CHAPTER 9

RESULTS OF ASSESSMENT PROCEDURES

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The data obtained by means of preassessments, assessments during the treatment programme as well as postassessments are illustrated and interpreted in this chapter. A multiperspective approach was adopted (see chapter 5), using different qualitative techniques and datacollection methods (e.g., participant observations, psychometric tests and questionnaires and assignments). This chapter is presented as objective and empirical research and is based on sound scientific methodology. It describes, interprets or reconstructs meanings and intentions of the everyday human actions of the rapists while they were participating in the various processes.

9.2 RESULTS OF THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS WOMEN QUESTIONNAIRE

Tables 9.1, 9.2 and 9.3 present the results of the attitudes toward women questionnaire, designed by the researcher to evaluate the most common attitudes regarding women and rape. The tables indicate the differences between the preprogramme and the postprogramme assessments as well as an interpretation of the results regarding the change or not of certain attitudes towards women during the process.

Table 9.1 Attitude towards women questionnaire (before treatment programme)

	A	В	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Statement	Answer	Answei							
Women offer initial resistance but later	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
give in and enjoy forced sex.									
Women do not mean it when they say no	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
to sex.									
Women can not be trusted.	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Men should dominate women.	No								
Sometimes women agree to sex and later	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
allege rape.									
Manhood is proved by sleeping with a	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
woman.									
It is important for a man to show that he	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No
is stronger than a woman.									
Women enjoy rough sex.	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	No
Women want to be raped.	No								
I hate women.	No								
I enjoy women to have pain during sex.	No								
I usually have a normal sex life.	Yes								
Women deserve to be raped.	No	Yes	No						

Table 9.2 Attitude towards woman questionnaire (after the treatment programme)

	A	В	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Statement	Answer								
Women offer initial resistance but later	No	Yes							
give in and enjoy forced sex.									
Women do not mean it when they say no	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
to sex.									
Women can not be trusted.	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Men should dominate women.	No	Yes	No						
Sometimes women agree to sex and later	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
allege rape.							}		
Manhood is proved by sleeping with a	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
woman.									
It is important for a man to show that he	No	Yes	No						
is stronger than a woman.	is .								
Women enjoy rough sex.	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No
Women want to be raped.	No								
I hate women.	No								
I enjoy women to have pain during sex.	No								
I usually have a normal sex life.	Yes								
Women deserve to be raped.	No								

The following responses remained the same during the pre- and postprogramme testing:

- Women want to be raped. (No)
- > I hate women. (No)
- > I enjoy women to have pain during sex. (No)
- I usually have a normal sex life. (Yes)
- > Sometimes women agree to sex and later allege rape. (No=2, Yes=7)

This information could be interpreted as that the rapists were aware of the fact that it is wrong to rape women and knew that women did not want to be raped. It also indicated that this group of rapists did not hate women, usually had a normal sex life and did not enjoy women having pain during sex. It also indicated that the same individuals felt that women agreed to sex and later alleged rape, indicating either that they might have experienced such an incident and that it might have influenced their attitudes or that their wrong attitudes or beliefs might have led them to rape.

The following responses showed a small but relevant change:

- > Whereas in the preprogramme testing all nine rapists indicated that men should not dominate women, in the postprogramme testing one rapist indicated that men should dominate women, thereby indicating a strong belief or attitude that men should dominate women.
- Whereas in the preprogramme testing two rapists indicated that women enjoy rough sex, only one of them held the same attitude/belief in the postprogramme testing, indicating a change of attitude in one rapist after the treatment programme.
- > Whereas in the preprogramme testing one rapist felt that women deserved to be raped, in the postprogramme testing all the rapists indicated that women do not deserve to be raped, indicating that the treatment programme might have led to

- this change in attitude.
- > The attitudes that differed in these responses were not of the same individuals, indicating that where some attitudes might have stayed the same for some, they changed for others.

Table 9.3 Evaluation of attitude towards women questionnaire (before and after treatment programme)

Preprogramme Assessment Results Postprogramme Assessment Results Five rapists indicated that women offered Nine rapists now denied that women initial resistance but later gave in and did offer initial resistance and later gave in and enjoyed forced sex. enjoy forced sex. However, one rapist reversed his attitude from "no" to "yes". This might indicate that the rapists understood during the process, that did not offer initial women resistance just for the sake of complying with certain customs. It also acknowledges that they will not later give in and enjoy forced sex. It could therefore be assumed that in the process most of them came to understand that resistance women actually means "no" and is not just a game played by women to entice them further. Four rapists indicated that women did not Five rapists indicated that women do mean it when they said "no" to sex, not mean it when they say "no" to thereby implying that, according to them sex, thereby implying that according

women were willing to have sex even if | to them the women are willing to have they said no.

sex even if they say "no".

This indicates that approximately 45% of the rapists still do not respect women's resistance and accept "no" as meaning "no".

be trusted while four were of the opinion could be trusted while four were of that women could not be trusted

Five rapists indicated that women could Five rapists indicated that women the opinion that women could not be trusted.

> The trust factor remained the same as only 45% indicated that women could be trusted.

All nine rapists indicated that men should Eight rapists indicated that men not dominate women.

should not dominate women.

It is uncertain, however, whether they As previously stated. understood this question as all asked what "dominate" means and it had to be explained to them. It was clear to the researcher that the rapists did not understand the meaning of the word. This question should therefore be approached with due consideration.

sometimes women gave in to sex and later alleged rape.

Seven of the nine rapists indicated that | Seven of the nine rapists indicated that sometimes women gave in to sex and later alleged rape.

This attitude remained the same thereby implying that this attitude remains a concern for them. This issue was also discussed at length with the rapists during treatment programme as they felt that women gave in to sex but because they were not paid or because of fear of the family indicated that they were raped while they were eager to have sex and were not forced.

Five of the nine rapists indicated that manhood was proven if a man slept with manhood was not proven if a man a women while four denied this.

Five of the nine rapists indicated that slept with a woman while four felt that it did prove manhood.

This attitude remained the same thus indicating that 45% of the rapists felt that to sleep with a woman proved your manhood.

was not necessary for a man to show that it was not necessary for a man to he was stronger than women while two show that he was stronger than felt that it was important to show that women while one still felt that it was they were stronger than women (i.e. again testing domination).

Seven of the nine rapists indicated that it Eight of the nine rapists indicated that important to show that he was stronger than women.

	89% of the group now indicated
	that a man did not have to show
	that he was stronger than a woman.
Seven of the nine rapists indicated that	Eight of the nine rapists indicated that
women did not enjoy rough sex while	women did not enjoy rough sex while
two indicated that women did.	one still maintained that women did.
	Although they indicated in the
	questionnaire that women did not
	enjoy rough sex, this did not
	indicate why they had raped or
	used force.
All the rapists indicated that women did	All the rapists indicated that women
not want to be raped.	did not want to be raped.
	All the rapists knew that women did not want to be raped. It is uncertain whether this realization was because they were in prison for rape or whether they knew it before they came to prison
N. C. the register indicated that their	not want to be raped. It is uncertain whether this realization was because they were in prison for rape or whether they knew it before they came to prison.
None of the rapists indicated that they	not want to be raped. It is uncertain whether this realization was because they were in prison for rape or whether they knew it before they came to prison. None of the rapists indicated that they
None of the rapists indicated that they hated women.	not want to be raped. It is uncertain whether this realization was because they were in prison for rape or whether they knew it before they came to prison. None of the rapists indicated that they hated women.
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	not want to be raped. It is uncertain whether this realization was because they were in prison for rape or whether they knew it before they came to prison. None of the rapists indicated that they hated women. This could be interpreted as
hated women.	not want to be raped. It is uncertain whether this realization was because they were in prison for rape or whether they knew it before they came to prison. None of the rapists indicated that they hated women. This could be interpreted as indicating that the rapists did not feel anger or hatred towards women in
	not want to be raped. It is uncertain whether this realization was because they were in prison for rape or whether they knew it before they came to prison. None of the rapists indicated that they hated women. This could be interpreted as indicating that the rapists did not feel anger or hatred towards women in general.

This could be interpreted as meaning that the rapists did not usually inflict pain in their sexual encounters or had learnt from their experience (imprisonment) that it was not socially acceptable to inflict pain as this can be interpreted as rape. All the rapists indicated that they had a Eight rapists indicated that they had a normal sex life while one indicated normal sex life. that he did not have a normal sex life. The rapists probably indicated that they usually had a "normal" sex life and the one exception might be because the rapist was in prison and acknowledged the fact that people could not have a normal sex life in prison or perhaps because he did not have or practise normal sexual behaviour. All the rapists indicated that women Eight of the rapists indicated that women did not deserve to be raped while one felt did not deserve to be raped. that women deserved to be raped. This might indicate that all the rapists except one, accepted the fact that rape was not a normal sexual practice and was a crime. One rapist, however, might have felt resentment against anger and general as he still believed that women deserved to be



The attitudes towards woman questionnaire revealed that even after the treatment programme process many rapists still believed that if a woman said "no" to sex she was willing to have sex. This might be a problem area as in some cultures it is accepted and expected that a woman should have or indicate initial resistance (verbal communication by Prof L.P. Vorster, Department of Indigenous Law, Unisa, July 1997). Many of the rapists acknowledged problems in trusting women. The majority of the rapists in the group (7 out of 9) indicated that women sometimes gave in to sex (perhaps under the impression that they would receive money, to tease men, or were willing partners) but alleged rape the next day. Hazan and Grobbelaar (1994) reported similar findings. This might be due to the fact that the women were not paid as initially agreed or because of pressure from parents (especially with some girls) as young girls are often not allowed to go to a specific place without the consent of the parents. The parents then found out later that the girls had had sex, which decreases a woman's value in some cultures (e.g., less lobola to be paid). In many such instances this aspect increases the breach of trust to not believe what women say.

Almost half (56%) of the rapists agreed a man did not prove his manhood by sleeping with a woman and 36% of them felt it was an important factor for a man to have sex with a women as it proved his manliness amongst his peer group.

All the rapists were in agreement that women did not want to be raped and that they knew that rape was an unlawful act. Only one offender indicated in the postassessment that women deserved to be raped thereby indicating that it is not a common attitude/belief amongst men that women deserved to be raped. It was evident that most of the rapists did not enjoy inflicting pain and preferred a normal sex life. They might therefore not see their rape as normal sex, thereby indicating a venting of anger and/or hostility towards the female.

9.3 RESULTS OF THE PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUES

9.3.1 Results of the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT)

The following Thematic Apperceptions Test cards were utilized in all instances, namely Card 1, 2, 3 BM, 4, 6 BM, 7 BM, 8,10 and 13 MF.

For illustrative purposes, the protocol of one rapist (rapist A) is included to demonstrate the process of change from before the treatment programme to after the treatment programme was implemented. His more descriptive verbalizations and expression of emotions clearly show the changes he went through.

Table 9.4 Results of the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) of rapist A

Before treatment programme	After treatment programme				
(dated 9/12/97)	(dated 26/02/98)				
Card 1	Card 1				
"I see somebody is thinking now"	" She is thinkingthere's a violin there in				
How does he feel?	front of him and you see his hand is under				
"Maybe guilt"	his cheek."				
Why?	What is going to happen?				
"Because of his things he have done,	"Maybe she's thinking about the violin.				
maybe"	How to play it"				
What is going to happen?	What is going to happen in the end?				
" What is going to happen I don't	"Maybe she's going to be a star."				
knownothing else, ma'am."					
Card 2	Card 2				
"I see a woman with a book, a man in the	"There is a lady with books, like a student.				
project, and I see a pregnant woman. That is	There's a man in the field and a pregnant				
ali I see."	woman standing in front of the tree and the				
What is going to happen?	man is working in the fields. Like a family."				

"The pregnant woman is looking at the man How are they feeling? and the man with the book seems like "They are together... everyone is doing his thinking." iob." Card 3BM Card 3BM "I see a person, maybe he is crying.. maybe "There's a woman that is crying. Don't have done something or a woman who's been know, maybe it's she's victimized." raped." What is going to happen? What happened? Ai, what is going to happen in the "Somebody here is a man, he has raped end....someone is going to be hurt." someone...maybe thinking about what done

to

Card 4

yesterday

and

manall I can tell."

"I see a man and a woman. The woman maybe is begging the man from something. That's all."

what

happen....maybe is going to prison if he is a

is

going

Card 4

"A man and a woman. It seems like a woman is begging a man. Maybe there is a problem in the house. Maybe the man is not understanding....There is a picture of a lady."

What is going to happen?

"Maybe they will solve their problem."

Card 6BM

"There is a man with a grandmother... maybe this man is telling the grandmother some things that happened."

What is going to happen in the end?

"This people they are socializing...."

Card 6BM

"Here is a granny looking in the window and further. Seems like this guy is upset because the granny is watching. Maybe the granny is watching outside. Maybe the guy has problems outside. He looks upset."

What is going to happen?

"Maybe the granny is guiding him."

Card 7BM

"This is like a father and a son with a chat with the father."

How are they feeling?

"The man is feeling a little bit cautious."

Why?

"Because the father has maybe told him something...all I can see."

Card 7BM

"It looks like maybe a lawyer with a client. Maybe they are in the Courthouse....maybe telling him to behave...giving him instruction of the Courthouse."

Card 8

Card 8

"There is a doctor's operating table, making an operation and it looks like the boy....maybe he's waiting for the results of the operation...maybe it will be OK for that procedure that they are working for."

Card 10

"There is a woman crying....touched by a man".

How are they feeling?

"Somebody is feeling shame."

Who?

"The woman."

What is going to happen in the end?

"This man must maybe to please him with something... I don't know."

Card 10

"There is a lady...she is crying. There's a man hug him."

What is going to happen in the end?

"Maybe no more cries because if somebody love you, then the cries will never continue... tears will never fall."

Card 13MF

"This is a women, a lady sleeping...man standing here.....the man is crying?"

Why?

"Can't understand... something is fishy here, maybe it's a rape."

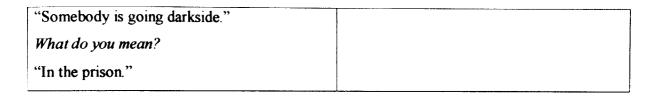
What is going to happen in the end?

Card 13MF

"Seems like a lady sleep and a guy is crying at the same time. Someone is hurt here."

What is going to happen in the end?

"Look like big problems... maybe it's a crime. The husband abuse her because the guy is crying, the lady slept."



A combined summary of the most important aspects (Cards 1 and 13 MF only) is included in this study. Table 9.5 indicates the changes that took place before and after the treatment programme. Only cards 1 and 13 MF have been interpreted for the purposes of this study as these two cards deal primarily with self-concept and sexuality, which was deemed important and relevant for inclusion in this study.

Table 9.5 Results of the most important aspects on the TAT before and after the treatment programme

Card 1 Refore treatment programme After treatment programme						
Before treatment programme (dated 9/12/97)	(dated 26/02/98)					
 Uncertainty about themselves as persons and what exactly is expected of them Uncertainties about how to acknowledge demands and/or to cope with demands and prefers not to be involved with demands 	 Acknowledge demands and accepts that there are demands Understand that there is a right and a wrong way of attending to demands Express a need to comply or cope with 					
 Feelings of guilt Distantiation from emotions 	 demands in the future Feelings of ambition and a need to succeed 					
 Not taking responsibility Clear role identification Afraid of rejection from authority figures Dependent on others and especially 	Accept responsibility (some more than others) or indicate that they would like to do that in future					
authority figures Low self-esteem	Feelings of uncertainty, especially about the future and their own coping skills					

- Depression
- > No long-term goals or commitments
- > Immediate gratification
- > Either intellectualise or fantasize about outcome
- > Infantile behaviour when confronted with own limitations

> Not so dependent on authority figures and more aggression towards authority figures is expressed

CARD 13

Before treatment programme (dated 9/12/97)

- > Understands the implications and sexuality of the card and identifies with it immediately
- > Immediate gratification
- > Feel rejected by women
- women
- > Feelings of guilt when aggression to > Feelings of rejection remain and continue women has been acted out
- > Do not take responsibility for their own feelings of sexuality but place it on the shoulders of the woman - she must take the blame
- > Inability to deal with or meet the needs of women
- > Inability to deal with their own emotions after aggression has been acted out and then revert to infantile behaviour
- > Do not take responsibility for their own > More insecurity

After treatment programme (dated 26/02/98)

- Understands the implications and sexuality of the card and identifies with it immediately
- > Able to control anger better by "thinking first and listening"
- > Act out feelings of aggression towards > Feelings of guilt after expression of anger towards women
 - having problems with coping with rejection from women
 - Distantiates themselves from feelings and suppress them rather than acting them out – in some instances unable to express feelings of hostility towards women or will distantiate themselves from such conflict situations
 - > Do not live out anger in the same way or as strongly as before

	behaviour	>	Either	ackn	owled	ge	and	take
>	Dependent on others - especially authority		responsi	bility	or	do	not	take
	figures		responsi	bility f	or beh	aviou	which	leads
			to depen	dency	on -	especia	ally aut	hority
			figures (Their	new 1	uncerta	inty m	ay be
			due to 1	their e	xposui	re to 1	the trea	tment
		1	program	me.)				

The interpretation of the TAT's before the treatment programme was administered indicated that most of the rapists had low self-esteem, managed frustration poorly and often formed superficial interpersonal relationships. Many of them had strong feelings of aggression towards adult female sexuality. Although some experienced guilt feelings, there were also indications of depression (perhaps due to the fact that they were in prison). There were significant changes in the post-programme assessment. Although the rapists were still generally uncertain of themselves as persons they were more inclined to understand the implications of their behaviour and/or demands made of them. They knew the "wrong and the right" and how to conduct themselves more appropriately and their feelings of self-worth changed and they were more positive.

Strong feelings of rejection by women with accompanying aggression towards women before the treatment programme changed for most of the rapists and they indicated a willingness to cope with feelings of rejection and not to act out hostility and anger after the treatment programme. For some of the rapists, the feelings of rejection remained, however, while some still had problems in dealing with rejection from women. What did change was that feelings of rejection were not acted out as overtly as before the treatment programme and emotions were more controlled and socially acceptable.

Where rapists were not willing to take responsibility for their behaviour before the programme, this changed during the process to acknowledging and taking responsibility for their own behaviour after the treatment programme instead of placing the blame for their misconduct on women.

Although feelings of guilt after acting out aggression against women was a general feeling before the programme, which led to depression perhaps because they were punished and in prison, there were no signs of depression after the treatment programme.

Whereas before the programme the rapists were not able to set goals for the future and were only concerned with the here and now and confronted with their own egocentric needs, after the programme, they expressed a need to succeed in future. They indicated an ambition to do something with their lives. Insecurities about themselves and a preoccupation with themselves changed from an internal focus (egocentric) to an external focus (the future, etc). This was indicated by their differences in the goal-setting before the programme, which focused mainly on their own individual needs, to the goals they set themselves after the programme, which included others and the contributions they could make to society.

It was apparent from the above that there were changes in the TAT responses in the whole process (before and after the programme), which had nothing to do with having done the test approximately two months before. Prior learning did not change their responses. The changes that have been indicated had more to do with their inner beliefs and how to conduct themselves in the future, which demonstrates clearly that a change in themselves on a higher level took place during the treatment programme. This change was still noticeable one month after completion of the treatment programme.

9.3.2 Results of the Draw-a-Person test (DAP)

All the rapists were given a Draw-a-Person Test before and after the programme. Figures 9.1 and 9.2 of prisoner A and Figures 9.3 and 9.4 of prisoner G illustrate the results of two rapists before and after the treatment programme.

Figure 9.1 Drawing by rapist A before the treatment programme

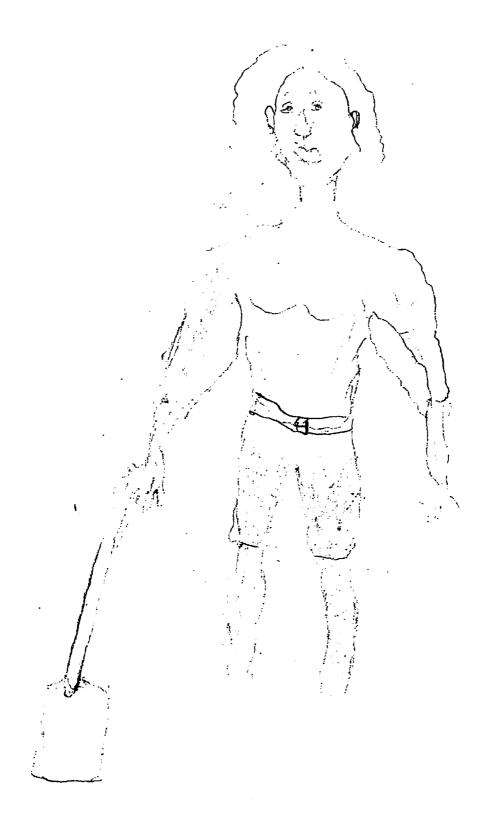


Figure 9.2 Drawing by rapist A after the treatment programme



Figure 9.3 Drawing by rapist G before the treatment programme

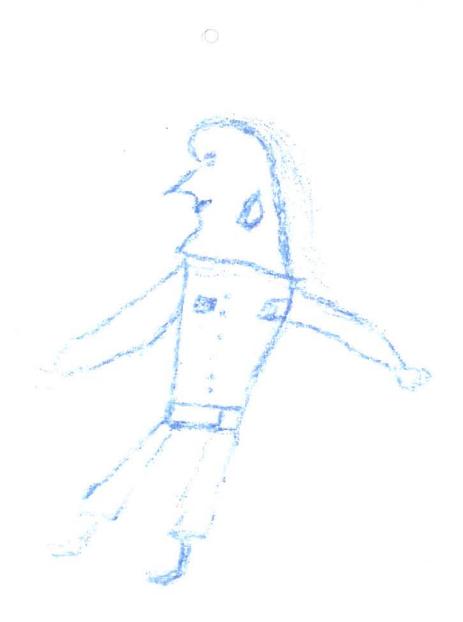
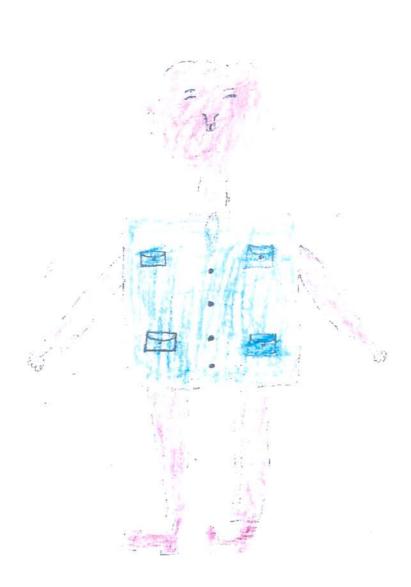


Figure 9.4 Drawing by rapist G after the treatment programme



During the pre-testing and especially with the Draw-a-Person-Test, most of the prisoners preferred to use a pencil and rubber and not the coloured crayons. Perhaps this was because they could rub out if they were not satisfied with their first results and try again, rather than commit to a medium which is more permanent. This might also be indicative of performance anxiety, as they wanted to perform their best. It became clear during the interviews and from their comments while drawing that some of the rapists had never been exposed to coloured wax crayons before and had never received such a request. This led them to feel uncertain of themselves and their abilities as some grew up in very remote and rural areas where such a medium was scarce and/or difficult to come by. This might be due to a lack of resources as many of the offenders came from a low-income environment, which led to many disadvantages but especially a lack of social and/or intellectual stimulation. During the process as the offenders were exposed to different mediums in the treatment programme (clay, crayons, Koki pens, books and magazines, colours, videos, etc), their intellectual stimulation was reflected in their drawings during and after the treatment programme. They enjoyed working with the clay and made objects that were important to them as illustrated in photographs 9.4 and 9.5. This again demonstrates the differences between the rural and the city rapists and what is important to them (e.g., oxen, TV, home, etc.).

In the post-programme assessment it was noted that their drawings were more colourful, contained facial expressions, movement and freedom, less restrictions, and more definite lines and colours. Initial performance anxiety changed to joyfulness and real pleasure after the treatment programme as they no longer experienced performance anxiety and were more at ease with themselves, the different mediums and the demands made on them.

University of Pretoria etd – Bergh, L B (2006)

Photograph 9.3 Clay objects by rapist A



University of Pretoria etd – Bergh, L B (2006)

Photograph 9.4 Clay objects by rapist F



9.4 RESULTS OF OTHER ASSESSMENTS DURING THE TREATMENT PROGRAMME

9.4.1 Self-reports

For illustrative purposes, two self-reports from rapist A (self-report 9.1) and rapist D (self-report 9.2) are included as examples of results after two weeks in the treatment programme, indicating some of the relevant changes that took place during the process.

From the combined results of the rapists it was noted that they now realized that they had potential and knew how to use it, had respect for others, had learnt to be more responsible, could see what is wrong and right, that it is not good to manipulate others or to harass females. One rapist even drew a rape scene on his paper and wrote next to it 'no rape' (rapist A) and this was long before victim empathy or other aspects of the programme were discussed. This already indicated that a certain change had taken place in his mindset on a cognitive level.

The rapists also learnt that it is important to live in the community, have patience, have self-control and do positive self-talk, control anger, see things differently from before, and to communicate with people.

Self-report 9.1 by rapist A

_	What I hearn from the programme?
	* Legun about CTEPS
	what steps it 15 5-STEPS Feweral
	7-70
	& Excellence
	^b Sensonal
1	S. Successed!
7	
1	LEARN BOTONTICH
- 1	x. How much Potential 2 hours
- 1	x flow to used
1	
1	Leone eleoned motions
1	Love, Aniver soud, Guilty Afriad
7	Love, in the state of fire and
+	leave to these two five for living
+	there goest plans my live for living
- 1	r Truth
Т	
	x Resposible
	1 SEE wrong things and right things
	Nor monipulite people
	x Not to Harrassing Camale, and other
	1 Not to Lock on and but out
+	x Learn about sence things
+	
+	
+	
1	
4	No RAPE
¥	
牛	

Self-report 9.2 by rapist D

99.01.98
Who I have bearn from the Progremme and Mysels
bave four how to live in the Community
3) i have learn how to be Potionce
3 how to Nex the faling of other peoples
s And how to control my Anger
7 Thore learn Wat to be Jelause
9. I have learned that everybody has a patantial
herer seen become
conext the (9) dots wit one day
How to communicate with people.

9.4.2 Group discussions

Group discussions were held on many topics, including HIV/AIDS, the difference between sex and rape, characteristics of good and bad women, characteristics of bad and good men, and how to manage leisure time. During discussion groups the rapists were encouraged to give their opinions and to find new or alternative ways to handle problem areas, and think about and deal with stereotypes. All their individual responses were documented carefully.

During a session on the subject of sex, it was noticed that talking about sex was still regarded as taboo by many of them and is not discussed with parents at all. According to members of the group, there are many cultural differences. They indicated that they received their information on sex from their peers and/or grandfathers. According to them, girls knew more about sex as their grandmothers instructed them. According to a Zulu member of the group, it is still part of Zulu custom for a grandmother to inspect a girl to see whether she is a virgin or not - often before *lobola* is paid. According to them, boys and girls are treated differently in family gatherings. This is also true of certain parts of meat that is eaten. One member indicated that only men are allowed to eat the head of cattle, but if the ears are not there they do not eat it as it is then regarded as stolen. Women are not allowed to eat the head of cattle as this part of the meat is reserved for men only.

It was apparent from the discussions that the initiation process is very important and plays an important role in the process of a boy becoming a man, which confirmed Hammond-Tooke's (1993) findings. According to the rapists, Zulu initiation is different to the Tsonga, Xhosa and Shangaan initiation due to cultural differences. According to them, in certain instances a person may be circumcised in a hospital, especially in urban areas, and their peers and groups of men acknowledge this. Today a person is still not regarded as a man and is ostracized if he has not been circumcised and is not allowed to sit and talk while men talk or do men things.

While talking about sex, the group was also very interested in Western customs regarding sexual aspects. This was therefore discussed with them. They found it strange that Western women are so different, that Western families do not pay *lobola*, and that an engagement ring was important. Other aspects, such as young Western girls going out without parental control, were also foreign to them.

According to the group, women in their culture were currently becoming more Westernised and were "not good at it". This leads to men being violent towards them because "they do not show the respect that they should". The group maintained where women show respect to men there is no violence against women. The emancipation of women might therefore be considered as one of the causal factors in the increase of rape and violence against women. Rape could therefore be interpreted as the men's way of controlling women or their way of keeping all women down (Brownmiller, 1975).

From these sessions it was clear that culture, customs and traditions, particularly in the rural areas, are still as strong as ever and practised religiously in some indigenous groups.

9.4.3 Drawings depicting their crimes

The results from the drawings and descriptions of their crimes in an effort to have them discuss their thoughts, feelings and behaviour at the time of their crime indicated that some immediately started with their drawings and were prepared to talk about their crime even though it was difficult. Others, perhaps because they were still in denial, had great difficulty getting started or did not want to draw at all. One offender was prepared to only draw the court case and not the actual incident even though he had admitted to liking "kinky sex" before his arrest. This reaction of his could be interpreted as meaning that in order to draw the scene he had to admit doing it and take responsibility for it, which he was not ready to do just yet.

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When asked to draw their crime, their feelings elicited comments such as the following:

- Bad memories
- > As if happening now
- Angry and frustrated
- > Sad and depressed
- > Not going to do it.

After they had started to discuss the different drawings and how they felt then, they commented as follows:

- > Ashamed
- ➤ It's not me
- > Felt no good don't like myself
- > Felt happy because have not discussed it before
- > Sad reminded me of a friend
- > Relieved
- ➤ Sorry
- ➢ Open

In the discussions following their drawings, it was evident that some of the rapists were prepared to comply with this demand at this stage of the treatment programme because trust had already been established and they took responsibility for their behaviour and previous conduct. They also indicated that they had seen that the group and/or the researchers did not reject them and they felt that their feelings were acknowledged, which allowed them to share this information. One rapist said that he would have "run away" or "not have done it at all" if they were requested to do this assignment during the first week of the treatment programme. It can therefore be assumed that the process facilitated and assisted in them sharing their feelings with the researcher.

9.4.4 Letters to their victims

From their own stories of an incident where they were a victim in order to lead them into the module dealing with victim empathy, it was evident that all the rapists had at one stage or another been a victim of some traumatic incident in the past.

Rapist E told the following story. One night on the way home in Venda, as it was becoming dark, he was chased by two other men. Knowing the dangers of walking alone in the dark, he sat down behind a small bush to try and escape them. He then heard them talking and saying that they were going to kill him and use his brain for "muti" (a potent medicine in indigenous culture). What is very frightening to know is that it is a custom in this particular area (Venda) to take the brain from a victim while he is still alive, as it strengthens the "muti". He sat there quietly behind the bush for the whole night, not moving and just keeping his eyes closed and waiting for the next day, because he was too frightened to open his eyes. He did not want them to see the whites of his eyes shining in the light of the moon and was scared that if he moved they would find him and kill him. When dawn came he went home.

In the group discussion the participants' thoughts and feelings about being a victim were discussed, which included some of the following comments:

- > Frightened
- > Angry
- > To pay back
- > Scared
- ➤ Angry
- > Told myself I must remain calm
- > Hair standing up
- > Shivering
- When I realized I can die, I must fight for life
- ➤ Humiliated

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In the exercise where they were requested to indicate how they thought their victims felt while they were raping them and to link this to their own experiences, they identified the following thoughts or feelings on what their victims might have experienced:

- ➤ Why me?
- ➤ Angry
- > Humiliated
- ➤ Afraid
- > They feel dirty
- > They think it is their fault
- > They hate men
- > They think others are going to laugh at them
- > Some fainted
- > Others kept quiet
- > Think of it all the time and dream of it
- Please stop
- > They were traumatized

In their letters of apology to their victims after the group session on the importance of apologizing, they acknowledged that it was important to apologize because

- > They needed to be forgiven
- > It is good and it shows that you are guilty
- > They deserved punishment
- > They deserved to face the consequences
- > To show the victim that what they have done was not their intention
- > To say to them that they love them and care for them
- > They feel their victim's pain
- > They accept the sentence and why they are in prison

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- > They do not deny responsibility
- > So that society, the family and the victim can accept them back

For illustrative purposes, apology letters from two prisoners (letter 9.1 and letter 9.2) are included. These show that these rapists accepted responsibility for their crimes and were able to feel empathy for their victim. The rapists also verbalized that they would like to be accepted back into their communities again and were prepared to lead a better life than before.

From the assessments during the treatment programme, subtle changes were noticed even two weeks into the programme as the rapists indicated that they had "learnt that they have potential, are willing and know how to utilize their potential, are willing to take responsibility, see wrong things from right".

In the victim empathy exercise, it was apparent that the rapists easily identified with their own feelings of being a victim. This was utilized as a bridge to get to the feelings their victims might have felt during the crime. This led them to see that their own experiences of being a victim and those experiences of their victims were very similar as similar processes of thoughts, feelings and actions were identified. After this exercise some of the rapists were able to write an apology letter to their victim, which some offenders found it more difficult to write than others perhaps because of the emotional input and commitment it required.

Letter 9.1 by rapist D

24 Fabruary 98	
Miss	
Miss I know that by the time you read this letter i	
por your want a dire housely a fine to person must have to person must have to person in hour to	LS
Firstly I have changed I am no langur the parson who I we becare I came in prison this place has change were the it was urong I do me to realise that what I have done to you it was urong I d	12
to be punished, and their place that make me to realise bow in his is. I know that the pown that "we some you it will never make in your mind, but what in asking you is forgiveness lets.	-÷ -÷
a tarable pain like thee, will never ever hate you again Plear	M.
What I would like to do when I'm auside is to help the victim because I know that if you are the victim you think that you are the victim you think that you are the price of the that is not true of	בי ע
they keep quiste about the accident athers they think that is they could be repeated it is not true. That is why I want to the Sornal victims - will be very hope if you can	7
Reply me Pine to that I can know when I'm what are you thinks	7

Letter 9.2 by rapist B

				16 Feb	1998
At, Dear	Miss S				
· I	am Happ	oey am	shll	Living un	be the do
S. Shinks	DEICON SO	Soney Polo	to 1.	The you	Now o as
I hen	seving	I GIII	J Co	PASON B	MANO AC
March you	J will	be considered	Matter.	and	I will i
Tok be	My Sun Botter	price if	T Co	N See Jam, in	YOU I
Zol	a Cornel	11 Think	that New	ea: don f	o vou h
Phoreht.	NAC DE L	Naw I Now	Price	Rong and	Mart I Lec
IN PR	iscon I	ON NO	King 180	de and	T MI
Come le heif	to help	byes-	God .	hop you	<u> </u>
Your	Seathfully				

Evaluation of the group exercises indicated that some rapists were more ready to apologize to their victims than others who were still in denial or had reservations after the six-week treatment programme. At the same time others were able to take responsibility for their behaviour and apologize to the victim for their conduct. This information corresponded well with the TAT outcomes of some of the rapists after completion of the programme.

Post-programme evaluation indicated that certain changes had taken place during the course of the treatment programme. The most important changes noted in the post-programme assessments were that the rapists knew that life was important, that they had potential to achieve in future but needed to set realistic goals for themselves. Whereas blaming others for their misconduct rather than taking responsibility for their action was evident before the treatment programme, after the programme they took responsibility for their own lives, had victim empathy and focused on their contributions to the community. They knew change for the better came from within themselves and not from the outside. They were able to indicate that sometimes people need help from others but most of all people need to take responsibility for their own behaviour. They were able to distinguish right from wrong and could manage their anger and frustration better. They were aware of the fact that crime does not pay and were encouraged to challenge the future, fight crime and child abuse, and stop violence.

9.5 RESULTS OF THE POST-PROGRAMME ASSESSMENT ONE MONTH AFTER TERMINATION OF THE TREATMENT PROGRAMME

The rapists were seen again one month after termination of the treatment programme for a final assessment and to evaluate benefits from the treatment programme. Self-reports from two rapists (self-report 9.3 by rapist D and self-report 9.4 by rapist I) are included for illustrative purposes. From these reports, it is evident that the treatment programme achieved its goal of assisting them, and that some information was more helpful than other.

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From the rapists' comments it was evident that the treatment programme and the whole process had a positive effect on them as it dealt with their criminal behaviour in context. They indicated that they now looked towards the future, were trying to stop their criminal behaviour and intended to challenge the future in a positive way. They mentioned that they had learnt what is right from wrong, would use their potential and would look for assistance when in trouble, and had taken responsibility for their life, goals and dreams as well as those of others.

Self-report 9.3 by rapist D

It has bolpe me to realize how important life is
It has halpe me to have a locas of control and to sat
my apole in a Possitive way.
And it has showed but the Pawer of Boliege and how to
have a celetat.
·
in Prison and It has show me that crime doesn't par and how to manage my Anger. And it show me whi
in Prison and It has show me that svime abornt now
and how to manage my Anger And it show me whi
k right and wrong
It has took me to believe in my dreams and about
the to came sittle and that the New street and
can keep me in the darkness And to be ustimisting
the to come thise and that the Novative imputation had a Paccinist por

Self report 9.4 by rapist I

things: When Thinking what is to Lad and not to atways oeaker abuse, Musical stop violence.

9.6 THE IMPACT OF THE THERAPEUTIC PROCESS ON THE RESEARCHER

The researcher found that she was involved in a similar learning process to the rapists. The researcher went through the same personal change cycles of loss, doubt, discomfort, discovery, understanding and integration as the rapists - although on a different level.

The researcher also found that combining different approaches and methods (i.e. holistic, cognitive-behavioural and psychodynamic) in the treatment programme the rapists and the researcher benefited the most. Furthermore, this approach allowed acknowledgement of strengths and weaknesses on both sides (the therapist and the rapists). It allowed the rapists to indicate which parts suited their needs best and which were not suited to their needs (e.g., the magazines). The researcher therefore constantly had to carefully plan and monitor what was done, then evaluate and decide which changes to the treatment programme were necessary in order to assist the process and enhance positive change. The process and approach followed allowed innovative and creative ways for the researcher and the rapists to deal with important issues. It also allowed all the parties involved to share responsibility and take ownership of the research project.

9.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter described how the different assessment procedures indicated changes that took place during the whole process - before treatment up to one month after implementation of a treatment programme - as well as the interpretation of the changes that took place in the rapists' thoughts, feelings and behaviour. Various tables, examples of self-reports, drawings, letters to their victims served to illustrate and indicate the qualitative nature of these measurements and how they were interpreted by the researcher.