretical replication) within the research (Yin, 1989:45-46).

#### **4.1.2 Theoretical framework**

An important aspect in the replication logic procedure is the development of an extensive theoretical framework. The framework is of importance due as it would state conditions under which the phenomenon might occur. The framework later becomes the “blueprint” for examining and interpreting the findings of the research (Yin, 1989:46-47). A theory can be defined as a set of interrelated concepts, definitions, and propositions that present a systematic view of a phenomenon by specifying relationships between variables with the aim of explaining and predicting a phenomenon (De Vos *et al.*, 2005:442).

The level of theory, which formed the theoretical framework applied during the research, was the theoretical system. A theoretical system allows for the focus of the research to be not just on empirical elements and properties, but also on abstract elements (Frankfurt-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2004:39-40). According to Berg (2004:257) a descriptive case exploration requires a descriptive theoretical framework. The behavioural profiling framework (see Chapter 3), which formed the basis of the theoretical framework, focuses on the identification of observable behavioural patterns (measurable elements) such as the use of a weapon or restraints, and also focuses on theoretical constructs (abstract elements) such as the fantasy and signature elements.

## 4.2 DATA COLLECTION

In this section the data collection process utilised during the research will be explained. A basic description of the cases that formed the data set will also be given.

### 4.2.1 Case description

Due to the limited amount of information and research on the phenomenon of serial rape within the South African context and the exploratory-descriptive nature of the research, the research focused on an exploration and description of the South African male serial rapists. The research does not exclude the possibility that female serial rapists exist, however, in order to make the research as comprehensive as possible the female serial rapist was not included.

In terms of the current research, the parameters for the sample were reported and convicted male serial rape cases. Due to the combined qualitative-quantitative nature of the research, only nine individual serial rape cases were selected. Although the offender data set only consisted on nine cases the victim data which was generated from the nine cases consisted out of 75 victims. The nine individual serial rape cases allowed for a more manageable data set but also ensured that the behavioural evidence gathered from the data set would be comprehensive. No parameters were defined for the ethnic distribution of the data set due to the exploratory nature of the research. The limited amount of offenders will have an influence on the conclusion that can be made with regards to demographic information. However, because of the exploratory descriptive nature of the research the nine cases will be sufficient for drawing initial conclusions and making recommendations for future research.

The data set was based on 9 reported and convicted rape series, and consisted of a total of 75 victims. Sixty-four of the victims were raped, four victims were involved in attempted rape incidents, three victims were involved in sexual assaults, and four victims were involved in unsuccessful attempts.

The ages of the nine offenders ranged from 22 years to 44 years. Only three population groups were represented in the data set: black, coloured and white. The occupational categories of the offender data set varied from unemployed to professional individuals, with education levels

ranging from lower education levels (grade 1 – grade 6) to higher education levels (university degrees). The criminal histories of the offender data set ranged from attempted murder to burglary.

The age distribution of the victim data set varied; the youngest victim was six years old and the oldest 53 years old. The majority of the victims were black females who were either students or unemployed at the time of the incidents. In most of the incidents, the offender was unknown to the victims.

The research data was obtained from primary documentation consisting of official police dockets, court reports, and other relevant information about each individual case of serial rape. Official documents, in contrast to personal documents, are documents compiled and maintained by organisations such as government institutions; such documents are more formal and structured than personal documents (De Vos *et al.*, 2005:317). Official documentation is generally produced for a limited audience, and may include court transcripts, police reports, financial records, crime statistics, and similar documents (Berg, 2004:214-215).

Formal permission was obtained from the head of the Investigative Psychology Unit of the SAPS to gain access to the necessary police dockets and other relevant documentation. The documentation was screened by the unit to ensure the anonymity of the respondents. Identifying information such as victims' and offenders' names, identification numbers, and home addresses were removed before the researcher was given access to the documents.

#### **4.2.2 Generating data**

Through the application of the case study method a *behavioural checklist* (Appendix A) was constructed. This was utilised during the content analysis process in order to generate the required data. The behavioural checklist was developed from the behavioural profiling framework described in chapter 3, in order to ensure that the relevant information for all facets of the research is gathered. Utilising the behavioural checklist ensured that the exploration and description of the phenomenon were grounded in significant theoretical propositions.

The checklist consisted of five primary categories: offender demographics, victim demographics, modus operandi, components of the sexual act, and crime-scene behaviour.

The offender demographics section was divided into several sub-categories:

- the age of the offender at the time of the first incident;
- population group, for example black, white, coloured, Asian or Indian;
- occupation of the offender at the time of the first incident (for example if the offender was a painter he would be classified as a labourer and if the offender was a computer programmer he would be categorised as a professional);
- the educational level of the offender (primary – (grade 1- 6), secondary – (grade 7-12), and higher – (diplomas and university degrees));
- the criminal history of the offender is the final sub-category of the section and consists of all the previous convictions of the offender.

The victim demographics section also consisted of aspects such as the age of the victim at the time of the incident as well as the population groups of the victims. The section also included the offender relationship:

- how the offender knew the victim;
- whether the victim met the offender at least once before the actual incident;
- whether casual acquaintance;
- whether the victim knew the offender, for example if he was her cousin the offender probably was known to the victim;

The occupational categories of the victims were also included in this section for example, professional – realtor; semi-professional – teacher; clerical – bank teller; student – school or university; domestic worker – cleaner; or sex worker.

The information obtained from these fields allowed for the compilation of a general victim profile as well as a general description of the demographic characteristics of the offenders per population group distribution.

The checklist also focussed on the modus operandi of the offender, and included aspects such as:

- how the offender approached the victim;

- the location where the offender approached the victim;
- the location where the actual rape occurred;
- the methods of transport utilised;
- the methods of controlling the victim and the verbal interactions between the offender the victim.

In order to determine the levels of violence utilised during the incidents by each individual required a general criterion which would include any form of violence or method of control:

- *Verbal threats*: This interaction includes any verbalised threat which implied physical harm. This also includes threats of physical harm caused by a weapon or physical harm to the victim's family and friends.
- *Presence of a weapon*: This method of control involves the implied threat of weapon which the offender shows to the victim but never refers to.
- *Verbal threats and the presence of a weapon*: this interaction involves the offender threatening the victim with physical harm and using the weapon as added motivation without actually referring to the weapon.
- *Physical violence*: This entails any form of physical violence directed towards the victim, for example forcibly pulling the victim into a room or repeatedly hitting and kicking the victim.

In order to assist in the data generation section several basic concepts were created which would allow the researcher to gather data from the data set in a uniform manner. This included aspects such as the types of verbal interaction between the offender and victims. The interaction was divided into five standardised aspects:

- *Conversational*: Any interaction where the offender and victim engaged in general non-specific conversation, for example asking the victim about her family.
- *Complementary*: Any interaction involving the offender giving the victim a compliment or attempting to sound complimentary, for example telling the victim how successful she was.
- *Aggressive*: Any interaction where the overall tone of the offender is perceived as aggressive. This usually entails the offender yelling at the victim or the offender giving the victim specific orders.
- *Threatening*: Any interaction where the offender threatens the victim with any form physical harm if she does not comply with his demands.

- *Demeaning*: This interaction entails the offender speaking to victim in an undignified and humiliating manner. This usually involves the offender insulting the victim or speaking to her in a debasing manner.

The checklist also examined the components of the sexual acts that occurred during the incident and focussed on the elements of the sexual behaviour as well as the verbal interaction between the offender and victim during the sexual contact.

The checklist also looked at the crime scene behaviour of the offender, for example whether the offender engaged in any activities in an attempt to hide his identity from the victim as well as from the authorities.

In terms of compiling a general behavioural profile of the serial offender, as well as a general description of the phenomenon, the above-mentioned themes were of great importance.

The categories that comprised each individual field in the behavioural checklist were constructed by utilising deductive category construction. Deductive category construction comprises an examination of relevant and associated theories to construct a general idea of what types of data the researcher must search for. The actual categories must be mutually exclusive and exhaustive. Deductive category construction allows the researcher to construct the categories before the measuring instrument is applied to the data (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2004:336-337).

The general fields of the behavioural checklist are grounded in existing theoretical concepts. The aim was to expand on the categories and to provide a more detailed explanation of what happened, creating sub-categories, which were grounded within the data.

The behavioural checklist was utilised as a coding scheme and was applied to each individual case, and the data was broken down, conceptualised, put together, and classified into meaningful categories.



#### **4.2.3 Consistency of measurement instrument**

According to Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (2004:170), reliability refers to the extent to which the measuring instrument limits variable errors. This means that, if a variable is measured by the same measuring instrument under the same conditions at different occasions, the measurement procedure will produce identical (or nearly identical) results. In other words, it refers to the measuring instrument's ability to produce consistent results each time it is applied (De Vos *et al.*, 2005:162-163). In order to address the reliability and consistency of the behavioural checklist utilised during the research, the test-retest method was determined as the most viable method to determine the consistency of the proposed checklist (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 2004:172). The test-retest method is derived directly from the conceptual definition of reliability. The method stipulates that the researcher administer the measuring instrument on the same group, respondent or data set, at different intervals, to determine whether the measuring instrument provides similar results.

In terms of the current research, an independent criminologist not associated with the original research project, and one of the members of the Investigative Psychology Unit was approached to test the reliability and consistency of the behavioural checklist. Four case studies were selected from the original data set and were given to both of the re-testers. They were asked to analyse the four cases by applying the behavioural checklist to each of the cases. The results obtained from the retest method were compared to the findings of the original analysis of the same four cases. The results achieved by the re-testers and researcher were almost identical. The differences that occurred in the data sets were expected and could be attributed to subjective interpretation of the information from the individual cases.

### **4.3 DATA ANALYSIS**

The goal of the data analysis was to achieve a richly-articulated description, which furnishes a comprehensive understanding, and achieves an organised and coherent presentation of the phenomenon (Van Vuuren, 1991:57-58).

Due to the fact that the research project did not have specific quantifiable research questions and the exploratory-descriptive case study method utilised, the data analysis process presented with several challenges.

One of the major challenges during the data analysis process was integrating the qualitative and quantitative data collected during the research. Both the qualitative and quantitative data was categorised and organised in terms of the behavioural-profiling framework. The profiling framework organised the data under three core categories: offender demographics; victim demographics, and modus operandi, which consists of three distinct categories; approach phase; attack phase, and sexual behaviour. The data obtained was utilised to construct a detailed description of the phenomenon instead of forcing the data into preconceived categories. The goal was to utilise the two types of data and to combine them into an intelligible and interpretable data set, which could produce a logically assembled presentation of the facts.

In order to facilitate a descriptive-explanation regarding serial rape and how it presents itself in the South African context a comprehensive behavioural profile of each individual case had to be compiled. Multiple data sources were utilised in order to acquire the information needed to compile the behavioural profile of each individual case. The data sources consisted of victim accounts of the incidents, notes from the investigating officer, court transcripts, psychological reports, and offender accounts of the incidents. The challenging aspect of utilising multiple data sources was the multifaceted integration of the various sources. Due to the multiple data sources, determining the accuracy and reliability of the information ultimately utilised during the research was a concern. Victim statements could be incomplete or the statement could just include selective information deemed important by the investigating officer. The notes of the investigating officer could also be deficient, and the offender's description of the events could be scripted in such a manner that would favour him. In an attempt to counteract any deficiency in any one of the data sources, corroborating information was attained from the other sources to ensure accuracy and reliability.

The data collected from the individual case studies utilising the behavioural checklist was converted into frequency patterns of the variables listed in the checklist observed throughout the individual cases. The individual cases produced a variety of data depending on the size of the individual case study. The cases that had a large number of victims produced large *n-values*, which could be transformed into meaningful percentages, and could be compiled in table and graph format. The cases that consisted of fewer victims also produced information that could be transformed into percentages, but the small *n* value would not justify constructing tables and graphs for the information. The *n-values* for the smaller cases were calculated, as these would

be essential later in determining the overall implication for the entire data set. Each individual case presentation also consisted of a written protocol, which produced a narrative of the entire case and also an abstract analysis of the individual case integrating the findings into a cohesive descriptive-exploratory synopsis of the individual case.

The data-integration for the individual cases as well as all the overall data sets was done according to the behavioural-profiling framework. During the integration of the overall data set, the aim was to identify patterns observable for the entire data set. The data was also changed into frequencies and percentages and presented in table and graph format. During the overall integration, the percentages of the cases that had a small *n*-value were also incorporated, in order to achieve an accurate representation of the entire data set.

As mentioned earlier, the data was presented in table and graph format, as well as a written protocol to ground the abstract analysis and to verify the claims and conclusions about the data.

#### **4.4 CONCLUSION**

The research method utilised during the research process consisted of a qualitative content analysis, which was supplemented with aspects of the case study theory research method. Although quantitative and qualitative methods are viewed as exclusive, supplementing the quantitative content analysis method with selected aspects of qualitative research methods allowed the researcher to combine the advantages of both designs. The ultimate goal of the research design was to let the data be the focus of the research, and to ascertain what the data yielded. The aim was not to force the data into preconceived categories or theoretical applications, but rather to let the data guide the analysis. Theoretical constructs did play an important part in the data collection and data analysis procedures, but only as a point of departure and a basic framework.

The research design was structured in such a way that an analytic description and explanation could be given of the phenomenon of serial rape and how it presents itself within the South African context. The information was presented in two phases; the first phase was to construct a behavioural profile of each individual case by utilising the behavioural profiling framework. The second phase was in terms of statistical findings, which relate to the overall distribution of the specific categories, as well as the significance of its distribution in terms of the sample. The

statistical findings could ultimately be projected onto the larger population of the phenomenon. The statistical data, along with the information contained in the protocol, was used to construct a basic profile of serial rape within the South African context.

In the following chapter (Chapter 5) the individual case studies will be examined and analysed, and a behavioural profile of each individual case will be constructed.

## CHAPTER 5

### EXPLORATION OF INDIVIDUAL SERIES

In this chapter, each individual series will be analysed in terms of the different sections contained in the Behavioural Profiling Framework as discussed in chapter 3.

In order to compile a general behavioural profile of serial rape in South Africa a thorough analysis had to be conducted of each individual case which formed part of the data set. Each individual series will be broken down into specific aspects.

The analysis of each series will consist of a short summarising description of the series. Offender demographics such as population group, age at the time of the first rape, level of education, and any previous convictions will be discussed. Information on victim demographics will also be provided, which includes aspects such as age of the victim, population group, employment level, age at the time of the incident, and relationship to the offender. All the victims of the offender will be included, and not just the victims that were raped. This will assist in determining if and how an offender progresses in his series. Therefore, cases of sexual assault, assault, and other crimes that occurred when the offender approached a non-rape victim will be included.

Finally, the modus operandi of the offender will be explored by examining it in terms of the **approach phase**, the **attack phase** and the **sexual behaviour**. The approach phase explores how the offender made contact with the victim, the location where the contact took place, and the verbal interaction. The attack phase examines the location of the actual rape, verbal interaction, violence, and methods used to control the victim. The sexual behaviour focuses on the sexual elements exhibited during the incident as well as the verbal communication and interaction exhibited during the sexual behaviour.

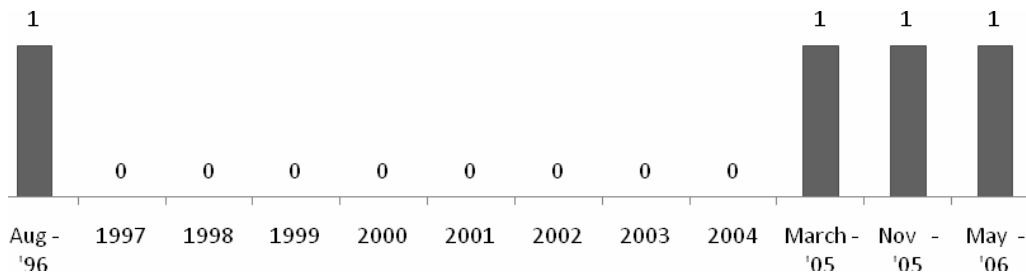
#### 5.1 OFFENDER A

Offender A's rape series consisted of four victims, all of whom were raped. His first victim was raped in August 1996. There was a period of approximately eight years where the offender was

'inactive' between 1996 and 2005, according to the data available. The other three victims were raped over a fourteen-month period between March 2005 and May 2006. Figure 2 shows the time line of the rape series.

*Figure 2*

Time line of the offences committed by offender A (n=4)



### 5.1.1 Offender demographics

The offender was a white male. He was 33 at the time of the first offence in 1996. The offender had a university degree, and worked within a professional environment. Offender A owned a vehicle and several properties. The offender also had a criminal record consisting of a conviction for rape (as part of the first rape incident) and a conviction for attempted murder.

### 5.1.2 Victim demographics

The ages of the victims ranged from 42 years to 53 years. The mean age of the victims was 48,7 years. Table 5 illustrates the victims' age distribution, as well as the offender's age distribution across the entire rape series, in order of the incidents.

Table 5

*Victim and offender age distribution and age difference across the rape series*

Date	Victim age	Offender age	Difference
August 1996	49	33	16
March 2005	42	42	0
November 2005	51	42	9
May 2006	53	43	10

Table 5 indicates that, although the series was spread across a ten-year time period, the offender targeted victims significantly older than himself by an average of 11.6 years, except during one incident. The rape series consisted of two black victims and two white victims. The first and the last victims were white. In terms of occupational distribution, the two black victims were domestic workers, while the two white victims were a professional and a semi-professional

person. The offender was a casual acquaintance of the first victim, whom he had met at a nightclub with friends (white female), was unknown to the two black female victims, whilst the fourth victim (white female) knew the offender from a professional work environment. He manipulated the victim into believing that he was interested in buying property.

### **5.1.3 Modus operandi**

In this section, the way in which the offender approached the victims, as well as the location and the verbal interaction, will be discussed.

#### **5.1.3.1 Approach phase**

##### **5.1.3.1.1 Method and circumstances of approaching the victim**

The offender used two methods of approach to obtain his intended victim. The first three approaches involved a con story of offering the victim a lift. With the first victim, a white female, he offered to give the victim a lift home from a nightclub one evening. During the second and third incidents, both black females, the offender saw the victims walking along the road early in the morning, stopped next to them and asked if he could give them a lift to their place of work. With the final victim, a white female, he made use of a delayed-con approach in which he had previous contact with the victim on numerous occasions before arranging the final meeting when he raped her. This incident started at mid-day and continued into the early evening. None of the victims were able to indicate the exact times when the incidents occurred. As mentioned in Chapter 3, a delayed-con involves the offender purposefully arranging to meet the victim on a different day whereupon he rapes her. This often includes a form of 'courtship' with intermediate contact taking place in-between the initial contact and the actual rape.

##### **5.1.3.1.2 Approach location**

In all of the incidents, the location where the offender initially approached and acquired the victims differed from where the actual rape took place. During the first and fourth incidents (white victims) the offender approached the victims in social and professional settings respectively. The second and third victims (black victims), were approached outdoors in the open, next to a road.

#### **5.1.3.1.3 Verbal interaction**

The con and delayed-con approaches are dependent on the offender's ability to interact and communicate with the victim without arousing any suspicions. Due to the nature of the method of approach utilized by the offender, the verbal interaction between the victim and offender was therefore conversational. During the first incident, for example, the offender asked the victim about her sister. During the fourth incident the offender complimented the victim, saying "you are very successful and I respect that."

#### **5.1.3.2 Attack phase**

In this section, aspects pertaining to the actual physical attack of the victim are discussed in terms of location, verbal interaction, violence, and sexual behaviour.

##### **5.1.3.2.1 Location**

In three of the incidents, the offender utilised his own vehicle and drove the victims from the pick-up location to the actual rape location. In the last incident, the offender managed to lure the victim to his home under the pretence that they were meeting there for a business deal. All the rapes took place in areas where the offender could be alone with the victim. The first two incidents occurred in the offender's own vehicle in an isolated area. The third incident occurred inside an unknown residence, while the fourth incident occurred inside the offender's own house. In three of the incidents the offender drove the victims to a specific location where he raped them, while during the fourth incident the victim drove to the offender's home. The incidents occurred in two different police station policing boundaries.

##### **5.1.3.2.2 Verbal interaction during attack phase and sexual contact**

During the attack phase there were verbal as well as behavioural indicators of a change in the offender's general mood in terms of how he spoke to the victim as well as his general behaviour towards the victim as compared to the approach phase. For example, during the first incident the offender asked the victim to kiss him. When she refused he started slapping her across the face. Although, in most of the cases the verbal interaction during the approach phase was complimentary, the general tone changed from conversational to threatening, but not overtly aggressive. During the first incident, the interaction between the offender and the victim was conversational. In the second and third incidents, the verbal interaction became threatening and



aggressive, the offender threatened to use a weapon on each victim. In the final incident, he was complimentary towards the victim.

In general, the verbal interaction during the **sexual contact** was functional. Threatening and aggressive verbal threats ensured compliance from the victim, (e.g. the offender told the third victim that if she ever wanted to see her children again she should not ask any questions and just keep quiet). During the fourth rape incident, the verbal interaction changed. The offender was complimentary, he asked the victim questions ranging from sexual questions, (e.g. When was the last time that you had sex?), to family issues, (e.g. Do you have any children?). The offender also spent a considerable amount of time ‘cuddling’ with this victim after the rape.

Table 6 shows the verbal interaction between the offender and each victim across the entire incident.

Table 6

*Schematic representation of the verbal interaction during the approach phase, attack phase and the sexual behaviour of offender A’s rape series*

	<b>Approach phase</b>	<b>Attack phase</b>	<b>Sexual behaviour</b>
<b>Victim 1</b>	Conversational	Conversational	Aggressive
<b>Victim 2</b>	Conversational	Threatening	Aggressive
<b>Victim 3</b>	Conversational	Aggressive	Aggressive
<b>Victim 4</b>	Complimentary	Complimentary	Complimentary

### 5.1.3.2.3 Violence utilised and methods of control

In the first rape incident, the offender utilised verbal threats as well as excessive physical violence, to the point where the offender was charged with attempted murder. The offender strangled and slapped the victim during the rape. The use of excessive physical violence continued after the rape. He dragged the victim out of the car by her hair, hit her with his fists (blunt force trauma) until she was unconscious. He then left the victim naked on a road and drove away. The level of violence changed and escalated from instrumental to expressive in nature. During the other three rapes, little violence was employed to ensure victim compliance. The offender instead relied on selective verbal threats (use of a weapon; physical harm). This appears contrary to the expectation that an offender would become more violent across a series, especially when the first incident was indicative of expressive violence and not functional violence to control the victim.

The levels of violence utilised by the offender decreased from the first incident where he had an explosion of anger and violence, to the fourth incident where the offender resorted to verbal threats to ensure victim compliance, and no physical violence was utilised.

#### 5.1.4 Sexual behaviour

In all instances, the sexual behaviour exhibited by the offender consisted of vaginal penetration without a condom, with ejaculation occurring inside the victim. During the second rape, digit insertion (vaginal) did occur after which the offender inserted his fingers into the victim's mouth. During the fourth incident after the offender raped the victim, he performed cunnilingus on the victim then proceeded to order the victim to perform oral sex on him. He also spent some time fondling the victim's vagina. Table 7 shows the various elements of the sexual behaviours exhibited by the offender.

Table 7  
*Elements of the sexual behaviour exhibited by offender A during the rape series (n = 4)*

Type	Victim 1	Victim 2	Victim 3	Victim 4
Digit insertion	-	1	-	-
Cunnilingus	-	-	-	1
Fellatio	-	-	-	1
Anal penetration	-	-	-	-
Vaginal penetration	1	1	1	1
Foreign object	-	-	-	-

Table 7 indicates that there appears to be an overall increase in the number of sexual behaviours the offender engages in, coupled with a decrease in violence (previous section).

#### 5.1.5 Summative analysis

Offender A's rape series consisted of four rape victims, and the incidents occurred over a ten-year time period. There was no discernable increase in the frequency of the victims. Between the first and second victims there was a eight-year period where the offender was 'inactive'. The series is characterised by an eight month period between the second and third victims, and a six month period between the third and the fourth victims.

The victims were from two population groups, black and white. Three of the victims were older than the offender by an average of 11.6 years. There was also a steady increase in the age group of the victims. The first two victims were in their 40s and the last two victims were in their 50s. During the first incident, the offender was 33 years old and the victim was aged 49. The offender was 42 years old during the second and third incident while his victims were 42 and 51 years old respectively. During the fourth incident, the offender was 43 years old and the victim was aged 53. The victims were therefore generally older than he was, and less of a physical threat to him.

Two methods of approach were utilised during the series. The con method was utilised during the first three incidents, while a delayed-con was employed during the fourth incident. The offender approached the two black victims while they were alone, outside, next to a road, early in the morning. The two white victims were approached during a more social setting, one during the evening at a nightclub, and one during the day at her place of work.

The locations where the offender approached the victims and where the actual rapes occurred differed during all the incidents. All the attacks occurred in a location where the offender could be alone with the victim. The offender utilised his own vehicle to transport the victims to the rape location during three of the incidents. Two of the victims were raped in his car, and one victim was raped in a house. The final victim drove herself to his home, where the rape occurred.

The verbal interaction between the offender and the victims during the approach phase can be described as conversational. The interaction changed once the offender and the victim were alone. In the first incident, the offender exhibited expressive levels of violence, which are consistent with an anger-retaliatory type rapist. During the remaining three incidents there was a marked decrease in the violence exhibited by the offender. The offender resorted to limited verbal threats to ensure victim compliance. The verbal interaction and the violence exhibited by the offender during these incidents were consistent with the power-reassurance type rapist.

While there was a decrease in the levels of aggression across the series, there was an increase in the sexual activity during the series. This is contrary to what is normally expected with a power-reassurance rapist who tends to have short encounters with minimal sexual activity. The final incident lasted several hours and the victim was raped three times during the incident, keeping in mind the inclusive definition of rape in chapter one. The offender also commented on

his emotional interest in the victim. Multiple sexual assaults during the same rape incident, is consistent with the power-assertive type rapist.

The offender exhibited behaviours that can be attributed to the power-assertive, power-reassurance, and the anger-retaliatory type rapists. It is therefore impossible to classify offender A as a single rapist type, as he illustrated a variety of behaviours across the series.

## 5.2 OFFENDER B

The series consisted of eight victims. Offender B was found guilty on nine criminal counts, six of rape (one victim was raped twice during two separate incidents), and two for sexual assault. There was also an attempted rape incident that occurred in September 2003. The series occurred over a nine-month period from April 2003 to December 2003. Table 8 illustrates the number of incidents, date of the incidents, and whether multiple victims were attacked during the same incident.

Table 8

*A correlation between the incidents, no of victims, and dates of the incidents committed by offender B*

Incident no	No of Victims	Dates of incidents
1	1	April 2003
2	1+1*	August 2003
3	1	August 2003
4	1	August 2003
5	1*	August 2003
6	1**	September 2003
7	1+1	December 2003

\* Same victim raped during two separate incidents. \*\* Attempted rape incident

Table 8 shows that the series consisted of seven incidents. During the second and the seventh incident two victims were attacked simultaneously. One of the victims, involved during the second incident, was raped again during the fifth incident. The sixth incident was the only attempted rape incident of the entire series.

### 5.2.1 Offender demographics

The offender was a black male. He was 28 years old at the time of the first rape incident. The offender was employed as a labourer. He did not own a car or any property, and his education

level is unknown. The documentation pertaining to offender B did not stipulate whether he had any previous criminal convictions.

### 5.2.2 Victim demographics

The series consisted of eight female victims. The ages of the eight victims ranged from 6 to 13 years and the average age of the victim's was 10,38 years. The victims were on average 17.6 years younger than the offender. The population group of the victims remained constant, all of the victims were black and they were all still attending school at the time of the incidents. The victims knew the offender, as they were acquaintances of his younger sister. The attacks took place over school holidays. Two of the victims whom the offender raped during the same incident were sisters (6 and 9 years old). He also attacked and raped two friends (both eleven years of age) during another incident at the same time, at the same location. Figure 3 illustrates the age distribution of the victims.

*Figure 3*  
Age distribution of the victims for offender B (n=8)

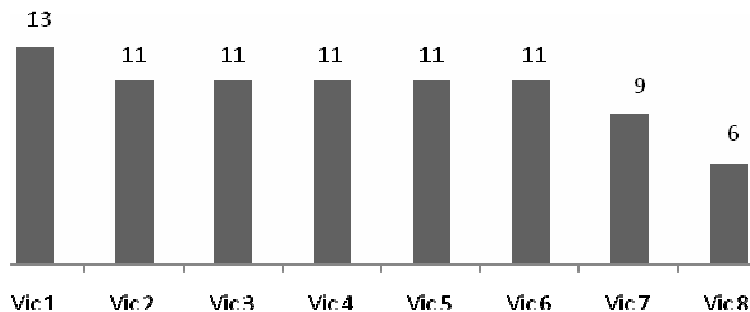


Figure 3 illustrates that the offender remained relatively constant across his rape series in terms of victim ages.

### 5.2.3 Modus operandi

In this section the way in which the offender approaches the victims, the location and the verbal interaction will be discussed.

### 5.2.3.1 Approach phase

#### 5.2.3.1.1 Method and circumstances of approaching the victim

During the majority of the incidents (4), a surprise approach was utilised. The offender would casually walk up to his intended victim and inform her of his intentions (e.g. He wants to sleep with her). This was usually followed by a threat of violence to ensure compliance. In one of the incidents, the offender was walking past the victim's residence and noticed she was alone. He acted on the opportunity that 'had presented itself.' He also employed the con method during three of the incidents, (e.g. He asked one victim for a glass of water to gain access to her home). During another incident, he approached two victims and told them he wanted to dance for them.

The offender attacked two victims simultaneously on two occasions. One of the victims from the second 'double' incident was later raped again during incident number 5. All of the victims were approached during the day, during a school holiday.

Table 9 illustrates the incident distribution, number of victims per incident, ages of victims and the method of approach utilised during the incident.

Table 9  
*Incident distribution, number of victims, victim ages and methods of approach of offender B (n=7)*

Incident	# Victim	Age	Approach
1	1	13	Con
2	2	11 + 11	Con
3	1	11	Surprise
4	1	11	Surprise
5	1*	11	Surprise
6	1	11	Surprise
7	2	9 + 6	Con

\* Victim also involved in incident number 2

It is clear from table nine that the con method of approach was favoured by the offender during the initial incidents and was replaced by the surprise method of approach.

#### 5.2.3.1.2 Approach location

All of the incidents occurred at the same location where the offender approached the victim. In all the incidents the offender approached the victims at their own homes, which were in the

same area in which the suspect lived, an informal settlement. The victims were either inside their homes or playing outside next to their homes when approached by the offender.

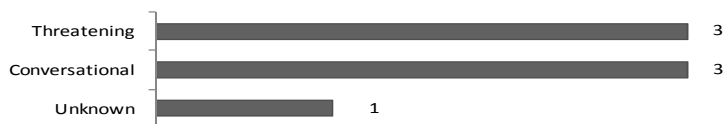
### 5.2.3.1.3 Verbal interaction

Due to the fact that the offender openly approached his victims during three of the incidents, the verbal interaction during the approach phase was a combination of conversational exchanges, followed by verbal threats. During three other incidents, the verbal interaction was immediately aggressive and threatening. For example, during the first rape incident the offender approached the two victims and told them that he wanted to sleep with them. They refused, and the offender pulled out a knife and became aggressive, threatening to kill both of them. During the last incident the offender approached two sisters and asked if he could dance for them. Once they were inside their house, he told the victims they had to undress or he was going to hurt them. During the attempted rape incident, the offender surprised the victim. He walked through her front door and when she saw him the victim screamed and the offender jumped out the window and ran away. The victim did not recall if the offender said anything before she screamed.

Figure 4 illustrates the verbal interaction between the offender and the victims during the seven incidents through the approach phase.

*Figure 4*

Verbal interaction between offender B and his victims during the seven incidents (n=7)



### 5.2.3.2 Attack phase

In this section, aspects pertaining to the actual physical attack of the victim are discussed in terms of location, verbal interaction, violence, and sexual behaviour.

#### 5.2.3.2.1 Location

All of the incidents occurred within the boundaries of a single police station. In all of the cases the incidents took place in a residential area, in or around the victim's own residence in an informal settlement. The offender ensured that the intended victims were alone, before he approached and attacked them. Five of the seven incidents occurred indoors, inside the victim's own home. Two of the incidents took place outdoors, one next to the victim's house, and the other under an awning next to the victim's house. No form of transportation was utilised by the offender. He walked to the locations where he approached the victims and ultimately raped them.

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

There was limited verbal interaction between the offender and his victims during the **attack phase**. What interaction occurred between the offender and his victims was threatening (threats involving a weapon) and functional, in that the offender gave the victim specific instructions. For example, during the fourth rape incident, the offender ordered the victim to take off all her clothes or he was going to stab her with his knife. During the sixth rape incident, the attempted rape, there was no interaction the offender jumped out the victim's window when she screamed. During the **sexual contact** there was very little verbal interaction between the offender and the victim. Table 10 shows the verbal interaction between the offender and the victims across the seven rape incidents.

Table 10

*Schematic representation of the verbal interaction during the approach phase, attack phase and the sexual behaviour of offender B (n=7)*

<b>Incident</b>	<b>No of Victims</b>	<b>Approach phase</b>	<b>Attack phase</b>	<b>Sexual behaviour</b>
1	1	Conversational	Threatening	Aggressive
2	2	Threatening	Threatening	Aggressive
3	1	Threatening	Threatening	Aggressive
4	1	Unknown	Threatening	Aggressive
5	1*	Conversational	Threatening	Aggressive
6	1	Conversational	N/A	N/A
7	2	Threatening	Threatening	Aggressive

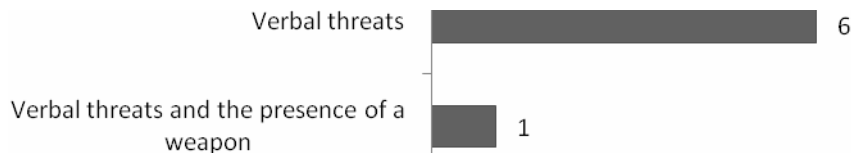
\* Victim was involved in the second rape incident



### 5.2.3.2.3 Violence utilised and methods of control

The offender did not employ any physical violence to control his victims. It is likely that because he was familiar to them, they were not suspicious, which allowed him to get very close to the victims. Also the fact that he was so much older than his intended victims contributed to the low levels of violence. He did employ some verbal threats referring to a weapon (knife) to ensure complete compliance, and during one incident he showed the weapon to the victim. The offender also relied on his physical presence during one incident (being intimidating) to ensure victim compliance. Figure 5 indicates the methods of control utilised by the offender during the seven incidents.

*Figure 5*  
Method of control utilised during the attack phase (n = 7)



### 5.2.4 Sexual behaviour

Seven of the eight victims were sexually violated in some manner, five of the victims were vaginally raped (one of the victims was raped again at a later incident (anal penetration)), and two victims were sexually assaulted. The sexual assaults consisted of vaginal fondling and the offender forcing his penis in between a victim's thighs. The series also consisted of an attempted rape, which occurred during the sixth incident, the victim screamed and the offender ran away. The offender did not use a condom during any of the incidents. During the fifth incident, the offender placed his penis between the thighs of the victim and forced her to move up and down, it was also the only occasion where ejaculation occurred. The sexual contact between the offender and the victims was also very limited. All of the victim accounts indicated that the actual sexual acts did not take more than five minutes. Table 11 shows the elements of the sexual behaviour across the series.

Table 11  
*Elements of the sexual behaviour exhibited by offender B (n = 8)*

Type	Victim 1	Victim 2	Victim 3 (x 2)	Victim 4	Victim 5	Victim 6	Victim 7	Victim 8
Digit insertion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oral sex	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Anal penetration	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Vaginal penetration	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	1
Foreign object	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sexual assault	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-

### 5.2.5 Summative analysis

Offender B's series consisted of eight victims, seven were sexually violated (rape or sexual assault) and one victim was involved in an attempted rape. The series was also characterised by the fact that the offender raped one of the victims twice. During one incident vaginal penetration occurred and during another separate incident anal penetration occurred. The entire series occurred over a nine-month period.

There was a marked increase in the frequency of victims between the second and sixth incidents. Five of the eight victims were attacked during that two-month period, including one victim being raped a second time during a separate incident in the same month. The ages of the victims ranged from 6 to 13 years. The average age of the victims was 10,38 and on average the victims were 17,6 years younger than the offender. The offender remained relatively consistent across his series in terms of the ages of his victims: five of the eight victims were 11 years old at the time of the incident. The offender utilised the surprise method of approaching the intended victim during four of the seven incidents. The offender approached and attacked all the victims in the same geographical area, an informal settlement where the offender himself also resided. All of the victims were from the same population group, as the offender.

Due to the fact that the offender was known to all of the victims, coupled with the large age difference, there was no need for excessive levels of violence. The verbal interaction between the offender and the victims was also more functional than expressive. The offender employed

verbal threats involving a weapon, to ensure victim compliance. There was also little verbal interaction between the offender and the victims during the sexual contacts.

The offender did not exhibit a diverse sexual interest. In most of the cases vaginal penetration occurred; anal penetration only occurred once, while three victims were subjected to some form of sexual assault. The offender exhibited *intercourse behavioural patterns* where the incident is characterised by the offender pursuing sexual intercourse for sexual gratification, violence is simply not part of the attack (Canter & Heritage, 1990:199; Kocsis, *et al.*, 2002:163). The school holidays presented him with an opportunity to act on his desires and he targeted young girls. A younger victim would not be able to deny him, and he could control the situation and ensure a positive outcome (Knight, Warren, Reboussin & Soley, 1998:56). The rapes were the primary objective of the offender. The choice of younger girls could indicate an inability on the part of the offender to interact with individuals of his own peer group. He is only able to relate emotionally and physically to younger individuals.

The offender exhibited some of the characteristics of the opportunistic type of rapist, but he cannot be accurately classified as an opportunistic type rapist. The offender exhibited no overt sexual or ritual behavioural patterns, and no excessive levels of violence were evident during any of the incidents.

### **5.3 OFFENDER C**

Offender C's rape series consisted of 16 victims. Thirteen victims were raped, two victims were involved in attempted rape incidents (number 5 & number 7) and he was caught with the final victim (August 2003) as they were making their way to the rape location. The incidents occurred across a thirteen-month period from August 2002 to August 2003. Figure 6 illustrates the time line of 15 of the incidents. One of the victims was uncertain of the date when the incident occurred, and could not be included in the figure.

Figure 6  
Incident and time line of offender C's rape series (n=15)

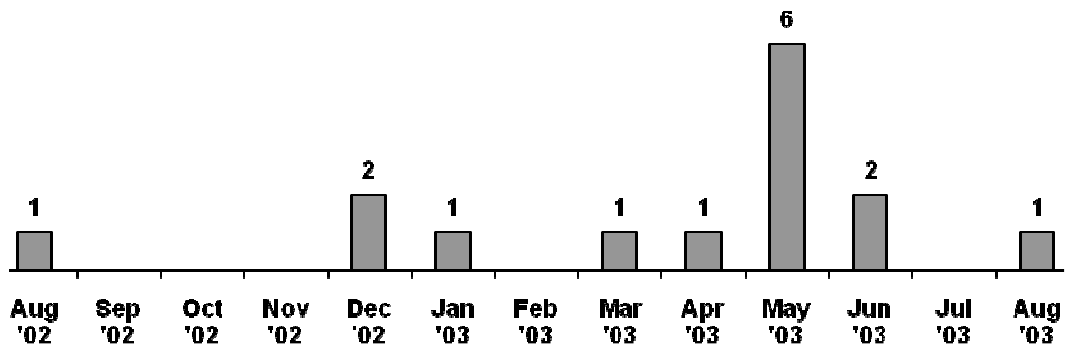


Figure 6 shows that the frequency of the victims increased during the last six months of the series with 11 of the 16 incidents occurring during this period.

### 5.3.1 Offender demographics

The offender was a black male. He was 34 years old at the time of his first incident. At the time of the incidents the offender was working as a labourer. He has a primary education level. He has a criminal record consisting of convictions for assault, burglary and robbery.

### 5.3.2 Victim demographics

The oldest victim was 23 years old and the youngest victim was 14 years old at the time of the incident. The average age of the victims was 17 years. In all the cases, the offender was older than the victims. On average the offender was 16,9 years older than the victims. Figure 7 illustrates the age distribution of all of the victims.

*Figure 7*

Victim's age distribution of offender C (n=16)

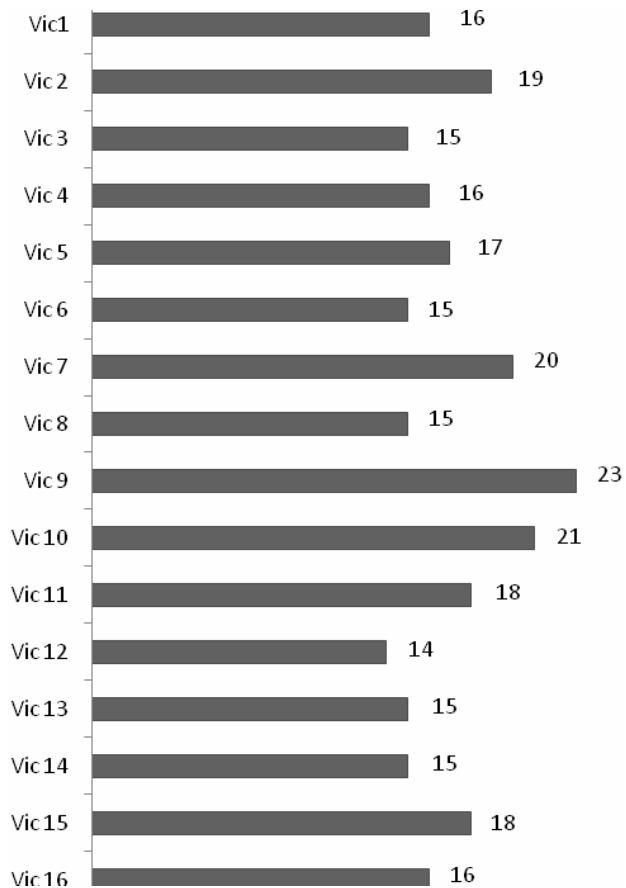


Figure 7 illustrates that in the majority of the incidents (81%) the offender targeted victims younger than 20 years. In more than half of the cases (63%) the offender targeted victims who were younger than eighteen years.

Fifteen of the sixteen victims were black females. One victim (number 14) was a 15-year-old white female. Twelve of the sixteen victims were still in school or studying during the time of the incidents while four were unemployed. The offender was unknown to all the victims.

### 5.3.3 Modus operandi

In this section, the way in which the offender approaches the victims, the location, and the verbal interaction will be discussed.

### **5.3.3.1 Approach phase**

#### **5.3.3.1.1 Method and circumstances of approaching the victim**

The con approach was predominately utilised during the series. The offender only employed a blitz style of attack during one of the incidents. The 'story' the offender employed in order to con his intended victim varied. In some of the incidents (7) he enquired whether the victims were looking for work. In other incidents (6) he asked the victim if she knew a specific individual he wanted to send her to, to find his girlfriend and get keys from her. The offender only deviated from his 'stories' during the two attempted rape incidents. The fifth victim was looking for a friend of hers when the offender offered to help her look for the friend. During the seventh incident, the offender offered to give the victim a ride. The 'stories' he utilised contained enough information as to not raise any suspicion with the intended victim. During the blitz approach (fourth incident) the victim was walking home when the offender approached her and pulled out a knife. He threatened her with the knife and forced her to go with him whereupon he raped her. Most of the incidents occurred during the day between 09:00 and 15:00, the two attempted rape incidents (victim 5 and victim 7) occurred during the late afternoon (16:00 – 18:00). The offender was consistent in terms of the preferred methods of approach he utilised throughout the rape series. The 'stories' he employed to obtain the intended victim also remained unchanged.

#### **5.3.3.1.2 Approach location**

The offender approached the majority of the victims during the day while they were walking alone along a road in and around a rural area of the town. The white victim was approached on the other side of the town in the predominately white area. The offender approached the victims and engaged them in conversation, except during one incident. The location where the offender approached the victims and the location where he raped the victim differed in all of the cases.

#### **5.3.3.1.3 Verbal interaction**

The verbal interaction, during the 15 incidents in which he employed a con method of approach, between the offender and the victims was conversational. The offender would interact with the victim in such a manner that she would not become suspicious or even be aware of his intentions. He was able to gain the victim's trust to such a degree that she would go with him without becoming apprehensive or distrustful of him. For example, during one of the incidents the victim was walking alone when the offender approached her and asked her where she was

going. The victim said she was going home and the offender asked her if she could help him get a set of keys from his ex-girlfriend. The victim agreed and went with the offender. During the blitz attack the offender was aggressive and threatening from the outset, threatening to physically harm her if she did not go with him.

### **5.3.3.2 Attack phase**

In this section aspects pertaining to the actual physical attack of the victim are discussed in terms of location, verbal interaction, violence, and sexual behaviour.

#### **5.3.3.2.1 Location**

The attacks took place across four police station policing boundary areas within the boundaries of the same town. In most of the attacks the rapes took place in isolated areas in an open field, in tall grass or in a cluster of trees. The offender had a specific geographic area in which he committed the majority of the rapes. It is possible that it was an area he was familiar with and had prior knowledge of. The only occasion when the offender moved outside his geographical area was during the incident involving the white victim. He approached her in a white residential area, and she was raped underground in a sewage plant far from the other rape locations. The offender made use of public transport systems (busses and taxies) to move with the victim from the pick-up location to the location where the actual rape took place. In a few of the cases (incident, 3, 14 and 15) the offender and his intended victim walked to the specific rape location. Most of the attacks were committed during the day between 09:00 and 15:00. The blitz attack took place early in the morning at 09:30 and the two attempted rape incidents (incident number 5 & 7) occurred during the late afternoon 16:00 – 18:00. There is no clear reason for the variations in patterns and behaviour for these three incidents.

#### **5.3.3.2.2 Verbal interaction during attack phase and sexual contact**

The verbal interaction between the offender and the victims changed drastically from the approach phase. During the **attack phase** the verbal interaction was threatening and aggressive in nature. He told one of the victims that she must not get smart or she will get to know the real him and that he was going to stab her. The offender would threaten the victim with physical violence and death in order to ensure her complete compliance. In one incident he gave the victim a choice that he could either kill her or she could be raped.

The verbal interaction between the offender and the victim during the **sexual behaviour** was varied. During four of the incidents the offender ordered the victim not to look at him. In another incident he placed a t-shirt of one of the victims over her eyes and with the others he pushed their faces away to the side. During one of the attacks the offender told the victim that her “wiseness” was now finished, and that was the reason Jesus did not save her. In most of the attacks, the offender insulted the victims; he also implied that it was the victim’s fault that she was making a fool of him and that she was the one being arrogant with him. If, during the initial sexual contact, the victim resisted his advances, the offender became very agitated and angry. He told the victim not to get smart with him and that he was not going to play games with her.

Table 12 shows the verbal interaction between the offender and the victims during the three phases.

Table 12  
*Schematic representation of the verbal interaction during the approach phase, attack phase and sexual behaviour of offender C*

Victim	Approach phase	Attack phase	Sexual behaviour
1	Conversational	Threatening	Instructional
2	Conversational	Aggressive	Instructional
3	Conversational	Aggressive	Instructional
4	Aggressive *	Threatening	Aggressive
5	Conversational	Aggressive	-
6	Conversational	Threatening	Instructional
7	Conversational	Threatening	-
8	Conversational	Aggressive	Instructional
9	Conversational	Aggressive	Instructional
10	Conversational	Aggressive	Instructional
11	Conversational	Aggressive	Instructional
12	Conversational	Aggressive	Instructional
13	Conversational	Aggressive	Instructional
14	Conversational	Threatening	Instructional
15	Conversational	Threatening	Instructional
16	Conversational	-	-

\* Blitz method of approach utilised

### 5.3.3.2.3 Violence utilised and methods of control

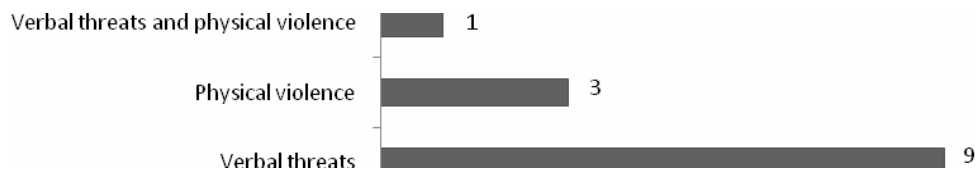
In order to ensure victim compliance, the offender resorted to a variety of methods of control. During three of the incidents, he slapped the victims across the face or strangled them with two hands around the throat. The offender also employed verbal threats (saying he would kill the victim), coupled with some form of physical violence. He also gave one of his victims a choice either be raped or killed. On two occasions the offender showed the victims the ‘knife’ he said he was going to use to stab them with, he also used the knife to rip their clothes during these two incidents.



Figure 8 illustrates the methods of control utilised by the offender during the thirteen rape incidents (n=13). The series also consisted of two attempted rape incidents. During the 5<sup>th</sup> incident the offender wrestled the victim to the ground. He was just about to rape her, when she grabbed his penis and shook it very hard, causing him to roll off of her and enabling her to run away. During the 7<sup>th</sup> incident, the offender dragged the victim into the field and started to rip off her clothes with a knife. The victim managed to get away from the offender by hitting him in the face with a brick and hiding in some grass. During the final incident the offender was apprehended with the victim as they were making their way towards the intended rape location.

*Figure 8*

Methods of control utilised during the attack phase by offender C (n = 13)



The levels of violence employed during the incidents were functional to ensure victim compliance. The offender did not exhibit any excessive levels of violence during the incidents, but he was aggressive towards the victims threatening to kill several of the victims.

#### 5.3.4 Sexual behaviour

In all of the completed incidents the sexual behaviour consisted of vaginal penile penetration. Digit insertion, oral, and anal sex never occurred. During 7 of the attacks the victims reported that ejaculation occurred inside the victim. There was no indication of ejaculation during the other incidents. The offender never used a condom. Table 13 shows the elements of the sexual behaviour exhibited during the 13 completed incidents.

Table 13  
*Elements of the sexual behaviour during the rape incidents of offender C (n = 13)*

	Digit insertion	Oral sex	Anal sex	Vaginal sex	Foreign object
Victim 1	-	-	-	1*	-
Victim 2	-	-	-	1*	-
Victim 3	-	-	-	1*	-
Victim 4	-	-	-	1	-
Victim 6	-	-	-	1*	-
Victim 8	-	-	-	1	-
Victim 9	-	-	-	1	-
Victim 10	-	-	-	1	-
Victim 11	-	-	-	1	-
Victim 12	-	-	-	1*	-
Victim 13	-	-	-	1	-
Victim 14	-	-	-	1*	-
Victim 15	-	-	-	1*	-

\* Incidents where ejaculation occurred

The offender remained consistent in his sexual behaviour across the entire rape series. There was no escalation in terms of multiple rapes per incident, and no increase in the 'type' of sexual behaviour. The sexual behaviour exhibited by the offender demonstrated little ritual or fantasy behaviour, the primary motivation was the fulfilment of the offender's sexual gratification.

### 5.3.5 Summative analysis

Offender C's rape series consisted of 16 victims, 13 of whom were raped. Two incidents involved attempted rapes, and he was apprehended during the final incident before any sexual act could occur. The incidents occurred over a 13-month period.

The frequency of the victims increased as the series progressed with 11 of the victims being raped in the final 6 months. While the age range of the victims was 14 to 23 years there did not seem to be any pattern developing across the rape series. The ages fluctuated consistently across the series. The offender was 34 at the time of the first incident, 11 years older than his oldest victim. The victims were all from the same population group as the offender, black, except for the 14<sup>th</sup> victim, who was white. Overall, five of the victims were 15 years old at the times of the incidents. A con approach was used throughout the series, except during incident 4, in which he used a blitz approach.

In all the incidents, the victims were approached during the day, between 09:00 and 15:00, in and around a town, while they were walking along a road. However, the two attempted rape victims were approached between 16:00 and 18:00. There was no indication why these two cases occurred at a different time to the others. The incidents were unsuccessful because the victims fought back and managed to escape their attacker. The majority the victims were approached in the more rural part of the town, and the rape sites are in close geographic proximity to each other, a feature often seen in South African serial rapists. The offender only once deviated from his normal pattern during the incident involving the only white victim. She was approached in a white neighbourhood, and was raped underground in a sewage plant far away from the other rape locations. It is possible that the offender realised that the victim would not follow him through the rural area to the rape location, and he subsequently changed his approach. Public transport and walking were used to get the victims to the final rape location in all the incidents.

He consistently approached the victims in a conversational manner, which turned either threatening or aggressive once the con had served its purpose. In most of the cases, the offender blamed the victim for what was happening to her, thus externalising responsibility for his actions by using rationalisations. During the sexual behaviour he became instructional. He would instruct the victims not to look at him, thus preventing any interaction between victim and offender. His verbal interaction during the attack and sexual phases is consistent with that of a power-assertive rapist.

The sexual activity was very consistent. In all 13 cases the sexual activity consisted of single vaginal penetration. Ejaculation occurred during the first three incidents, the sixth incident, and the 12<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, and 15<sup>th</sup> incident. The ejaculation that occurred during the majority of the rape cases supports the hypothesis that sexual gratification and his own pleasure was the primary motivation for the offender, which is also consistent with the sexual behaviours exhibited by the power-assertive type rapist.

The offender in general can be classified as a true power-assertive type rapist; his overall behavioural patterns were consistent with the behavioural patterns associated with the power-assertive type rapist.

## 5.4 OFFENDER D

Offender D's series consisted of 17 victims, all of whom were raped. The incidents occurred across a 12-month period from June 2002 to May 2003.

Figure 9 illustrates the time line of all of the incidents.

*Figure 9*

Time and incident line of offender D's rape series (n=17)

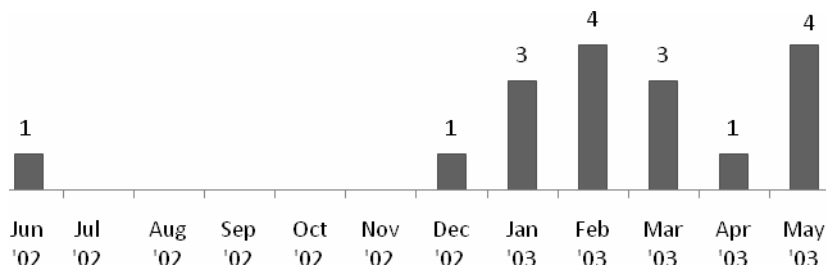


Figure 9 indicates that there was a marked escalation in the frequency of the incidents after the first two attacks during the last five months of the rape series.

### 5.4.1 Offender demographics

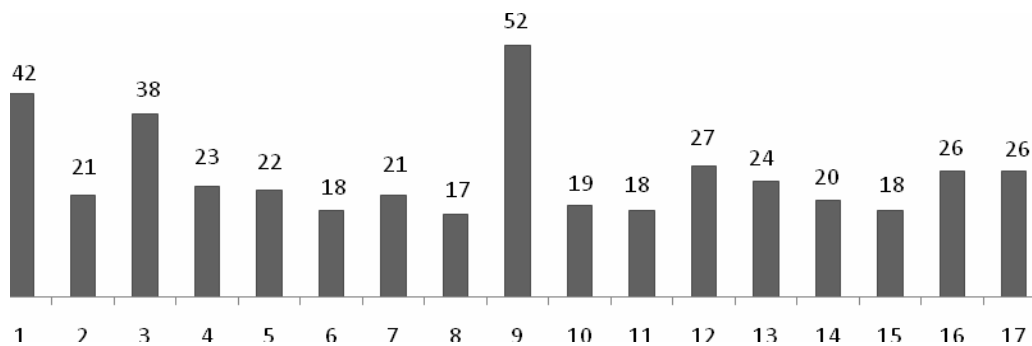
The offender was a black male. He was 34 years old at the time of the first incident and was employed as a labourer. He had a primary education and he had a previous criminal conviction for assault. Although the offender had access to a vehicle, which he used during his rape series, he did not own the vehicle.

### 5.4.2 Victim demographics

All of the victims were black females. The age range of the victims was from 17 to 52 years. The average age of the victims was 25 years. Three of the victims were older than the offender at the time of the incidents, while 14 were younger than him.

Figure 10 illustrates the victim age distribution across the seventeen incidents.

*Figure 10*  
Victim's age distribution of offender D (n = 17)



There does not appear to be a discernable pattern across the series regarding the victim's ages. Ten of the victims were unemployed at the time of the incidents, while four were students, and three were employed as domestic workers. The offender was unknown to all the victims.

### 5.4.3 Modus operandi

In this section the way in which the offender approaches the victims, the location and the verbal interaction will be discussed.

#### 5.4.3.1 Approach phase

##### 5.4.3.1.1 Method and circumstances of approaching the victim

During 11 of the incidents, the con approach was utilised in order to acquire the intended victim. The delayed-con was utilised four times, and the blitz method was employed twice. The story remained constant for both the con and delayed-con approaches. The offender would approach the intended victim and enquire if she had a job. He would then tell the victim an elaborate story of a job he had originally organised for his sister who, had taken another position, and now he needed someone to fill the vacant position. He also told the victim that his employer only met his sister once, and the victim looked like her. So his employer would not be able to recognise the difference, and all she had to do was pretend that she was his sister. In eleven of the incidents, the victim immediately went with the offender to the rape location, while in four of the attacks, the offender made arrangements with the victims to meet them the following day. During one of these four incidents (number 8), the victim gave her phone number to the offender after he had approached her. He called her two days later to remind her of their appointment. During these

four instances, the average period between the initial contact and the second contact (rape incident) was two days. During the blitz attacks, the victim was already in an isolated area when the offender encountered the victim and proceeded to rape the victim in that immediate vicinity. The offender approached most of the victims during the morning roughly between 09:00 and 11:00. Figure 11 shows the methods of approach utilised during the approach phase.

*Figure 11*  
Method of approach utilised by offender D (n=17)

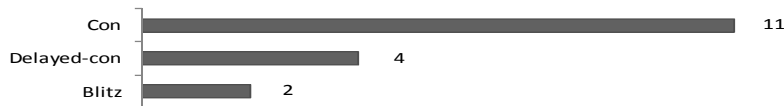


Table 14 shows the ages of the victims and the methods of approach utilised by the offender for each victim in series, in the order that the incidents occurred.

Table 14  
*Victim age and method of approach utilised by offender D in order of offence*

Age	Method of approach
42	Blitz
21	Delayed-con
38	Con
23	Delayed-con
22	Delayed-con
18	Con
21	Con
17	Delayed-con
52	Con
19	Con
18	Con
27	Con
24	Con
20	Con
18	Con
26	Con
26	Blitz

Table 14 shows that the delayed-con method of approach was predominately utilised during the first half of the series and the con method predominately during the latter half of the series.

During three of the incidents in which the delayed-con approach was utilised, the victims were 21; 23; and 22 years old, and one victim was 17 years old. The use of the delayed-con method during the first half of the series could indicate that the offender was unsure of how he should approach the intended victim, and as the series progressed, he became more confident and self assured.

#### **5.4.3.1.2 Approach location**

The location where the offender approached the victim and the location where the rape occurred differed during most of the incidents. In 15 of the incidents in which the offender utilised a con story, he approached the victims openly in populated areas such as bus stops and taxi ranks. During the blitz attacks, one of the victims was walking home alone when the offender attacked her, and the other victim was washing clothes at a river when the offender approached her.

#### **5.4.3.1.3 Verbal interaction**

The verbal interaction between the victim and the offender during the con and delayed-con approaches was pleasant and conversational. The offender would ask the victim several questions about her family, religion, and so forth, in an attempt to establish rapport with her. The offender informed the victim that they had to go and meet the employer immediately. They would have to travel a long distance using public transport systems (busses & taxis) to get to his office. The interactions between the offender and the victims were similar throughout all the verbal interactions. During the delayed-con approach the offender arranged to meet the victims either the following day or at some other time at a later stage. During one of the incidents (victim number 8), five days passed between the initial contact, between the victim and the offender, and the second contact when the rape occurred. During that time, the offender called the victim to remind her of their appointment. He met her at the pre-selected locale two days after the phone call.

#### **5.4.3.2 Attack phase**

In this section aspects pertaining to the actual physical attack of the victim are discussed in terms of location, verbal interaction, violence, and sexual behaviour.

#### 5.4.3.2.1 Location

All of the attacks occurred in the same police station policing boundary and took place outdoors. In most of the incidents, the rapes took place in a cluster of trees situated within a sugar cane field. The rape location was very isolated. The offender and his intended victim made use of public transport systems (busses and taxis), and in some instances went by foot to get to the actual rape location. Most of the rapes occurred during the day between 11:00 and 15:00.

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

Once the offender and his intended victim were alone, his mood changed suddenly. He became aggressive and threatening without any apparent provocation and the verbal interaction between them changed. He spoke to the victim in a demeaning and aggressive manner, for example, “don’t be clever,” “you thought you were smarter than me,” and “don’t be cheeky.” During one incident, the offender told the victim he was going to rape her because when he speaks nicely to them (girls/women) they don’t like him.

During the **sexual contact**, the offender gave thirteen of the victims’ explicit instructions as to what he wanted from them and how he wanted them to act. For example, the offender told one victim to hold him like she would hold her boyfriend, he also wanted her to kiss him ‘open mouth’ like she would kiss her boyfriend. He instructed the other victims to move with him in a sexual manner, for example, he told one victim to hold him around his waist. During one incident the offender ordered the victim to spread her legs apart and guide his penis into her, he also ordered her to put her tongue in his mouth when he kissed her. During four of the incidents the offender did not give the victims explicit instructions. The verbal interaction can be described as functional. For example, he would tell the victim to get undressed and to lie on the ground before he proceeded to rape her. Figure 12 illustrates the types of behaviour the offender demanded of the victims.



*Figure 12*  
Type of sexual participation ordered by offender D (n = 17)

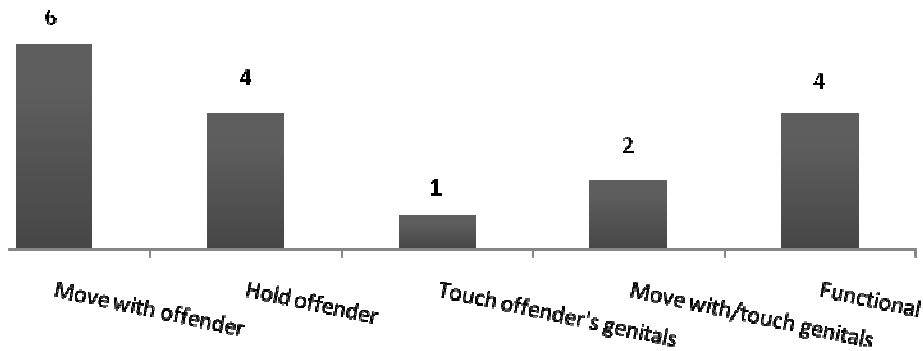


Figure 12 illustrates that the offender was highly sexualised and his sexual behaviour was rooted in a complex ritual fantasy. Victim participation was essential in order to assist in the fantasy re-enactment and to ensure that the re-enactment mirrored the fantasy as closely as possible.

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

The amount of victim resistance the offender encountered influenced whether the offender resorted to physical violence. The offender would resort to high levels of physical violence to ensure victim compliance when the victim refused to follow the offender's instructions. For example, during one incident the victim attempted to scream for help but the offender pushed her to the ground and kicked her repeatedly in the chest. During one incident (victim number 4), the victim attempted to run away and the offender caught her and stabbed her several times in the shoulder with the knife; she survived but was badly injured. He also stabbed another victim (victim number 17) several times in the hand and on her thigh when she attempted to fight back. His weapon of choice was a knife but in one incident he did show the victim a firearm and bullets. He told her he had killed before and showed her what looked like a dead body in the bushes, which was never located by the police. During most of the other incidents, the offender made use of verbal threats and threats involving a weapon, combined with some physical violence, to ensure the victim's compliance. Table 15 illustrates the various methods utilised by the offender to ensure victim compliance.

Table 15

*Primary methods of control utilised by offender D during the attack phase*

	Frequency	Percent
Verbal threats	12	70%
Presence of weapon	2	12%
Physical violence	3	18%
<b>Total</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 15 indicates that while the offender could resort to extreme levels of violence, (stabbing and kicking) he did not have a preference for violence.

#### 5.4.4 Sexual behaviour

During all the incidents, vaginal penetration occurred. Oral sex and digit insertion only occurred during one incident. The offender did not use a condom, and ejaculated inside or on top of the victims. Table 16 shows the elements of the sexual behaviour, which occurred during the incidents.

Table 16

*Elements of the sexual behaviour exhibited by offender D*

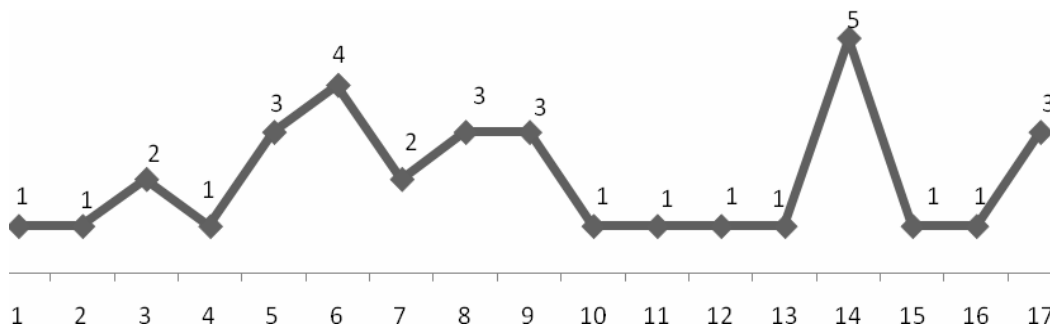
	<i>Digit insertion</i>	<i>Oral sex</i>	<i>Anal sex</i>	<i>Vaginal sex</i>	<i>Foreign object</i>
Victim 1	-	-	-	1	-
Victim 2	-	-	-	1	-
Victim 3	-	-	-	2	-
Victim 4	-	-	-	1	-
Victim 5	-	-	-	3	-
Victim 6	-	-	-	4	-
Victim 7	1	1	-	2	-
Victim 8	-	-	-	3	-
Victim 9	-	-	-	3	-
Victim 10	-	-	-	1	-
Victim 11	-	-	-	1	-
Victim 12	-	-	-	1	-
Victim 13	-	-	-	1	-
Victim 14	-	-	-	5	-
Victim 15	-	-	-	1	-
Victim 16	-	-	-	1	-
Victim 17	-	-	-	3	-

The offender only ordered one of the victims (number 7) to perform oral sex on him, and he also resorted to digit insertion when he could not penetrate the victim properly. Nine of the victims

were raped only once during the incident. Eight of the victims were raped multiple times during the same incident; two victims were raped twice, four were raped three times during the same incident, and two victims were raped four and five times respectively.

Figure 13 illustrates the number of rapes that occurred per incident in terms of the victim order.

*Figure 13*  
Offender D's victim order and number of rapes per incident (12 month period n=17)



Between the third and ninth incidents, there was a marked escalation in the number of rapes per incident. Thereafter there was a decrease from incident 10 to 13, with only one rape per incident. There was an increase in the number of rape incidents again during incident 14 (5 rapes) and the final incident 17 (3 rapes). While there was an increase in the frequency of victims during the second half of the series, during the first half of the series the victims were more likely to be raped more than once during a single incident.

#### 5.4.5 Summative analysis

The series consisted of 17 victims, all whom were raped, and occurred over a 12-month period. There was a marked escalation in the frequency of victims as the series progressed, with 15 of victims being raped over the final five months of the series. Eight of the victims were raped more than once during the first half of the series.

All the victims were from the same population group as the offender, black, and the offender was unknown to all the victims. The victim's ages ranged between 17 and 52 years, and there was no discernable pattern in terms of victim's ages across the series. The offender predominately employed the delayed-con approach during the first half of the series and

switched to the con method as the series progressed. This would indicate that the offender modified and refined his methods as the series progressed. The victims were all approached openly during the day between 09:00 and 11:00 in populated areas such as bus stops and taxi ranks. During the two blitz attacks, the victims were alone. One victim was walking along a road and the other was washing clothes by a river. All of the attacks occurred outdoors in the same geographic area. The majority of the attacks took place in a cluster of trees situated in a sugarcane field. The offender and the intended victims made use of public transport or walked to the rape location.

In terms of the verbal interaction between the offender and the victim, the interaction during the approach phase was pleasant and conversational. The offender's mood changed once he and the intended victim were alone, when he became threatening and aggressive. On several occasions the offender indicated to the victim that her attitude and behaviours warranted his actions towards her. This appears to be a form of rationalisation or justification by externalising responsibility. The offender ensured victim compliance in most of the incidents, by employing verbal threats and some physical violence. This is comparable to the power-assertive type rapist. During three of the cases where the offender did resort to physical violence it was excessive. Coupled with the verbal interaction, that behaviour was similar to that of the anger-retaliatory type rapist.

During the actual rapes, the offender gave the victims specific instructions, for example to move with the offender or hold the offender like she would hold her boyfriend. The offender also raped several of the victims multiple times during a single incident. The verbal interaction between the victim and the offender are indicative of the power-reassurance type rapist, while the repeated assaults during a single incident are indicative of the power-assertive type rapist.

The offender exhibited behavioural elements that can be attributed to the brutality and selfish behavioural patterns as well as the personal-attempted intimacy behavioural patterns.

The offender cannot be classified under a single classification 'type' due to the diverse behaviour exhibited during the rape series. The behavioural patterns exhibited by the offender consisted of behavioural features that correspond with power-reassurance, power-assertive, and anger-retaliatory type rapists. The offender can therefore be classified as a mixed type. The offender views the victim as an object he can use for his own sexual gratification. Although he

views the victim as a masturbatory object her participation is an integral part of the fantasy re-enactment. The sexual contact has to be as personal and 'intimate' as possible, and the offender will resort to excessive levels of violence if the fantasy is not perfectly replicated.

## 5.5 OFFENDER E

Offender E's rape series consisted of six rape victims. As illustrated by figure 14, the incidents occurred over a four-month time period from March 2003 to June 2003.

*Figure 14*  
Dates of offender E's rape series

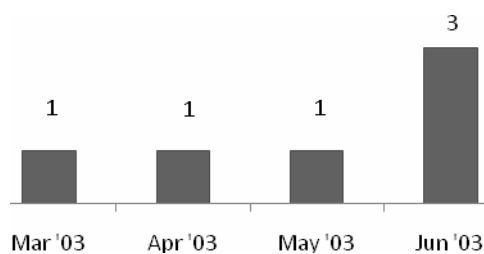


Figure 14 illustrates that there was an escalation in the frequency of the incidents as the series progressed.

### 5.5.1 Offender demographics

The offender was a black male who was 44 years of age at time of the first incident. The offender was a painter with a secondary education level. His previous criminal record consists of convictions for theft, housebreaking, robbery, and rape.

### 5.5.2 Victim demographics

The six victims were black females aged between 21 and 32 years. Figure 15 shows the age distribution of the victims in the rape series. The average age of the victims was 26 years, and the victims were on average 15,8 years younger than the offender. All of the victims were unemployed at the time of the rapes, and the offender was unknown to the victims.

*Figure 15*  
Offender E's victim ages in order of incidents (n = 6)

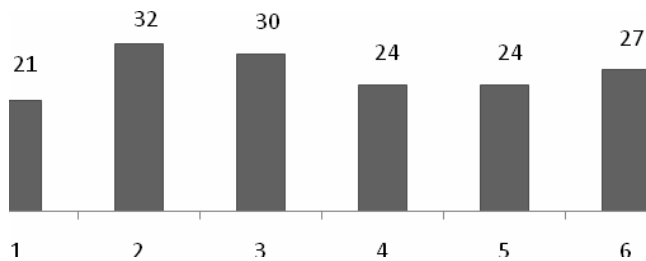


Figure 15 illustrates that the victims were progressively getting younger as the series progressed.

### **5.5.3 Modus operandi**

In this section, the way in which the offender approaches the victims, the location, and the verbal interaction during the approach phase will be discussed.

#### **5.5.3.1 Approach phase**

##### **5.5.3.1.1 Method and circumstances of approaching the victim**

In the first four incidents, the con approach was utilised, while during the last two the delayed-con approach was utilised. During the incidents where the delayed-con was utilised, the period between the initial contact and the rape incident was one day. The story that the offender utilised to gain the confidence of his intended victims remained constant for the con and the delayed-con approach. The offender told the victims that he was a driver at a nearby hotel and that the manager/owner of the hotel was looking for a domestic worker who could work at his home. In some cases, he elaborated on the story telling the victim that he and the manager were going away for a month and the manager needed someone to stay with his wife. The story was very elaborate, and the offender gave specific names and places in order to enhance the realism of the story. During one of the two incidents where the delayed-con was utilised, the victim was unable to go with the offender immediately to meet the manager, and the offender arranged to meet her the following day. During the other incident, the offender arranged to meet with the victim the following day.

Table 17 illustrates the ages of the victims and the methods of approach utilised by the offender per incident.

Table 17  
*Offender E's methods of approach and ages of victims per incident*

<b>Age</b>	<b>Method of approach</b>
21	Con
32	Con
30	Con
24	Con
24	Delayed-con
27	Delayed-con

Table 17 illustrates that the ages of the two victims where the delayed-con approach was utilised, was 24 and 27 years respectively. These correspond with the ages of victims from other series where the delayed-con method was also applied.

#### **5.5.3.1.2 Approach location**

The victims were not alone when approached by the offender. They were all approached in populated, public areas during the day. Two of the victims were selling fruit at a taxi rank when the offender approached them. Two victims were waiting outside businesses (post office and pizza restaurant) when they were approached by the offender. One of the victims was contacted by her cousin who told her she met someone who had a job for her, and the final victim was approached in a public area near a bus stop.

#### **5.5.3.1.3 Verbal interaction**

The verbal interaction between the offender and the victims during the approach phase can be described as conversational. The offender gave the victim specific information in order to develop and maintain the victim's trust. For example, during one of the incidents, the offender and the victim were walking along a dirt road while the offender pretended to talk on his mobile phone telling the person on the line that he had found someone and that he will be back at work at two o'clock.

#### **5.5.3.2 Attack phase**

In this section aspects pertaining to the actual physical attack of the victim are discussed in terms of location, verbal interaction, violence, and sexual behaviour.

#### **5.5.3.2.1 Location**

All of the rapes occurred outdoors and took place in the same police station policing boundary. Most of the incidents occurred in and around the same isolated area (sugar cane field). The offender and his intended victim typically took public transport (bus and taxi) from the initial pick-up point to an area close to the rape location and walked a small distance into the sugar cane fields. The offender told them they were going to the manager's home.

#### **5.5.3.2.2 Verbal interaction during the attack phase and the sexual contact**

There was a noticeable change in the general mood of the offender from the approach phase to the **attack phase**. As soon as they were inside the sugar cane fields the offender became verbally and physically threatening. He would give the victim explicit instructions as to what he expected of her. For example during one incident, as soon as the offender and the victim were alone inside the sugar cane fields, the offender grabbed the victim by the hair and pulled her into the sugar cane. Once inside, he ordered the victim to remove her clothes and lie on the ground, he then proceeded to rape her. On two separate occasions after the rape, the offender gave the victims specific instructions on how to get to a house where they could find a job. Once the victims got to the house the workers there told them that they were not the first women the offender had raped and sent to the house.

The verbal interaction between the offender and the victim during the **sexual contact** can be described as threatening. For example, the offender grabbed one victim by the throat and threatened to stab her with a knife, which he held to her throat, if she did not do as he said. During one incident the victim asked the offender why he was doing this to her, he then told the victim that he wanted to taste her vagina and because he had found her a job he wanted to have sex with her. In most of the cases the offender ordered the victims to take off their clothes, lie down on the ground and spread their legs.

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

In order to ensure victim compliance, the offender employed verbal threats, and at times showed the victim a weapon (a knife during the fifth incident and a firearm during the sixth incident). He also resorted to physical violence during the second incident and the third incident, slapping the victim (number 2) and hitting her with his fist after she bit his tongue; during the third incident he slapped the victim and threatened to stab her with his knife when she



attempted to resist him. The type of violence utilised was functional, he used it to control and subdue his victim. The offender only resorted to physical violence in reaction to the victim attempting to resist him. Figure 16 shows the various methods of control utilised by the offender during the attack phase.

Figure 16

Offender E's methods of controlling the victims during the attack phase (n = 6)



#### 5.5.4 Sexual behaviour

All of the sexual incidents involved vaginal penetration, and the offender only used a condom once. The offender only raped one victim multiple times (victim number 2), he removed the condom and ejaculated outside on top of the victim, and then proceeded to rape her a second time, no ejaculation occurred the second time. He ejaculated inside three of the other victims, (number 1, 4, & 5) during the incidents. He also ejaculated once outside on top of victim number 3. The offender forcefully manipulated the victim, but he never ordered her to participate. For example he would force the victim's legs open before he would penetrate her. Although not overtly violent, the offender did hit one victim (second victim) several times with his fists during the rape incident in reaction to her biting him when he attempted to kiss her. He also slapped one victim (number 3) several times when she attempted to scream during the sexual contact. Table 18 illustrates the sexual behaviour, which occurred during the incidents.

Table 18

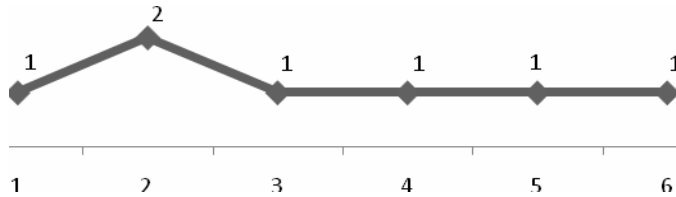
*Elements of the sexual behaviour exhibited by offender E (n=6)*

Type	Victim 1	Victim 2	Victim 3	Victim 4	Victim 5	Victim 6
Digit insertion	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oral sex	-	-	-	-	-	-
Anal penetration	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vaginal penetration	1	2	1	1	1	1
Foreign Object insertion	-	-	-	-	-	-

Only the second victim was raped twice; the other victims were raped once.

Figure 17 shows the number of rapes per incident.

*Figure 17*  
Offender E's number of rapes per incident (n=6)



Although there was a slight peak of two rapes during the second incident, the offender remained constant in the number of times he raped each victim.

### 5.5.5 Summative analysis

The series consisted of six victims, and occurred over a four-month period. There was an escalation in terms of victim frequency, as three of the victims were raped during the last month of the series. The victims were all from the same population group as the offender, black, and the offender was unknown to all of the victims.

The con method of approaching the victim was the preferred method utilized by the offender throughout the series. The delayed-con approach was used twice. During one of the incidents the offender was forced to utilise the delayed-con method, as the victim could not go with him immediately. All of the victims were approached in public areas during the day, and they were never alone. The majority of the victims were approached in and around bus stops and taxi ranks while surrounded by other people. The rapes occurred outdoors in a cane field in the same geographic area. The offender and the victims utilised public transport from the pick-up location to an area close to the rape location, and walked the final distance into the cane field.

The verbal interaction between the offender and the victims during the approach phase was conversational. The offender also gave the victims specific information during the approach phase to maintain the victim's trust while they were making their way to the rape location. The

verbal interaction changed once they were isolated and alone inside the sugar cane fields where the offender became verbally threatening. During the sexual contact the offender instructed the victims as to what he wanted from them. The offender also indicated that he felt a sense of entitlement telling one of the victims that he felt because he found her a job he wanted sex from her. This is indicative of the power-assertive type rapist.

The offender was not overtly violent, and in the cases where he did resort to violence it was in reaction to the victim attempting to resist him. The sexual contact remained consistent across the entire rape series and the offender only raped one of the victims multiple times. Ejaculation occurred inside the victims, during two of the cases the offender ejaculated on top of the victims. This sexual behaviour is consistent with the power-assertive type rapist, who uses the act of rape to express his virility, and any behaviour is aimed at degrading and humiliating the victims. The victim has little or no psychological meaning to the offender, he utilises the victim as a 'prop', and the fulfilment of his needs and desires are the primary motivation.

The overall behavioural patterns exhibited by the offender were consistent with the power-assertive type rapist.

## **5.6 OFFENDER F**

Offender F's series consisted of six victims, five of which were raped. During the first incident the offender attempted to rape a nineteen-year-old female. The victim managed to escape as the offender was taking his clothes off. There was a three month period (July 2004 – September 2004) between the initial attempted rape and the first successful incident. The other five incidents occurred over a four-month period from October 2004 to January 2005. Figure 18 illustrates the time line of the six incidents.

*Figure 18*  
Date and incident distribution of offender F's series (n=6)

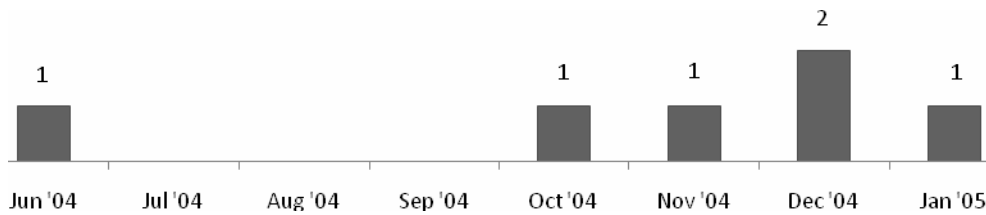


Figure 18 indicates that there was an escalation from October 2004 to January 2004 with a peak in December 2004.

### 5.6.1 Offender demographics

The offender was a black male. He was 32 years old at the time of the first incident. He had a primary education level. During the rape series, the offender was employed as a labourer. He had previous criminal convictions for robbery and rape, and was out on parole for rape at the time of the rape series including the attempted rape.

### 5.6.2 Victim demographics

The series consisted of six victims, the first of which was an attempted rape. The first victim managed to get away as the offender was undressing himself. The offender approached and raped his second victim three months later in October 2004. The series consisted of five successful rape incidents. All the victims were black females aged 15 to 22 years, the average age of the victims across the series was 19.8 years and the victims were on average 12.1 years younger than the offender. One victim (number 4) was still in school, and one victim (number 2) was a student at University at the time of the attack. Three victims (number's 1, 3, 6) were unemployed, and one (number 5) was employed as a clerk. The offender was unknown to all of the victims. Figure 19 illustrates the age distribution of all of the victims in order of the incidents.

*Figure 19*  
Victim's age and incident distribution of offender F (n = 6)

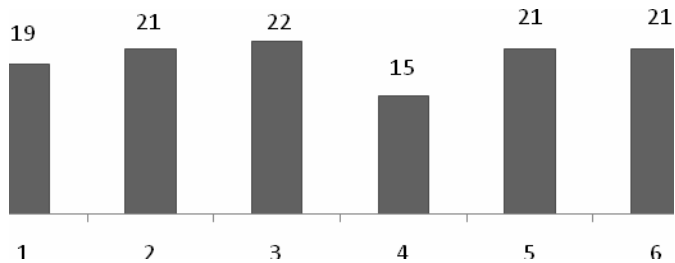


Figure 19 illustrates that the offender remained consistent in terms of the age ranges of his intended victims, with no particular pattern emerging across the series.

### 5.6.3 Modus operandi

In this section, the way in which the offender approaches the victims, the location and the verbal interaction will be discussed.

#### 5.6.3.1 Approach phase

##### 5.6.3.1.1 Method and circumstances of approaching the victim

The con approach was utilised in all the incidents. The offender approached all the victims at different times during the day. The attempted rape victim was approached at 17:00 in the afternoon, victims number two and three were approached at 14:00. Victim number four was approached at 17:30, while victim number five was approached at 19:00. The 'story' was consistent over the entire series, except during the final rape. The offender usually told the intended victims about a position at a salon where he worked. He told the victims that the manager was looking for someone to fill the position, and had instructed him to find someone. During the final incident, the offender approached the victim at her home in the morning at 08:00, and told her he was working for an AIDS fund, collecting money on behalf of the organisation. He later told the victim that they had an open position and if she were looking for a job he would take her to the manager's office.

Table 19 illustrates the methods of approach utilised by the offender per victim as well as the age of the victims.

Table 19  
*Offender F's method of approach and ages of victims per incident*

<b>Age</b>	<b>Method of approach</b>
19	Con
21	Con
22	Con
15	Con
21	Con
21	Con

Table 19 shows that, irrespective of the age of the intended victim, the offender favoured the con method of approach.

#### **5.6.3.1.2 Approach location**

Three of the victims (including the attempted rape) were walking alone when they were approached by the offender. One of the victims was approached at a taxi rank and one was approach while she was in town (highly populated areas). The final victim was approached at her apartment early in the morning.

#### **5.6.3.1.3 Verbal interaction**

During the initial approach phase the offender engaged the intended victim in casual conversation that ultimately led to the topic of employment. For example, during the second incident (first rape incident) the offender approached the victim and asked her if she was interested in a job. The victim replied that she was interested and the offender told her that the position was for a receptionist. The offender was also non-threatening and pleasant. For example, during one incident, the offender engaged the victim in a conversation as they walked to the supposed place of employment. He told the victim how much money she was going to make if she got the position. During another incident, the offender stopped and bought the victim a soft drink on the way.

#### **5.6.3.2 Attack phase**

In this section, aspects pertaining to the actual physical attack of the victim are discussed in terms of location, verbal interaction, violence, and sexual behaviour.

#### **5.6.3.2.1 Location**

The offender acquired his victims across three police station policing boundaries but all of the attacks took place in the same isolated area, an open field in a forest, between an industrial area and a township close to a highway. In some of the cases the offender and the intended victim took a minibus taxi to a point near the location then walked to the rape location. At some point the offender told the victim that they had to cut across an open field with a small forest, because it would be quicker. Once inside the field, when the offender felt confident they were alone, he would attack the victim.

#### **5.6.3.2.2 Verbal interaction during the attack phase and the sexual contact**

The verbal interaction between the victim and the offender changed during the **attack phase**. The offender became threatening, aggressive, and demeaning once he and the intended victim were alone. During one incident, once the victim and the offender were deep inside the field, the offender suddenly produced a knife and told the victim not to scream, and asked her if she wanted to die. During another incident, once the victim and the offender were alone, the offender pulled out a knife and told the victim to undress. The offender also asked one victim if she wanted to get raped by one man, or several men, and be killed.

The verbal interaction between the offender and the victims was limited during the **sexual behaviour**. The interaction can be described as functional, in that it mainly involved giving the victims instructions such as telling the victim to open her legs wide and lift them up. The offender only instructed one of the victims to participate during the rape. He instructed the victim to place her hands on his shoulders.

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

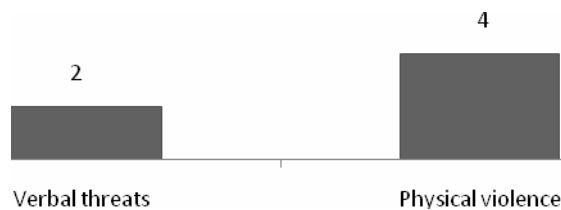
In all but the first and second incidents, the offender physically overpowered the victims. The offender also combined the physical violence with verbal threats involving a weapon (knife). The only incident where the offender did not resort to some form of physical violence was the attempted rape incident, the first incident in the series. There was a clear progression in the offender's behaviour after the first attempted rape, possibly due to the failure of the first incident. During the second incident (first successful rape) there was an escalation in that the offender displayed a weapon (knife) and was more forceful and aggressive in order to ensure that the victim did not get away. He told the victim not to scream, and to do as he said if she did not want to die. During the third and the fourth incidents, he grabbed the victims from behind, and

started to strangle them then threw them to the ground and threatened to kill them with his knife. During the fifth incident, the offender pulled out a knife and held it to the victim’s throat. She attempted to run away and the offender hit her in the face and cut her on her hands. During the sixth incident, the offender reacted violently when the victim attempted to resist him. The victim grabbed his testicles and the offender proceeded to slash at the victim’s hand and forearm with his knife.

There was a clear progression in terms of the violence and aggression exhibited by the offender. The offender evolved and adapted his behaviour in order to ensure a ‘successful’ outcome and he also became more violent, displaying and using a weapon.

Figure 20 shows the methods of control utilised by the offender during the attack phase.

*Figure 20*  
Methods of control utilised by offender F during the attack phase (n =



6)

#### 5.6.4 Sexual behaviour

Across all five rape incidents only vaginal penetration occurred. Four of the victims were raped a single time, while victim number five was raped twice. The offender only once instructed a victim to participate during the sexual behaviour (victim 5). He told the victim to hold him around the shoulders. Ejaculation occurred inside the victims and the offender did not use a condom.

#### 5.6.5 Summative analysis

Offender F’s series consisted of six victims, five of the victims were raped and one (first victim) was an attempted rape. The incidents occurred over an eight-month period, there was a three-month period between the first and second incident when the offender was inactive.



All of the victims were from the same population group as the offender, black, and the victims were unknown to the offender. The frequency of the victims increased after the first attempted rape. Five of the six victims were raped during the last four months of the series. While the age range of the victims was 15 to 22 years, the majority of the victims (5) were aged between 19 and 22 years, only one victim was aged 15 at the time of the incident. The offender was on average 12,1 years older than the victims throughout the series. A con approach was used throughout the entire series.

The offender approached five of the victims, including the attempted rape victim, at taxi ranks that have a high concentration of people. The last victim was approached at her apartment. Five of the victims were approached during the day and one of the victims was approached at night. All of the rapes occurred outdoors in an open field, in the same geographical area, between an industrial area and a large informal settlement. Public transport and walking were used to get the intended victim to the rape location.

The verbal interaction between the offender and the victims during the approach phase was conversational. Once the offender and the intended victim were alone, the offender's mood changed, and he became threatening and aggressive. The verbal interaction between the offender and the victims during the actual rape was limited and one-sided. The offender only instructed one of the victims to participate during the rape. In most of the cases the interaction was functional the offender gave the victim specific instructions as to what he wanted her to do, thus utilising the victims as a 'prop'. This is similar to the verbal interaction found with the power-assertive type rapist.

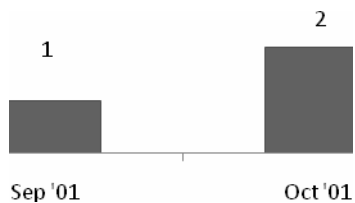
There was a clear progression and escalation in terms of the violence utilised by the offender in order to ensure a successful outcome. After the first attempted rape incident where the victim managed to escape, the offender became progressively more violent. The levels of violence changed from instrumental, ensuring victim compliance, to more expressive, where the levels of violence were excessive. This is comparable to the power-assertive type rapist where the amount of force and violence utilised is expressive and the offender believes that he is a 'man's man' and he is 'keeping his woman in line'. The sexual activity was very consistent, in all five cases vaginal penetration occurred, and only one of the victims was raped multiple times during the same incident. The offender ejaculated inside all the victims.

The offender exhibited no apparent attempted intimacy behavioural patterns. He uses the rape as an expression of his masculinity and dominance. He wants to displace the feelings of inadequacy he experiences and strengthen his sense of self-esteem and masculinity, which is consistent with the power-assertive type rapist.

## 5.7 OFFENDER G

The series consisted of three victims. Two of the victims were raped and during the third incident the offender and the victim were discovered by two men, who called the police. All of the incidents occurred over a two-month period from September 2001 to October 2001. The two rape incidents occurred during an 18-day period while the final incident, the attempted rape, occurred 15 days later during the same month. Figure 21 shows the time line of the three incidents.

*Figure 21*  
Dates and incident distribution of offender G (n=3)



As illustrated by figure 21 there was an escalation in terms of the frequency of the incidents during the two-month period.

### 5.7.1 Offender demographics

The offender was a black male and he was 22 years of age at the time of the first incident. He was unemployed and had a primary education level. The offender's criminal record consisted of convictions for robbery and rape.

## 5.7.2 Victim demographics

All of the victims were black females aged 37, 27 and 22 years respectively. They were all unemployed at the time of the incidents. The offender was unknown to victims one and three. The second victim knew him, as he was her cousin. The victim were gradually getting younger as the series progressed, the first victim was 37 years old, the second victim was 27 and the final victim was 22 years old at the time of the incident. The first two victims were on average 10 years older than the offender and the final victim was the same age as the offender at the time of the incident.

## 5.7.3 Modus operandi

In this section the way in which the offender approaches the victims, the location and the verbal interaction will be discussed.

### 5.7.3.1 Approach phase

#### 5.7.3.1.1 Method and circumstances of approaching the victim

The con method of approach was utilised during all of the incidents. The offender told the victims that he was looking for someone to work as a domestic worker and that the original person who was supposed to take the job did not want it any more. During the third incident, the offender approached the victim through her mother. The other two victims were not alone when the offender approached them. The first victim was with her sister, and the offender went with his cousin, the second victim, to a medical clinic. The incidents occurred in the morning between 09:00 and 11:00. Table 20 shows the ages of the victims and the methods of approach utilised by the offender per incident.

Table 20  
*Offender G's methods of approach and age of victims per incident*

Age	Method of approach
37	Con
27	Con
22	Con

Table 20 illustrates that the con method of approach was utilised irrespective of the age of the victim.

#### **5.7.3.1.2 Approach location**

The first victim and her sister were selling goods by the side of the road when the offender approached them. The offender went with the second victim, his cousin, to the medical clinic before they made their way to the actual rape location. The third victim was at home with her children when her mother introduced her to the offender.

#### **5.7.3.1.3 Verbal interaction**

The initial verbal contact between the offender and the victims was conversational. During the first and third incident, the offender mentioned a name of a woman with whom the victims were familiar. He claimed the woman had sent him because she had a job for the victims. During the second incident, which involved the offender's cousin, the offender offered to help her look for employment.

#### **5.7.3.2 Attack phase**

In this section, aspects pertaining to the actual physical attack of the victim are discussed in terms of location, verbal interaction, violence, and sexual behaviour.

##### **5.7.3.2.1 Location**

The victims and the offender walked to the rape location. All of the rapes took place in the same isolated field which had several trees scattered across it. Although the field was isolated the offender was interrupted twice by passers-by during the final incident. The incidents took place in the same police station policing boundary.

##### **5.7.3.2.2 Verbal interaction during the attack phase and the sexual contact**

There was no discernable verbal change in the mood of the offender from the approach to the **attack phase**. The offender asked the third victim what she would do if someone came up to her and told her they wanted to have sex with her. The victim told him that she would fight back, which prompted the offender to react. He grabbed the victim by the hair and wrestled her to the ground. In all of the cases the threat of violence involving a knife was utilised in order to ensure victim compliance. For example, the offender told the victims that he was going to kill them if they did not do what he said. During the third incident, the attempted rape, the offender saw other people walking towards them and he told the victim to tell them that he was her husband.

The verbal interaction between the offender and the victims during the **sexual behaviour** can be described as demeaning and insulting. During the first incident the offender told the victim “do you think I am going to take you to work? This is your work right here”. He also gave the victim explicit instructions, telling her to face upward. The offender also asked the victim if she had sex with her husband because he was a lucky man to be able to have sex with her. After the initial rape the offender told the victim “that was not fun, I did not have fun” he told the victim to turn around he wanted to ‘take her from behind’ (anal penetration). After the incident the offender proceeded to tell the victim that another woman hired him to kill her but he couldn’t kill her because she was a woman. He told her that he had already taken the money and she must not tell anyone about the rape or that he was hired to kill her or he will kill her and her family. He told the victim that he was going to tell the person who hired him that the victim had run away from him. During the second incident the offender told the victim that she must think about him because he got her a job. He also, during the second incident, told the victim that her husband was a fool to leave her alone when she has such an enjoyable private part. The offender also instructed the victim to keep her legs wide open because he wanted to look at her genitals. The third incident was an attempted rape

#### **5.7.3.2.3 Violence used and methods of control**

Although physical violence was utilised to ensure the victims did not resist him, the level of violence employed to subdue the victims was high. There was progression in the violence utilised across the incidents (including the attempted rape). During the first rape only verbal threats as well as displaying a weapon (knife) were utilised, with the second rape the offender slapped the victim a few times and also threatened to kill her with his knife. The third attack exhibited the highest levels of violence; the offender assaulted the victim with his fists and kicked her while she was lying on the ground. Before the actual rape occurred several passers-by saw the offender with the victim and chased him away.

#### **5.7.4 Sexual behaviour**

Although the series consisted of only two rape incidents, these incidents consisted of multiple sexual acts. Table 21 illustrates the elements of the sexual behaviour across the two rape incidents. The offender only instructed one of the victims, during the second incident, to participate during the rape.

Table 21  
*Elements of sexual behaviour exhibited by offender G (n = 2)*

Type	Victim	Victim
	1	2
Digit insertion	-	-
Oral sex	-	-
Anal penetration	1	-
Vaginal penetration	1	3
Foreign Object insertion	-	-

Table 21 shows that the offender was highly sexualised and was willing to engage in multiple sexual behaviours. The table also illustrates an escalation in the number of rapes per incident.

### 5.7.5 Summative analysis

The series consisted of three incidents, and occurred over a two-month period. The first two victims were raped, and during the third incident, before the offender could rape the victim they were interrupted by two men.

In terms of victim frequency, there was an increase, two of the incidents occurred during the last month of the series. The first two victims were older than the offender by an average of ten years and the last victim was the same age as the offender at the time of the incident. Two of the victims were unknown to the offender and one of the victims was the offender's cousin. A con approach was utilised during all of the incidents.

The offender was not consistent in terms of the locations where he approached the victims. The first victim was not alone when he approached her she was with her cousin. He accompanied the second victim (cousin) to a medical clinic, and the final victim was at her home when her mother introduced the offender to her. All of the rapes occurred outdoors in an open field in the same geographical area during the day in the morning between 09:00 and 11:00. Although the location was isolated the offender was interrupted twice during the final incident. The offender and the intended victims walked to the rape location.

Due to the nature of the con method of approach that was utilised by the offender, the initial verbal interaction between the victims and the offender was conversational. Once the victim and the offender were alone the offender became threatening. During the sexual contact the verbal

interaction between the offender and the victims can be described as instructional. The offender viewed the victims as objects with which he could do anything he wanted. He also expressed a sense of entitlement with one of the victims. This type of verbal behaviour is indicative of the power-assertive type rapist where the victim is merely viewed as a masturbatory object. The offender also attempted to deflect the blame for his actions during one incident, by telling the victim he was hired to kill her but couldn't because she was a woman and he was going to tell the person that she had ran away. This type of behaviour is associated more with the power-reassurance type rapist, which is contradictory to the power-assertive type of behaviour exhibited during the other incidents.

The levels of violence utilised by the offender during the series also showed significant progression. Verbal threats were utilised during the first rape, during the second incident he slapped the victim, and during the third incident, the attempted rape, the offender assaulted the victim with his fists and kicked her while she was lying on the ground before attempting to rape her. This steady escalation in the type and levels of violence is suggestive of the power-assertive type rapist.

The elements of the sexual behaviour exhibited during the two rape incidents illustrates that the offender was highly sexualised and was willing to engage in multiple sexual behaviours. During both rape incidents the offender engaged in multiple sexual acts, during one incident he raped the victim three times. Subjecting the victim to multiple sexual acts is consistent with the power-assertive type rapist.

## **5.8 OFFENDER H**

Offender H's series consisted of eight victims. Seven of the victims were raped and one of the victims, number three, was not raped. Victim number 5 was murdered during the incident. The incidents occurred across a four-month period from January 2002 to April 2002. The attempted rape occurred during February 2002 and the murder occurred early in March 2002.

Figure 22 shows the time line of the eight incidents.

*Figure 22*  
Dates and incident distribution of offender H (n=8)

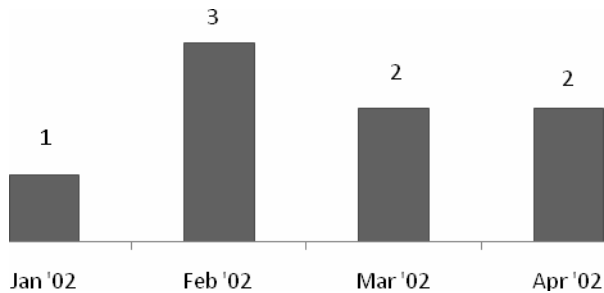


Figure 22 illustrates that there was an increase in the frequency of rapes followed by a plateau.

### 5.8.1 Offender demographics

The offender was a coloured male. He was 24 years of age at the time of the first offence. The offender was unemployed, as he had lost his job a month before the incidents started. The offender had a primary education level. His criminal record consisted of a conviction for theft.

### 5.8.2 Victim demographics

The population groupings of the victims in the series were 2 coloured females and 6 black females.

The victims' ages varied, with the youngest being 14 and the oldest 31 years old. Three of the victims were students, two were unemployed, two had clerical positions, and one victim was a teacher. The third victim (attempted rape) was the teacher, and the murder victim (number five) was one of the unemployed victims. The offender was unknown to seven of the victims. He was known to one of the victims, victim number 7, as he was involved in a relationship with her mother.

Figure 23 illustrates the age distribution of the six rape victims.



*Figure 23*  
Age distribution of offender H's rape victims (n = 8)



Figure 23 illustrates that the first three victims were on average four years older than the offender, and the final five victims were on average six years younger than the offender. The average age of the victims was 21.3 years. The figure also shows that the victims were getting progressively younger as the series progressed.

### 5.8.3 Modus operandi

In this section the way in which the offender approaches the victims, the location and the verbal interaction will be discussed.

#### 5.8.3.1 Approach phase

##### 5.8.3.1.1 Method and circumstances of approaching the victim

The offender employed a blitz style of approach during his first attack, grabbing the victim from behind and dragging her into the bushes. The offender used a con method of approach during the second incident. He asked the victim if he could use her bathroom. During the third incident, the offender also used a con method of approach, knocking on the victim's door, asking her for directions then asking if he could use her bathroom. The offender used a surprise method of approach during the fourth incident. He knocked on the door and as the victim opened the door he pointed a firearm at her. The method of approach utilised during the fifth incident is unknown, as the victim was found dead in her home. During the sixth incident, the offender utilised a con approach. He walked through the open door and sat down on the couch and asked the victim if he could use her bathroom to dry off because it was raining outside. During the seventh incident the offender surprised the victim in her room; she was the daughter of his girlfriend. He pulled

his firearm out and told the victim to undress. During the eighth incident, the offender utilised the con method of approach, he knocked on the victim’s door holding a bible and asked her if he could use her bathroom. The first incident occurred early in the morning at 01:30 and the other incidents during the day between 11:00 and 15:00.

Figure 24 illustrates the distribution of the methods of approach utilised by the offender.

*Figure 24*  
Method approach utilised by offender H (n=8)

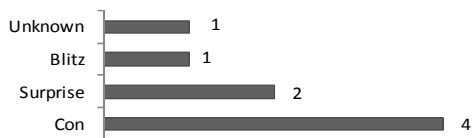


Figure 24 shows that the offender changed between three methods of approach in no particular pattern or order. It does not seem that age played a role in the choice of method of approach utilised. A con method of approach was employed during 50% of the incidents spread across the series.

### 5.8.3.1.2 Approach location

The first victim was attacked early in the morning 01:30, out in the open, as she was walking home. The offender dragged her into nearby bushes and raped her right there. The offender approached and raped the rest of the victims (6) at their own homes during the day, as mentioned it is unknown how victim five was approached.

### 5.8.3.1.3 Verbal interaction

During the incidents where the offender utilised the con method of approach, the offender was conversational and came across as sincere in his request to use the bathroom or for assistance. During the blitz approach, the offender was demeaning calling the victim names for example “walk bitch”. The verbal interaction with the two victims he surprised can be described as

aggressive and threatening. He threatened to kill one girl with his firearm and he was shouting at the daughter of his girlfriend when he pushed her onto the bed. Figure 25 shows the verbal interaction between the offender and the victims during the approach phase. The verbal interaction with the deceased is unknown.

*Figure 25*

Verbal interaction between the victims and offender H during the approach phase (n = 7)

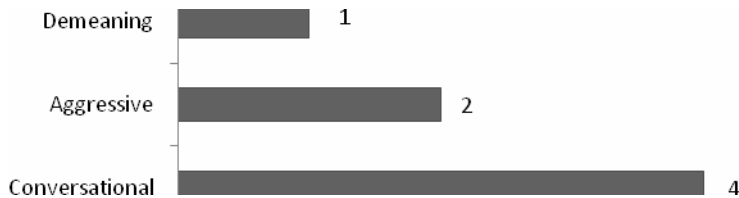


Table 22 illustrates the age of the victims, the methods of approach utilised by the offender, and the verbal interaction during each incident.

Table 22

*Method of approach, age of victims, and verbal interaction of offender H per incident*

Incident	Age	Method of approach	Verbal interaction
1	25	Blitz	Demeaning
2	31	Con	Conversational
3	28	Con	Conversational
4	17	Surprise	Aggressive
5	21	Unknown	Unknown
6	21	Con	Conversational
7	14	Surprise	Aggressive
8	14	Con	Conversational

There is no indicator that age played a role in the choice of method of approach utilised by the offender. A conversational style of verbal interaction was used during all the con methods, while a more harsh verbal interaction was employed during the blitz and surprise approach methods.

### 5.8.3.2 Attack phase

In this section aspects pertaining to the actual physical attack of the victim are discussed in terms of location, verbal interaction, violence, and sexual behaviour.

#### 5.8.3.2.1 Location

Seven of the attacks took place inside the victims' own residences, in their bedrooms, and on their own beds (including the murder). Almost all the attacks took place between 11:00 in the morning and 15:00 in the afternoon. The only attack that took place outdoors was the first rape. He attacked this victim early in the morning (01:30) while she was walking home from a nightclub. Therefore the approach location and the actual rape location were the same. The incidents occurred across two police station policing boundaries.

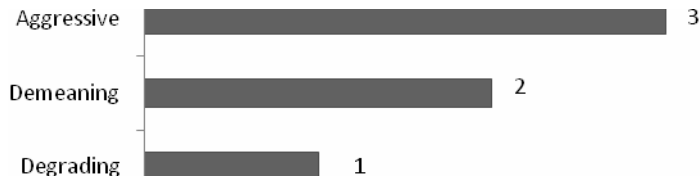
#### 5.8.3.2.2 Verbal interaction during the attack phase and the sexual contact

During the first incident, where the blitz method of approach was utilised, the offender called the victim a "bitch" and a "whore". During the other incidents, once the offender was inside the victim's home, his mood changed. He became threatening, aggressive and forceful. He told the victims that he was going to kill them if they attempted to scream. During one incident, the offender grabbed the victim by the neck and showed her the firearm. During his second-last incident (daughter of his girlfriend) the offender was home alone with the victim and told her to clean his room. The victim refused and told him that her mother said he should clean the room. The offender screamed at the victim and pulled out his firearm.

The verbal interaction during the **sexual contact** between the victim and the offender can be described as a combination of degrading, aggressive, and demeaning interactions, for example "suck me bitch", "shut up or I am going to kill you bitch"\$ and "walk bitch". Figure 26 shows the general verbal interaction, which occurred, between the offender and the victim during the sexual behaviour excluding the attempted rape and murder case. On several occasions the offender ordered the victim to perform oral sex on him, for example during the first rape the offender ordered the victim to "suck me" twice. The offender also gave the victims explicit instructions. He told one victim to get undressed, lie down on the bed and spread her legs wide open.

*Figure 26*

Verbal interaction between the victims and offender H during the sexual behaviour (n = 6)



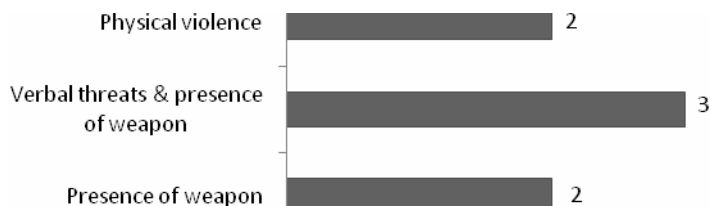
### 5.8.3.2.3 Violence utilised and methods of control

During seven of the incidents, the offender displayed a firearm. He threatened the victims, telling them that he was going to shoot them. During the seventh incident, the daughter of his girlfriend, the offender threatened the victim’s family, saying that if she told anyone he would kill her mother and her little sister. The offender also used physical violence to ensure victim compliance during the third incident (attempted rape); he knocked the victim unconscious with the firearm. The offender also tied the victims up after the rapes, except the during the blitz attack. In most instances he used electrical wire, and sometimes adhesive tape. He would then place the victim in a closet and lock it. The attempted rape victim was also tied up with electrical wire, as was the victim the offender murdered. The offender murdered her by forcing cotton wool laced with chemicals down her throat. None of the victims were shot.

Figure 27 shows the methods of control utilised during the rape incidents.

*Figure 27*

Methods of control utilised by offender H during the attack phase (n = 7)



#### 5.8.4 Sexual behaviour

Vaginal penetration occurred in all of the rapes. The offender did not use a condom, and ejaculation occurred either inside the victim (number 1; number 2) or on top of the victim (number 6). It was unclear whether ejaculation occurred during the fourth and fifth incident, and the victims reported no ejaculation during the seventh and eighth incidents. The sexual contact during the incidents varied. For example, victim six was raped, then forced to perform oral sex on the offender. Victim two was forced to perform oral sex, raped, then forced to perform oral sex again and then anal penetration occurred. One of the victims (number one) was raped more than once and forced to perform oral sex on the offender. Most of the incidents occurred on the victim's own bed, the offender raped one of the victims (number 8) in front of her little sister.

Table 23 shows the elements of the sexual behaviour, which occurred during the rapes.

Table 23  
*Elements of the sexual behaviour exhibited by offender H (n = 6)*

Type	Victim 1	Victim 2	Victim 4	Victim 6	Victim 7	Victim 8
<b>Digit insertion</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Oral sex</b>	1	2	0	1	0	0
<b>Anal penetration</b>	0	1	0	0	0	0
<b>Vaginal penetration</b>	2	1	1	1	1	1
<b>Foreign Object insertion</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total sexual acts</b>	3	4	1	2	1	1

Table 23 shows that there was a decline in the number of sexual acts committed by the offender, after the second rape incident, as the series progressed.

#### 5.8.5 Summative analysis

Offender H's series consisted of eight victims, six of the victims were raped, one victim was murdered, and one victim was involved in an attempted rape incident. The incidents occurred over a four-month period.

The frequency of victims increased after the first month then levelled off during the third and fourth months. The victim's ages ranged from 14 to 32 years and there was a marked decrease

in the ages of the victims as the series progressed. During the first three incidents the victims were older than the offender and during the final five incidents the victims were younger than the offender. The offender was 10 years older than his youngest victim and seven years younger than his oldest victim. The offender utilised a variety of methods to approach his victims.

The offender approached the majority of the victims during the day and only one victim was approached early in the morning 01:30, as she was walking home. The rape incidents occurred inside the victim's own homes between 11:00 and 15:00 except for the first incident, the victim was raped outside as she was walking home.

The verbal interaction between the offender and the victims during the approach phase was varied due to the various methods of approach utilised by the offender. During the blitz incidents the offender was demeaning and insulting, during the surprise incidents the offender was threatening and aggressive. During the con approach the verbal interaction was conversational until the offender was inside the victim's home, when the interaction became threatening. During the sexual contact the verbal interaction between the offender and victim was degrading, aggressive and profane. He gave the victims specific instructions as to what he expected from them, and he also gave the victims explicit instructions in terms of the type of sexual activities he wanted them to perform. This type of verbal interaction during the sexual contact is indicative of the power-assertive type rapists.

In order to ensure victim compliance, the threatening and aggressive verbal interaction was coupled with the display of a weapon, the offender threatened to kill the victims if they did not do what he said. The offender also bound seven of the victims, including the attempted rape victim, with electrical cord before he locked them in a closet. The level of aggression exhibited by the offender during these incidents was instrumental and aimed at facilitating sexual intercourse. This type of aggression is associated with the power-reassurance type rapist. The series is also characterised by the murder of one of the victims, the victim was tied up on the bed and the offender forced cotton wool laced with chemicals down the victim's throat and taped her mouth shut with adhesive tape causing her to suffocate.

The elements of the sexual behaviour exhibited during the series were varied. The offender engaged in several types of sexual behaviours with the victims, vaginal penetration, forced oral

sex and anal sex, he also raped one of the victims several times during a single incident and sexually assaulted (rape, anal penetration and forced oral sex) two other victims multiple times. Ejaculation occurred either inside the victim or the offender ejaculated on the victim. The type of sexual behaviour exhibited by the offender is indicative of the power-assertive type rapist.

The offender exhibited behavioural patterns that could be attributed to both the power-assertive and the power-reassurance type rapist. Thus Offender H cannot be classified as a single type but rather a mixed type.

## 5.9 OFFENDER I

Offender I's rape series consisted of seven victims. Five of the victims were raped and subjected to various sexual assaults, one victim was subjected to an indecent assault, and the final victim managed to escape before she was raped.

Figure 28 illustrates the time line of the seven incidents.

*Figure 28*  
Date and incident distribution of offender I (n =7)

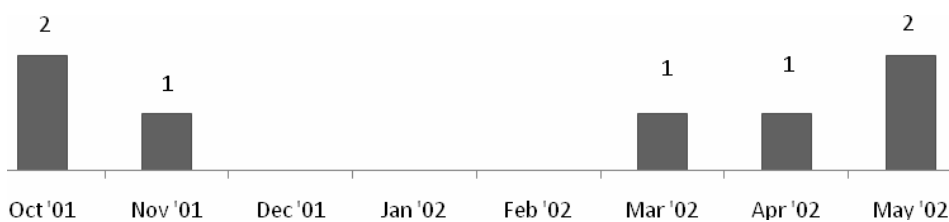


Figure 28 shows that the frequency of incidents decreased after the first month, then levelled off and increased again during the final three months of the series.

### 5.9.1 Offender demographics

The offender was a white male. He was 23 years old at the time of the first rape incident. He owned a vehicle, had a university degree, and was employed in a professional capacity. The offender had no known criminal history.

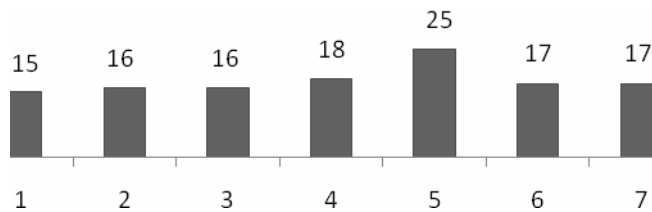


## 5.9.2 Victim demographics

All the victims were white females aged between 15 and 25 years. The offender was unknown to all the victims. Five of the victims were scholars at the time of the attacks, while two were unemployed. Figure 29 illustrates the age distribution of the victims.

*Figure 29*

Age and incident distribution of offender I's rape series (n=7)



As figure 29 illustrates, the ages of the victims remained relatively constant throughout the series. The average age of the victims was 17.7 years. Only one of the victims (victim five) was three years older than the offender at the time of the incident. The other victims were on average six years younger than the offender at the time of the incidents.

## 5.9.3 Modus operandi

In this section the way in which the offender approaches the victims, the location and the verbal interaction during the approach phase will be discussed.

### 5.9.3.1 Approach phase

#### 5.9.3.1.1 Method and circumstances of approaching the victim

In all of the incidents, the offender used his own vehicle and employed a con method of approach. The offender would stop next to a victim and during this time lure the victim into the car by asking for directions to a specific location. While the victim was standing outside the car or when she was inside the car he would threaten her with a firearm, which he alleged to have under the seat, saying he would shoot her if she screamed or attempted to run away. All the victims were approached during the day.

Table 24 shows the age of the victims and the methods of approach utilised by the offender during each incident.

Table 24

*Age of the victims and methods of approach utilised by offender I*

<b>Age</b>	<b>Methods of approach</b>
15	Con
16	Con
16	Con
18	Con
25	Con
17	Con
17	Con

Table 24 shows that the age of the victims did not influence the method of approach utilised during the series.

#### **5.9.3.1.2 Approach location**

The offender approached all of the victims in his own vehicle while the victim was walking along the road. During most of the incidents the victims were walking home from school, walking to school for sport practice, or walking alone. The offender approached the second victim in front of her own house. The fourth victim had an argument with her boyfriend and got out of the car, and the offender approached her as she was walking alone along the road.

#### **5.9.3.1.3 Verbal interaction**

The verbal interaction between the offender and the victims during the approach phase can be described as pleasant and conversational. The offender called the victim to his car and asked her for specific directions. He either said that he was meeting someone at the location, or that he had something to drop off at the location. Once the victim gave him the desired directions, the offender would appear confused and ask her to show him. In four of the incidents the victims voluntarily got into the car with him, and during the other three he forced the victims to get into the car by threatening them. During one incident, the offender lured two girls into his car when he asked them for directions, and they both agreed to show him. He later ordered one of the girls to get out, and drove off leaving her there, and raped the other girl inside the vehicle.

### 5.9.3.2 Attack phase

In this section, aspects pertaining to the actual physical attack of the victim are discussed in terms of location, verbal interaction, violence, and sexual behaviour.

#### 5.9.3.2.1 Location

Most of the incidents (six) took place inside the offender's car. He would drive around looking for an isolated street or area where they could be alone. There was only one incident, incident five, where the attack took place outside the car in a deserted field. All the incidents occurred away from the initial approach location. The incidents occurred across seven different police station policing boundaries, which could be attributed to the fact that the offender utilised his own vehicle during the series.

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

Once the victim was inside the car, the offender would resort to verbally threats. The threats involved physical harm, for example he told one victim "you have two options, either do what I say or I will break all your fingers." He told the victims who were not willing to get into the car with him that if they did not get in he would shoot them. During all the incidents, the offender told the victims that he would hurt them if they did not comply with his demands.

The verbal interaction during the **sexual contact** between the offender and the victim can be described as threatening and demeaning. For example, he told one victim that he would shoot her if she didn't do what he said. On one occasion he told the victim that she only had one choice, either she has sex with him or he will kill her. He also repeatedly threatened to break one victim's fingers if she did not do what he told her. The offender ordered several of the victims to perform oral sex on him and he was very explicit how he wanted them to do it, he told them they have to "wank" (masturbate) him and "suck it like a lollipop". The offender ordered one victim to perform oral sex on him and if he did not enjoy it she would have to masturbate him. He also gave one victim a specific time deadline, masturbate him successfully in five minutes, or he was going to rape her. The offender was also very explicit in terms of the sexual behaviour. During one incident, he asked the victim if she liked it when he was touching her genitals and asked her "do you want me to cum in your mouth". The offender also told one victim, "I want you to take my cum in your hands and then put it in your mouth". During one incident, the offender ordered the victim to perform oral sex on him, but he stopped her, saying

it was not exactly what he wanted. He then raped her. After a while he took his penis and told the victim to open her mouth, “I want to watch you as you swallow my cum”. During the third incident, the first rape in the series, the offender apologised to the victim after the rape. During the sixth incident the offender told the victim that he wanted to rape her but he had to move his vehicle. He never raped the victim, he instead ejaculated in her hands while she was masturbating him, dropped her off, and drove away.

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

The offender never physically harmed any of the victims. He used verbal threats involving physical violence and the threat of a weapon, which he allegedly had under the driver’s seat, to ensure the victim’s compliance. The offender showed the victim a firearm only on one occasion. He was very specific with his threats “I am going to break your fingers”. The threat of physical injury and death was enough to ensure that the victim did not attempt any form of resistance.

#### **5.9.4 Sexual behaviour**

Only five of the seven victims were actually raped, and no sexual contact occurred between the offender and the final victim. The offender was distracted by a car behind him, and she managed to escape.

The sexual contact between the offender and the victims was varied, the behaviour ranged from masturbation, oral sex, genital fondling, and digit insertion, to rape. Table 25 illustrates the various sexual behaviours, which occurred during the incidents. During the first two incidents, the sexual contact consisted of genital fondling, digit insertion, and forced oral sex by the victim on the offender. The offender vaginally penetrated the victims during the third, fourth and fifth incidents. Forced masturbation and oral sex were also performed by the victim on the offender during the third and fifth incidents. The sexual contact during the sixth incident consisted of genital fondling and forced masturbation performed by the victim on the offender. During the seventh incident, the victim jumped out of the car before anything could happen. Ejaculation occurred either inside the victims, on their hands, or inside their mouths.

Table 25  
*Elements of the sexual behaviour exhibited by offender I (n = 6)*

Type	Victim 1	Victim 2	Victim 3	Victim 4	Victim 5	Victim 6
Digit insertion	1	1	0	0	0	0
Masturbation	0	1	1	0	1	1
Oral sex	1	1	0	0	1	0
Anal penetration	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vaginal penetration	0	0	1	1	1	0
Vaginal fondling	1	1	0	0	0	0
Foreign Object insertion	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	3	4	2	1	3	1

Table 25 illustrates the evolution of the offender in terms of his sexual behaviour. The first two incidents were characterised by various sexual interactions, except for vaginal intercourse. The offender raped the third, fourth and fifth victims and he wanted to rape the sixth victim, but never did. Overall there was a decrease in the number of sexual behaviours across the series but an increase in actual vaginal penetration.

### 5.9.5 Summative analysis

Offender I's series consisted of seven victims. Five victims were raped, one was subjected to various sexual acts, and the final victim managed to escape before any sexual acts could take place. The series occurred over an eight-month period.

The frequency of the victims decreased after the first two months, this was followed by a three-month period where the offender was inactive. Thereafter, the frequency increased again during the final three months of the series. Although the age range of the victims was 15 to 25, only one of the victims was older than eighteen. The general ages of the other victims ranged from 15 to 18 years. On average, the offender was six years older than the victims. The victims were all from the same population group as the offender, white, and the offender was unknown to all of the victims.

During all of the incidents the offender utilised his own vehicle and employed a con method of approaching the intended victims. All of the victims were approached while they were walking along the road in a residential area during the day. There was no specific geographical area

where the actual rapes occurred, the offender drove around with the victims and found a secluded spot and raped them in his own vehicle, except for one of the victims who was raped in a field next to the road.

In terms of the offender's verbal interaction during the approach phase he constantly approached the victims in a conversational manner. The interaction between the offender and the victims changed suddenly and became threatening once the victim was inside the vehicle or when she refused to get into the vehicle. Although the offender threatened to harm the victims physically, he never actually resorted to any form of physical violence. The threat of physical harm was enough to ensure victim compliance, which is consistent with the power-reassurance type rapist. During the sexual contact the verbal interaction between the victims and the offender was demeaning, explicit and instructional. The offender gave the victims specific instructions as to the type of sexual acts he expected them to perform and how he wanted the victims to perform them. The verbal interaction exhibited by the offender during the sexual contact is associated with power-assertive type rapist.

The sexual activity was varied throughout the entire series. Only six of the victims were involved in some form of sexual activity. Three of the victims were raped during the series while the other three victims were subjected to various sexual acts, with the final victim escaping before any sexual acts could take place. Several of the victims were also subjected to multiple sexual acts during a single incident. The elements of the sexual behaviour exhibited by the offender are consistent with the power-assertive type rapist.

In general the overall behavioural patterns exhibited by the offender were similar to those of the power-assertive type rapist. However, some of the behavioural patterns were comparable to the power-reassurance type rapist. It is not possible, therefore, to classify the offender as a true power-assertive type, but rather as a mixed type.

## **5.10 CONCLUSION**

In this chapter, each individual case is analysed by applying the behavioural profiling framework. The analysis consisted of the offender demographics, victim demographics, and the modus operandi. The modus operandi was divided into three phases, the approach phase, the

attack phase, and the sexual behaviour. This ensured that the analysis process was consistent across each case, and that every aspect of the incident was incorporated.

In the following chapter, an integrated analysis will be conducted of the entire data set. This will allow the researcher to identify and characterize unique behaviours, behavioural characteristics, and recurring behavioural aspects exhibited throughout the entire data set. The information generated from the analysis will be utilized to construct the general behavioural profile of the South African serial rapist.

## 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>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

<i>Population group</i>	<i>SA population %</i>	<i>SA rape %</i>	<i>Current research %</i>
<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

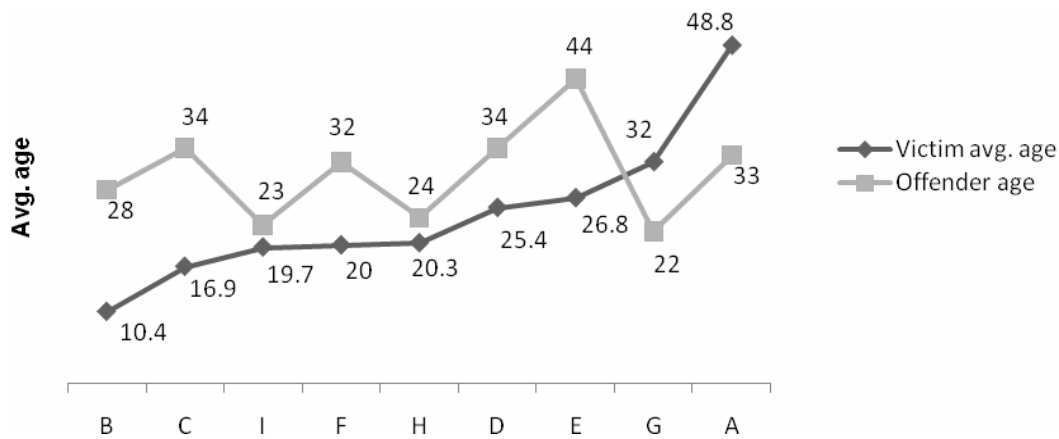


Figure 30 illustrates that in the current data set serial rapists do not often target victims who were in a similar age range as themselves. Offender I and H were the only two offenders who targeted victims who were on average no more than five years younger than them. This could suggest that investigators 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**

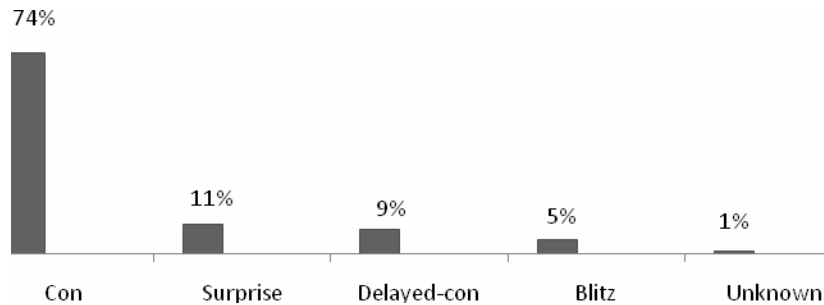
##### **6.3.2.1.1 Method of approaching the victim**

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.



## CHAPTER 7

# CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The aim of the research was to explore and describe the criminal behavioural structure of serial rape within the South African context. Six research objectives were identified in order to facilitate the exploration and description of the phenomenon. The aim of this chapter is to ascertain to what extent the research objectives were achieved. This chapter will also include some investigative considerations which could assist investigators in any future serial rape investigations. Recommendations for future research will also be made.

### 7.1 CONCLUSIONS AND RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The research was the first of its kind to examine the phenomenon of serial rape within the South African context. Due to the dearth of research on this topic in South Africa, the research objectives were designed in order to construct a comprehensive 'picture' of the phenomenon in the South Africa.

The first research objective was 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, sexual behaviour, signature, and fantasy elements. The second objective was to determine whether such consistencies are observed, to determine whether the behavioural patterns are similar, and to determine the distinct groupings of behaviour.

Behavioural consistency requires that the offender's behaviour remain similar and consistent across the rape series. Due to the unique nature of the study, and in order to ensure that all of the relevant data were collected, a behavioural framework was constructed. The framework incorporated several psychological and criminological theoretical frameworks and typologies to ensure a comprehensive examination. This allowed the research to be more inclusive, as well as thorough, which allowed for a more explicit description of the phenomenon. The behavioural framework was structured in such a manner as to determine whether the serial rapist did indeed exhibit some measure of consistency across the rape series.

Utilising the behavioural profiling framework, general as well as specific behavioural consistency was observed in the data set in the choice of victims, in terms of the population groups and victim ages. A degree of consistency was also observed in the methods of approaching the victims and the locations where the offenders acquired the victims and where they attacked the victims. The offenders also demonstrated consistency in the levels of violence utilised, methods of control, preferential sexual behaviour, and pattern of sexual appetite.

The research has shown that all of the offenders in the data set exhibited consistent behavioural patterns throughout their individual rape series. As a group, the data set exhibited similar behavioural patterns, which occurred throughout each individual case, as well as the entire data set. The behavioural patterns were identified and observed as distinct behavioural aspects within the modus operandi as well as in the elements of the sexual behaviour.

When compared to international findings of similar types of research, several comparisons and differences were observed. These relate directly to the third and fourth research objectives. The third objective was to determine whether the South African serial rapist exhibit behavioural patterns which are comparable with international serial rapist typologies and characteristics. The fourth objective entailed constructing a victim profile of the South African serial rapist. The South African serial rapist appears to share some characteristics with international offenders. An initial general victim profile was constructed which incorporated the entire victim data set. It consisted of aspects such as the population groupings and the average victim age of each population group. The general victim profile indicated that the age ranges of the victims in the data set are similar, and the offenders were also unknown to the victims.

A significant difference between the current findings and international findings was the presence of considerable number of victims younger than fifteen years in the data set. In comparison to international findings the current research also indicated that the South African serial rapists appear to be more inclined to target victims from different population groups, but the majority of offences still occurred within the same population group. Further research is recommended. The offender population group dispersal of the data set also differed from the international findings. Differences were also observed in the education levels of the offenders. However, this could be attributed the sample size difference, social environment, as well as the general population group composition.

One of the most significant differences identified between the international and current research findings was the lack of forensic awareness. The South African serial rapists in the data set made no attempt to hide their identities from their victims. In many cases, the offenders returned to the exact same location repeatedly. One offender was apprehended with a victim as they made their way to the same rape location he utilised on previous occasions.

Constructing individual behavioural profiles of each offender was the fifth research objective. Once individual profiles of the offenders represented in the data set were constructed, the similarities and differences compared to international serial rape typologies could be determined. The research showed that existing typologies and theoretical frameworks can be applied within the South African context, but these are also inadequate in some respects. For example, the three internationally recognised methods of approaching the victims were observed in all of the cases in the data set, namely the con, surprise, and blitz methods of approach. However, a new method of approach was identified in the data set, which was classified as a delayed-con method of approach. As with the con method, this method of approach utilised a 'con' story, but also includes a time variable. The characteristic of this method is that there is a time delay of between two and five days between the initial contact and the second contact where the rape occurs. In some cases, the offender can also have intermittent contact with the victim to confirm their second meeting. For example, offender D phoned one of his victims during the five-day period to remind her of their appointment.

Another behavioural aspect observed in the data set which differs from the international typologies is the assault location. In over fifty percent of the international statistics, the attacks occurred inside the victim's own residence. In the current research, over fifty percent of the victims were approached and attacked at two different locations. In the majority of these incidents the actual attack occurred outside in isolated locations. Only 26% of the victims in the current study were attacked in their own homes. A significant difference which also became evident was the methods of transportation used by the offenders in the data set. In the South African research, the offenders only utilised their own vehicles during 17% of the incidents. In comparison, 62% of the offenders in the international findings used their own vehicle. Another behavioural difference observed was the occurrence of physical violence. The majority of the physical violence incidents occurred during the incidents where the offender approached the victims by using a con story. The use of injurious force is mostly associated with the blitz

method of approach. The con method is usually characterised by the offender using a trick or ruse, and no form of physical violence.

The individual profiles of the offenders allowed the researcher to determine the behavioural pattern of each of the offenders. By applying the behavioural profiling framework during the construction of the profiles, several distinctive behavioural aspects, which relate directly to the motivational indicators, were identified, which could not be adequately explained by the existing behavioural theories or typologies. The first unique aspect observed throughout the data set was the variations in the types of aggression exhibited by the offenders. During several of the incidents, some of the offenders initially employed instrumental types of aggression in the beginning of the incident. However, as the incident progressed, their behaviour changed and escalated to expressive types of aggression, which was more than necessary to ensure victim compliance. For example, offender A initially threatened one of his victims and slapped her a few times during the rape. However, the levels of violence and aggression increased and continued after the rape, to such an extent that he was charged with attempted murder.

The other significant difference observed in the data set was the multiple types of behaviour relating directly to the typological categorisation of each individual offender. Five of the offenders utilised in the data set exhibited behavioural patterns which could not be explained by any single typology. In all of these cases, the offenders exhibited behavioural patterns that were characteristic of multiple typologies in various facets of their behavioural structure. For example, offender G exhibited verbal behaviour during the sexual contact which was indicative of the power-assertive type rapist. However, during one incident, he attempted to deflect the blame for his actions and to garner sympathy from the victim. This is completely contradictory to the power-assertive type of behaviour exhibited during his other incidents. Offender I is another example of multiple behavioural types observed throughout the rape series. The levels of violence and methods of control utilised during his incidents were indicative of a power-reassurance type rapist. The offender will only employ the necessary amount of force needed to ensure victim compliance. By contrast, his sexual behaviour and interaction was indicative of a power-assertive type rapist. He was aggressive, degrading, and used profane language. He gave the victims explicit instructions as to what he expected from them and what type of sexual activities he wanted them to perform. Only three offenders in the data set exhibited behaviours which could 'fit' into a single typology. The research thus illustrated that although the existing

typologies can be applied to serial rapists in the South African context, in many respects they are not mutually exclusive.

The final research objective was to determine whether a general behavioural profile of the offender can be constructed by applying the specific behavioural frameworks and typologies that will be applicable within the South African context.

Due to the lack of any empirical research within the South African context, a behavioural profiling framework was constructed which integrated several existing psychological and criminological typologies and theories. The aim was to ensure that no behavioural evidence would be lost, and that any behavioural profile constructed would be as comprehensive as possible. The framework was comprehensive enough to differentiate between the multiple behavioural variations exhibited in the data set.

A general behavioural profile is intended to serve as a general guide for future serial rape investigations. Due to the nature of the phenomenon, the profile attempts to give the investigator a general idea of what to expect, as each individual case is different and unique. The profile focuses on general victim demographics as well as on a general offender description (e.g. age, population group, level of education, and criminal record). The profile also focuses on the modus operandi of the offender. This includes the methods of approach most commonly used, the locations where the victims were approached, and the locations where the actual rapes occurred. The general levels of violence as well as the methods of control most frequently utilised by the offender are also incorporated. The final aspect incorporated in the modus operandi is the general sexual behaviour exhibited throughout the data set.

In the current research there were marked differences amongst the offenders from the different population groups represented in the study. Therefore, a general profile for each individual population group represented in the study was more appropriate.

The biographical profiles of the various population groups represented in the study differed in several key sectors. For example, the black offenders were four years older than the white offenders in the data set, and eight years older than the coloured offender. The white offenders were employed in a professional capacity, and possessed high levels of education. In comparison, the black offenders were employed as labourers, and had low levels of education.

The coloured offender was unemployed at the time of his series, and possessed a medium education level. Although the biographical profiles of the various population groups differed, the groups did illustrate several commonalities in terms of their modus operandi.

Several behavioural differences were also observed in the data set between the black, coloured, and white offenders. For example, black offenders illustrated a tendency to commit their crimes outside, in open areas such as fields and plantations. They also made use of public transportation systems or walked to the intended locations with their victims. In comparison, white and coloured offenders tended to prefer to commit their crimes in more secure places, for example inside the victim's own home or inside a car. White offenders also exclusively made use of their own vehicles during their series.

In the following section, several investigative considerations will be given to assist the investigating officer in any future investigations. The aim is to make the investigator aware of certain aspects which could be overlooked during an investigation.

## **7.2 INVESTIGATIVE CONSIDERATIONS**

One of the most common problems with serial rape investigations is that linking of cases occurs late in a series. By the time investigators have linked a series of rapes together, it is likely that there could be a high number of victims (Turvey, 1997). This is referred to as 'linkage blindness'. Linkage blindness can be described as a failure to recognise a pattern which links one crime to another through victimology, modus operandi, geographical location, the signature of the offender, or review of autopsy protocols (Gerbeth, 1995:46; Turvey, 1997). This delay in the linking of cases can mean that the necessary steps, such as formulating an investigation task team and activating the necessary resources, occur later, and valuable investigative time is wasted.

In an attempt to counteract the effects of linkage blindness, a number of investigative considerations have been compiled to assist future serial rape investigations.

An important aspect of eliminating linkage blindness is the co-operation between investigators across different police station areas. This is significant, because an examination of the data set indicated that, in the South African context, the serial rapists appear to move into and around

different policing areas within the same town or city. This compounds the complications associated with the identification of the particular series. The findings illustrate the investigators have to be aware of the fact that any given series can extend across several police station areas (precincts). Therefore, communication between various detective branches is essential. In South Africa, the recent closure of area offices and specialised units such as the Family Violence, Child Protection, and Sexual Offences (FCS) Units, and Serious and Violent Crime (SVC) Units that typically serviced numerous stations in an area, has further hampered identification and investigations of such series.

An important consideration when screening potential cases (new and old), is specific behavioural indicators that remain relatively consistent throughout the offender's series. The research has shown that the offender appears to remain consistent throughout the series, in terms of the methods of approach utilised. He might adapt and change his approach during a specific incident, depending on the circumstances. However, the findings would indicate that, across the entire series, he would remain consistent in his choice of methods, i.e. a con, delayed-con, or blitz/sudden attack. Those with a similar method of approach could be grouped together for further investigation. In the research, con stories were most often used, which would indicate that any stranger-rape case where a con was used should be red-flagged. A similar method of approach utilised by the offender could therefore be a good discriminating factor when selecting cases for linkage.

The research also illustrated that the offenders in the current research targeted victims from outside their own population group. However, in the majority of the cases, the offenders tended to select victims within their own population group. Therefore, the population group of the victims should not be used as a key factor to exclude cases in potential series.

The victim – offender relationship is also a significant linkage factor when screening cases. In the current research, the offenders targeted victims who were unknown to them 85% of the time, compared to general single rape statistics where 24.4% of the victims are unknown to the offender. Therefore stranger rapes could be set aside for further analysis when looking for or linking serial cases.

The geographical area or area of events is also an important factor, to be considered during the process of determining which cases could be connected. The study has shown that the

offenders in the data set demonstrated a high level of consistency in terms of the area/ location where the actual rapes were committed. During one series, the offender was caught with a victim as they were walking to the location where he had raped all his previous victims. In contrast, the offenders exhibited no fixed pattern in terms of the areas or locations where they first approached the victims. Therefore the location where the rapes occurred appears to be a better linkage factor than approach location.

A significant aspect which relates to predictive information for investigators with regards to the serial rape offender, is the victim's age. The research has shown that if the average age of the victims in a series is below 27, years the offender is likely to be older than the victim by approximately 11 years. In the cases where the victims' average age is older than 32 years at the time of the incidents, the offenders are likely to be significantly younger than the victims by approximately 12,9 years.

Another predictive behavioural indicator identified during the research is the frequency of sexual activities and the pattern of sexual appetite. The offenders showed a marked increase in their sexual appetites, either through an increase in sexual activities or an increase in victim frequency. An increase in sexual appetite could be utilised as a linkage factor by investigators when they are screening potential cases. It could also give an indication of how far advanced the series was. This could serve as an indication to the investigators of how far back they might need to search for old cases, or whether or not they should expect to find a marked increase in cases being reported.

One of the most significant behavioural features present in the research was the fact that the offenders made no attempt to hide their identities or to conceal any forensic evidence at the scene. In terms of future investigations, this is significant, because the victim could give a detailed description of her attacker. There could also be an abundance of forensic evidence that can link the offender to the crime and link the crimes together. It is important to note that more sophisticated offenders might have a higher forensic awareness and might take appropriate precautions.

The final investigative consideration relates to the basic procedure once a serial rape series has been identified. In order to ensure that valuable information is not lost, investigators could incorporate the elements of the behavioural checklist into their standard operating procedures.



The checklist was designed in such a manner that each individual aspect of the incident is covered. The checklist will ensure that relevant behavioural information is gathered. It will also serve as a general guideline for the investigator who is tasked with interviewing the victim.

The investigative considerations discussed in this section should not be viewed as mutually exclusive. No single behavioural indicator should be utilised as motivation to link one or more cases together. A single behavioural indicator can be used to support the inclusion of a case in a series, but any inclusion should be based on an overall analysis of the entire case.

### **7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS**

In this section recommendations on future research are made.

Due to the fact that this was the first study of its kind within the South African context, the research process involved dealing with many challenges. The most significant difficulty was the dearth of information regarding serial rape within the South African context.

In order to ensure a thorough description and exploration of the phenomenon, the research design had to be as comprehensive as possible. The researcher utilised existing research designs which were used in international research on the phenomenon as a basic template. However, instead of simply copying the design, the researcher allowed the richness of the information in the data set to determine the specific design structure. Any future research projects can follow the same basic design, but should focus more on specific aspects such as the demographical information of the victims. In the current research, the focus was on basic demographical information such as age and population group distribution, any future investigations should attempt to be more specific. Future research can focus on determining whether the victims share any specific physical features such as height, long hair, or body build, which could be a determining factor in the specific victim selection. Offender demographical information can also be expanded by future research. Research could be conducted on the personal relationships of the offender. Any interpersonal problems, or the lack of interpersonal interaction or relationships can be a contributing motivational factor. Future research should also be conducted on the phenomenon of women serial rapists.

Future research could also change the type of research to incorporate a single methodology. The current research employed a combined qualitative-quantitative research methodology. This allowed the research to explore the phenomenon within the South African context and also to give detailed descriptions of the behavioural variables observed in the data set. One of the drawbacks of a combined methodology is that the researcher had to compromise between using a large data set and generating qualitative data. In terms of the current research, the biggest potential point of critique is the limited sample size. However, the smaller, more manageable sample size allowed for a more in-depth and thorough description and exploration of the phenomenon. Utilising a single quantitative methodology will allow future research to focus on specific elements and to generate empirical data from a larger sample size. Another point of criticism in terms of the current research is the use of multiple theoretical frameworks. The behavioural profiling framework incorporated several theoretical aspects, which would ensure a comprehensive profile. However, the framework did not focus on determining the motivational aspects of the individual offenders. Future research should be conducted by utilising psychologically grounded theories to focus on the specific behavioural motivation of serial rapists.

One significant aspect that came to the fore during the research was the geographical areas within which the offenders committed their crimes. Canter and Larkin (1993:65) hypothesised two general models which describe the relationship between the offender's area of offending and his residence. The 'marauder model' assumes a close relationship between the offender's home and his criminal range. This model stipulates that the offender moves out in random patterns from his home to commit the crimes. The 'commuter model' assumes that the offender's 'crime range' is an appreciable distance from his home. The model also stipulates that the 'crime range' is completely separated from the area where he lives. Canter suggested that the offenders rarely travel long distances to commit their crimes, but will rather operate within a small geographical area around his or her home base (Ainsworth, 2005:86). In the case of the current research, the offender's home ranges were not incorporated into the research.

Future research is also recommended into the total lack of forensic awareness or any precautionary measures taken by the offender. Compared to international findings, the South African serial rapists made no attempt to hide their identities from their victims or to take any measures to hide their identities from law enforcement. In the current research, one of the offenders' reluctance in taking any form of forensic precaution could be attributed to traditional

beliefs. Future research projects could focus on the influence of traditional beliefs by conducting interviews with serial rapists.

Further investigation into the behavioural differences observed between the international offenders and the South African data set is also recommended. The international findings illustrated that in the majority of their incidents, the offences were committed indoors, usually inside the victim's own home. This could be attributed to the fact that the offenders had previous experience of breaking into homes. This gave them the confidence to enter the victim's own home while she was alone. It could also indicate a higher level of criminal sophistication on the part of the international offenders. The majority of the offences in this research occurred across two distinct locations. The first was the location where the offender approached his intended victims. This was usually when the victim was alone, or even in some cases in populated areas. The second location was where the actual attack occurred. The offender and his intended victim would make their way towards this location by utilising public transportation systems or walking. In the majority of the cases, the location where the actual attack occurred was outside in an isolated location, usually a field or a plantation of some sort. Some of the offenders did commit their crimes indoors, or inside a car. However, the incidents still had a separate location where the offender approached the victim. Only two offenders in the data set exhibited similar behavioural consistencies as the international offenders.

One significant feature observed during the research was the behavioural variations relating to the types of aggression observed in the data set. Some of the offenders exhibited behavioural variations which could not be explained by existing theories. The offender initially displayed instrumental types of aggression, which ensured that the victims did what he wanted. However, as the incident progressed, the levels of aggression escalated and continued past the point where it was functional, and even expressive, in nature. Further research is recommended in order to determine whether it is simply a behavioural variance of the expressive type of aggression, or a distinct type of aggression not just simply aimed at harming the victim.

Further research should also be conducted into the occurrence of multiple behavioural indicators relating to the motivational typologies of the offenders. Several of the offences which comprised the data set exhibited behaviours which could be attributed to multiple behavioural and motivational typologies. Further research is recommended in order to determine whether or not multiple behavioural-motivational indicators are observed in a larger data set. The results

could also be compared to international offenders, to determine whether multiple behavioural-motivational indicators occur in them as well.

#### **7.4 CONCLUSION**

The objective of the research was to explore and describe serial rape as it occurs within the South African context. The aim was to create a detailed description of the phenomenon as it presents itself within the South African context. In order to achieve this, six research objectives were created to facilitate a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon within the South African context.

Due to the nature of the research and the dearth of information, the research had to be innovative and creative, in order to be as comprehensive and thorough as possible. A behavioural-profiling framework was developed, and it incorporated several theoretical elements from various authors. This allowed the framework to be as inclusive and complete as possible. A combination of both qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis methods were utilised, allowing the researcher to achieve a more structured and coherent description and explanation of the phenomenon. Each individual series was analysed thoroughly, and an integrated analysis, which incorporated the entire data set, was also conducted.

The research illustrated the usefulness of the behavioural-profiling framework in constructing a thorough behavioural profile of a given offender. Such a profile could assist law enforcement in recognising and apprehending serial rapists in future investigations. The structured and inclusive nature of the framework will also contribute to the available body of knowledge regarding serial rape.

The research showed that the South African serial rapists exhibited similar behavioural characteristics as those observed in international research findings. The research also illustrated that, although similar in many respects, the South African offenders differed from international offenders in several aspects.

*'To see what is right, and not to do it, is want of courage or of principle', Confucius*

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**APPENDIX A - SERIAL RAPE BEHAVIOURAL CHECKLIST**

<p><b>Section A: Offender demographics</b></p>	<p>For office use Respondent no. V1 <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 1-2</p> <p>Card no. V2 <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 3</p>																																																				
<p>1. Age _____</p> <p>2. Race  <table border="1" style="width:100%; text-align:center;"> <tr><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td></tr> <tr><td>Black</td><td>Brown</td><td>White</td><td>Asian</td><td>Indian</td><td>Other</td></tr> </table> </p> <p>3. Occupation  <table border="1" style="width:100%; text-align:center;"> <tr><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td></tr> <tr><td>Unemployed</td><td>Labourer</td><td>Student</td><td>Semi-prof</td><td>Prof.</td></tr> </table> </p> <p>4. Education  <table border="1" style="width:100%; text-align:center;"> <tr><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td></tr> <tr><td>None</td><td>Lower (gr1–gr 6)</td><td>Medium (gr 7–gr12)</td><td>High - university</td></tr> </table> </p> <p>5. Vehicle (ownership)  <table border="1" style="width:100%; text-align:center;"> <tr><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>Yes</td><td>No</td><td>Access to</td></tr> </table> </p> <p>6. Criminal history  <table border="1" style="width:100%; text-align:center;"> <tr><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>8</td></tr> <tr><td>None</td><td>Murder</td><td>Attempt murder</td><td>Rape</td><td>Robbery</td><td>Assault</td><td>Burglary</td><td>Other</td></tr> </table> </p>	1	2	3	4	5	6	Black	Brown	White	Asian	Indian	Other	1	2	3	4	5	Unemployed	Labourer	Student	Semi-prof	Prof.	1	2	3	4	None	Lower (gr1–gr 6)	Medium (gr 7–gr12)	High - university	1	2	3	Yes	No	Access to	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	None	Murder	Attempt murder	Rape	Robbery	Assault	Burglary	Other	<p>V3 <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 4-5</p> <p><input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/></p> <p><input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/></p> <p><input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/></p> <p><input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/></p>
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<p><b>Section B: Victim demographics –</b></p>	<p>For office use Respondent no. V9 <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 1-2</p> <p>Card no. V10 <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 3</p>																																																				
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**SECTION C: PICK-UP / ATTACK / POST OFFENCE**

**PICK-UP**

**10. Method of approach**

1	2	3	4
Con	Delayed-con	Surprise	Blitz

**10(a). Was the victim alone?**

1	2
Yes	No

If no - describe

**11. Verbal interaction**

1	2	3	4	5	6
Conversational	Complementary	Concerned	Aggressive	Demearing	Hostile

**12. Mood of offender**

1	2	3	4
Pleasant	Threatening	Aggressive	Violent

**12(a). Indicators of change**

1	2	3
Verbally	Behavioural	Both

**ATTACK**

**13. Location**

1	2
Residential	Isolated

**13(a). Location**

1	2	3
Inside	Outside	Car

**14. Verbal interaction**

1	2	3	4	5	6
Conversational	Complementary	Concerned	Threatening	Demearing	Aggressive

**15. Control**

1	2	3	4	5
Physical violence	Verbal threats	Verbal threats + presence of weapon	Presence of weapon	Physical presence

**16. Victim resistance**

1	2
Yes	No

If yes - describe type of resistance

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<p><b>17. Levels of violence</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">1                      2                      3                      4</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center;"> <tr> <td style="width: 25%;">Low</td> <td style="width: 25%;">Moderate</td> <td style="width: 25%;">High</td> <td style="width: 25%;">Excessive</td> </tr> </table>	Low	Moderate	High	Excessive	
Low	Moderate	High	Excessive		
<p><b>18. Mood of offender</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">1                                      2                                      3                                      4</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center;"> <tr> <td style="width: 25%;">Pleasant</td> <td style="width: 25%;">Threatening</td> <td style="width: 25%;">Aggressive</td> <td style="width: 25%;">Violent</td> </tr> </table>	Pleasant	Threatening	Aggressive	Violent	
Pleasant	Threatening	Aggressive	Violent		
<p><b>18(a). Indicators of change</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">1                      2                      3</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center;"> <tr> <td style="width: 33%;">Verbally</td> <td style="width: 33%;">Behavioural</td> <td style="width: 33%;">Both</td> </tr> </table>	Verbally	Behavioural	Both		
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<b>SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR</b>					
<p><b>19(a). Did offender order victim to undress?</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">1                      2</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%;">Yes</td> <td style="width: 50%;">No</td> </tr> </table>	Yes	No			
Yes	No				
<p><b>19(b). Did offender watch victim undress?</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">1                      2</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%;">Yes</td> <td style="width: 50%;">No</td> </tr> </table>	Yes	No			
Yes	No				
<p><b>19(b). Did offender remove victim's clothes?</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">1                      2</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%;">Yes</td> <td style="width: 50%;">No</td> </tr> </table>	Yes	No			
Yes	No				
<p><b>19(c). Did offender undress himself?</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">1                      2</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%;">Yes</td> <td style="width: 50%;">No</td> </tr> </table>	Yes	No			
Yes	No				
<p><b>19(d). Did offender order victim to undress him?</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">1                      2</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%;">Yes</td> <td style="width: 50%;">No</td> </tr> </table>	Yes	No			
Yes	No				
<p><b>19(e). Offender clothing</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">1                                      2                                      3</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center;"> <tr> <td style="width: 33%;">Fully clothed</td> <td style="width: 33%;">Partially clothed</td> <td style="width: 33%;">Naked</td> </tr> </table>	Fully clothed	Partially clothed	Naked		
Fully clothed	Partially clothed	Naked			
<b>If the attack was outside:</b>					
<p><b>20(a). Did offender place anything on the ground?</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">1                      2</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%;">Yes</td> <td style="width: 50%;">No</td> </tr> </table>	Yes	No			
Yes	No				
<p><b>20(b). If yes – explain what offender used</b></p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>					
<b>If the attack was inside:</b>					
<p><b>21(a). Where did the attack take place?</b></p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>					



**22. Digit insertion**

1 2

Yes	No
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If yes – number of times \_\_\_\_\_

**23(a). Vaginal insertion**

1 2

Yes	No
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**23(b). Anal insertion**

1 2

Yes	No
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**23(c). Other (vaginal followed by digit insertion into victim’s mouth)**

1 2

Yes	No
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**24. Oral sex**

1 2

Yes	No
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**25. If yes - Performed by offender on victim**

1 2

Yes	No
-----	----

If yes – number of times \_\_\_\_\_

**25(a). Performed by victim on offender**

1 2

Yes	No
-----	----

If yes – number of times \_\_\_\_\_

**25(b). Did oral ejaculation occur?**

1 2

Yes	No
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**25(c). Did offender order victim to perform oral sex?**

1 2

Yes	No
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**26. Anal penetration**

1 2

Yes	No
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If yes – number of times \_\_\_\_\_

**26(a). Did anal ejaculation occur?**

1 2

Yes	No
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**27. Vaginal penetration**

1 2

Yes	No
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If yes – number of times \_\_\_\_\_

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<p><b>27(a). Did vaginal ejaculation occur?</b>  1      2      3  <input type="checkbox"/> Yes   <input type="checkbox"/> No   <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown</p>	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> <tr><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td></tr> </table>			
<p><b>28. Foreign object insertion</b>  1      2  <input type="checkbox"/> Yes   <input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p>If yes – What did offender use? _____  _____</p>	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> <tr><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td></tr> </table>			
<p><b>29. Fondling</b>  1      2  <input type="checkbox"/> Yes   <input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p>If yes – what body part?  1                  2                  3                  4  <input type="checkbox"/> Breast   <input type="checkbox"/> Buttocks   <input type="checkbox"/> External vaginal fondling   <input type="checkbox"/> Other</p>	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> <tr><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td></tr> </table>			
<p><b>30. Was a condom used?</b>  1      2  <input type="checkbox"/> Yes   <input type="checkbox"/> No</p>	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> <tr><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td></tr> </table>			
<p><b>31. Verbal interaction</b>  1                  2                  3                  4                  5  <input type="checkbox"/> Instructional   <input type="checkbox"/> Threatening   <input type="checkbox"/> Complementary   <input type="checkbox"/> Demeaning   <input type="checkbox"/> Aggressive</p>	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> <tr><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td></tr> </table>			
<p><b>32. Did offender ask victim questions?</b>  1      2  <input type="checkbox"/> Yes   <input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p>1                  2                  3  <input type="checkbox"/> Personal questions   <input type="checkbox"/> Sexual questions   <input type="checkbox"/> Other</p> <p>If yes – describe type of questions _____  _____</p>	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> <tr><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td></tr> </table>			
<p><b>33. Did offender order victim to participate?</b>  1      2  <input type="checkbox"/> Yes   <input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p>1                  2                  3  <input type="checkbox"/> Move with   <input type="checkbox"/> Hold offender   <input type="checkbox"/> Touch the offender's genitals</p> <p>If yes – describe the interaction _____  _____</p>	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> <tr><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td></tr> </table>			
<p><b>34. Did offender order the victim to look away?</b>  1      2  <input type="checkbox"/> Yes   <input type="checkbox"/> No</p>	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> <tr><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td></tr> </table>			
<p><b>34(b). Did offender force victim to look away?</b>  1      2  <input type="checkbox"/> Yes   <input type="checkbox"/> No</p>	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> <tr><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td></tr> </table>			



<p><b>35. Did offender order victim to look at him?</b> 1 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p>	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td></tr> </table>													
<p><b>36. Was the sexual contact violent?</b> 1 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p>If yes – describe _____</p>	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td></tr> </table>													
<p><b>37. Did offender experience sexual dysfunction?</b> 1 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p>If yes –</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 25%; text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="width: 25%; text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="width: 25%; text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="width: 25%; text-align: center;">4</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Erectile insufficiency</td> <td>Premature ejaculation</td> <td>Retarded ejaculation</td> <td>Conditional ejaculation</td> </tr> </table>	1	2	3	4	Erectile insufficiency	Premature ejaculation	Retarded ejaculation	Conditional ejaculation	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td></tr> </table>					
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Erectile insufficiency	Premature ejaculation	Retarded ejaculation	Conditional ejaculation											
<p><b>38. Sequence of sexual act</b> _____</p> <p>_____</p>	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td></tr> </table>													
<b>POST OFFENCE BEHAVIOUR</b>														
<b>CRIME SCENE BEHAVIOUR</b>														
<p><b>39. Did offender wipe himself clean after sex?</b> 1 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p>If yes</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 20%; text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="width: 20%; text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="width: 20%; text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="width: 20%; text-align: center;">4</td> <td style="width: 20%; text-align: center;">5</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Cloth</td> <td>Victim's cloths</td> <td>Own clothing</td> <td>Toilet paper</td> <td>Other</td> </tr> </table>	1	2	3	4	5	Cloth	Victim's cloths	Own clothing	Toilet paper	Other	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td></tr> </table>			
1	2	3	4	5										
Cloth	Victim's cloths	Own clothing	Toilet paper	Other										
<p><b>40. Did offender wipe victim clean?</b> 1 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 20%; text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="width: 20%; text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="width: 20%; text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="width: 20%; text-align: center;">4</td> <td style="width: 20%; text-align: center;">5</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Cloth</td> <td>Victim's cloths</td> <td>Own clothing</td> <td>Toilet paper</td> <td>Other</td> </tr> </table>	1	2	3	4	5	Cloth	Victim's cloths	Own clothing	Toilet paper	Other	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td></tr> </table>			
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Cloth	Victim's cloths	Own clothing	Toilet paper	Other										
<p><b>41. Did offender order victim to wipe herself clean?</b> 1 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p>	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td></tr> </table>													
<p><b>42. Did offender assist victim in re-dressing the victim?</b> 1 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p>	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td></tr> </table>													
<p><b>43. Did offender watch the victim re-dress?</b> 1 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p>	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td></tr> </table>													
<p><b>43(a). Did offender leave the victim naked at the scene?</b> 1 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p>	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td><td style="width: 33%;"></td></tr> </table>													



<p><b>44. Did offender attempt to disguise his identity?</b>          1 2  <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p>If yes – describe how _____          _____          _____</p>	<table border="1"> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> </table>						
<p><b>45. Did offender take anything from victim?</b>          1 2  <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p>If yes -          1 2 3  <input type="checkbox"/> Evidentiary <input type="checkbox"/> Valuables <input type="checkbox"/> Personal</p>	<table border="1"> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> </table>						
<p><b>46. Did offender stay with victim after attack?</b>          1 2  <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p>	<table border="1"> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> </table>						
<p><b>47. Did offender leave the victim at the rape location?</b>          1 2  <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p>	<table border="1"> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> </table>						
<p><b>48. Did offender give the victim money?</b>          1 2  <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p>	<table border="1"> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> </table>						
<p><b>49. Did offender accompany victim after the rape?</b>          1 2  <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p>If yes –          1 2 3  <input type="checkbox"/> Partially <input type="checkbox"/> All the way <input type="checkbox"/> No</p>	<table border="1"> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> </table>						
<p><b>50. Did offender threaten victim with the intention of keeping her from going to the authorities?</b>          1 2  <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p>If yes – what did offender say? _____          _____</p>	<table border="1"> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> </table>						
<p><b>51. Did offender initiate contact with the victim after the attack?</b>          1 2  <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p>	<table border="1"> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> </table>						