EXPLORING THE BEHAVIOURAL PROFILE OF MALE SERIAL CHILD RAPISTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

By

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DECLARATION:

I, Brittany Hall, declare that the dissertation entitled *Exploring the Behavioural Profile of Male Serial Child Rapists in South Africa*, submitted for fulfilment of the degree Magister Artium, Criminology, at the University of Pretoria, is my own original work and has not previously been submitted at another university. Where secondary material is used, this has been carefully acknowledged and referenced in accordance with university requirements. I understand what plagiarism is and am aware of university policy and implications in this regard.

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Brittany Hall   Date

Dedicated to all victims of sexual violence.

"We owe our children,

the most vulnerable citizens in any society,

a life free from violence and fear" – Nelson Mandela.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS:

ABSTRACT:

Due to the scant local and international research pertaining to serial child rapists, the current study is essential to the development of local knowledge. This study aimed to explore the behavioural profile of adult serial child rapists in South Africa. In order to achieve the aim, a qualitative research approach was followed. A theoretical framework incorporating the rational choice approach, routine activities theory and the crime pattern theory guided the research. The research was undertaken in two phases.

The first phase of the research entailed a content analysis of various documents within police case dockets. Critical case sampling was employed to select ten case dockets for the research sample. The offender sample consisted of ten offenders who accumulatively raped a total of 117 victims. The data within the dockets was recorded by means of a behavioural checklist. This *serial child rapist checklist* was drafted from a review of literature and was verified through a professional consultation process with subject specialists. The behavioural checklist recorded offender demographics and behavioural information, as well as victim profile information. The offenders' behavioural information was determined by *pre-offence, offence* and *post-offence* modus operandi behaviours.

The second phase of the study entailed semi-structured interviews with experts in the fields of Investigative Psychology, Clinical Psychology and Social Work. By means of non-probability snowball sampling, eight experts, with experience in the investigation and intervention of serial child rapists and their victims, were consulted. The semi-structured interviews were guided by an interview schedule which ensured that in-depth information was gathered. By employing triangulation, the researcher was able to review the primary interview data against the secondary data that was gleaned with the child rapist checklist. The research methods employed ensured that the data was gathered in a comprehensive and informative manner.

The results indicated that the behavioural profile of a serial child rapist in South Africa is similar to that of a serial rapist who target adults. However, two distinct profiles of serial child rapists were evident in the results. The evidence suggests that South African serial child rapists are either *opportunists* or *groomers*, each profile exhibiting a particular pattern of behaviour. The evidence further supports well cited theoretical

explanations of serial sexual offences, substantiating that crime occurs when a victim and an offender intersect at a particular time and place. Serial child rapists in South Africa show some consistency in their behaviours, in particular, they operate around specific environments, as a result of an awareness of space due to their daily routine activities. They will also exhibit behavioural consistency in their approach and attack methods, particularly revealing a consistent theme within the content of their fabricated stories used to lure children away.

Important recommendations were made for investigative and research purposes. Future and continued research into victim vulnerability and typologies unique to the local context is essential. The value of the study is that it contributes to scientific research regarding this highly sensitive and pertinent societal issue, where a dearth in the current knowledge base in South Africa exists.

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KEY TERMS:

Adult child rapists, case linkage, child rape, child victim, grooming, modus operandi, offender behaviour, offender patterns, paedophilia, rape typology, routine activities, serial rape, sexual offences, sexual violence, victim vulnerability.

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1.1 INTRODUCTION

Violence and crime are major concerns to the safety and security of South African citizens. In addition, South Africa is notorious for its extremely high rates of sexually violent crimes. Many individuals fall prey to sexual predators who engage in forceful and cruel acts to satisfy their desires. Victims of sexual abuse and rape are often silent and therefore, the true extent of the problem is hidden. Children, because of their lower social status compared to adults, are especially vulnerable to adult predators who take advantage of their young age in order to perpetrate sexually violating acts.

Oftentimes, the victimisation occurs without concern for the physical and psychological consequences that the acts have on the child. Sexual offences, specifically against children, are one of the most under reported types of crimes (Bartol & Bartol, 2017:401), yet more common than what many individuals are prepared to accept. Another disturbing characteristic about the sexual offences against children is that, in most cases, the perpetrator is known to the child or their family and thus they are trusted when in the company of the child (Sadock & Sadock, 2007:876). The betrayal of trust is not only difficult for the 'normal' mind to consider, but it leaves children with significant and long-lasting psychological scars.

Most cases of child sexual abuse are not revealed because of feelings of guilt, shame and tolerance which are often characteristic of a child's experience (Sadock & Sadock, 2007:876). In addition, many children are unable to explain the perpetration of a rape ordeal to authorities. Most victims are fearful of the perpetrator's threats which are made to them and their families, and as a result, are susceptible to re-victimisation. Children's testimonies are often the only source of evidence in sexual offences and are thus highly informative. However, children frequently make poor witnesses in official justice processes because they are more susceptible to suggestibility and false memory creation (Principe & Schindewolf, 2012:206). A variety of factors affect the quality of information provided by children (Lamb, Orbach, Hershkowitz, Esplin & Horowitz, 2007:1202). Consequently, many child rape cases do not make it to the sentencing stage, something that often fuels community outrage.

Moreover, the limited number of successfully processed cases of child rape results in a dearth of knowledge regarding why children become the victims of sexual predators. Consequently, less is known regarding the modus operandi of the perpetrators. In addition, the phenomenon of serial rape is a complex one and is seriously under researched in South Africa (De Wet, 2008:3). The limited research pertaining to serial child rape represents a serious problem for profilers and investigators because it limits the scientific knowledge base of any behavioural information left at a crime scene (De Wet, 2008:2, 3). Hence, any attempt to study rapists who target children is vital, not only to understand the predators' behaviours but to effectively implement preventative and awareness campaigns, as well as to empower potential child victims and their families. Ultimately, increased awareness and academic discourse on the phenomenon of child rape is important in efforts to assist law enforcement's abilities to identify behavioural characteristics across a series of rapes. It is also imperative that an improved knowledge base lead to efforts to safeguard the futures of the youth of South Africa.

1.2 DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

1.2.1 SEX CRIME

"Sex crime" is a concept that is often used by the public and law enforcement when referring to crimes that involve a sexual act or component (Oliva, 2013:3). Similarly, a definition of sexual assault, provided by Rufo (2012:48), maintains that sexual assault is the illegal sexual contact or unwanted act against a person's will, which often involves force, sometimes inflicted upon someone who is incapable of providing consent, such as a child. Furthermore, Rufo adds that a sex crime can be considered as conduct of a sexual or indecent nature accompanied by actual or threatened use of physical force. The Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act 32 of 2007 defines sexual assault as sexual behaviour where penetration is absent. Moreover, Pistorius (2005:35) states that a sexual act does not necessarily involve penetration. Thus, the inclusion of additional sexually related behaviours, such as the exposure of genitalia (exhibitionism) and looking at naked children (voyeurism), that are often not encompassed in the umbrella term of sex crimes, are hence included in the operational definition of a sex crime in the current study.

Additionally, it is apparent that there is cultural diversity regarding what constitutes a sex crime. For example, it is legal in some countries for a man to have sex with a 12-year-old girl, granted that he does not pay for it. Conversely, other countries stipulate that a couple must be married in order to have sex. Furthermore, in some jurisdictions it is legal for a man to force his wife to have sex with him (Gavin, 2014:142). Therefore, because of the differences in defining a sex crime around the world, the legislation that is applicable to sexual offences in South Africa will be used to define the concept of a sex crime.

The Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act 32 of 2007, hereafter referred to as the Act, stipulates that any person who unlawfully and intentionally sexually violates a victim, without the victim's consent, is guilty of the crime of sexual assault (a sex crime). As such it is necessary to outline the definition of a sexual assault. The behaviours which constitute the offence of a sexual assault, thus a sexual violation, are defined by the Act. The behaviours of a sexual violation include any act which causes the direct or indirect contact between the following:

- the genital organs or anus of another person, female breasts, and any part of the body of another person, or animal, or any other party resembling the genital organs or anus of another person or animal;
- the mouth of one person and
    a) the genital organs or anus of another person, or in the case of a female her breasts;
    b) the mouth of another person;
    c) any other part of the body other than the genital organs or anus of that person or in the case of a female, her breasts which could:
        - be used in an act of sexual penetration;
        - cause arousal or stimulation;
        - or, could be aroused or stimulated thereby; or
    d) any object resembling the genital organs or anus of a person, or a female's breasts, or an animal and the mouth, genital organs or anus of the victim or anus of an animal;
- the mouth of the complainant and the genital organs or anus of an animal.

Additionally, sexual violation or sex crime includes the masturbation of one person by another, or the insertion of any object resembling or representing the genital organs of another person, or animal, into the mouth of another person, but does not include an act of penetration.

The Act indicates that if the sexual act falls short of penetration, as defined by the term rape (detailed below), then a sexual assault has been committed. Therefore, the term sex crime will be operationally defined as any crime which is covered by the definitions of sexual assault and sexual violation, by the Act. It will also be used interchangeably with the terms "sex/ual offence" because the South African Police Service (SAPS) categorises rape, attempted rape and other assaults as sex offences (SAPS, 2016:41-42). In this regard, the SAPS statistics on total sex crimes includes up to 70 different sexual offences (Institute of Security Studies, 2015:3; SAPS, 2016:41-42). It is noteworthy to mention that, in literature, sexual offenders are sometimes referred to as offenders who have committed a sex crime, inclusive of rape. Therefore, the operational definition of a sex crime will not exclude the perpetration of rape (as defined by the legal framework), as the researcher may refer to the broader term sex crime. When the act of rape is exclusively discussed, the term "rape" will be used (see Par. 1.2.3).

1.2.2 SEXUAL OFFENDER

A sexual offender, as described by Rufo (2012:10), is considered any person, more likely male than female, convicted of a sex crime, almost exclusively against a child. The crimes may range from rape to sexual harassment, to child molestation (defined below), to distribution of child pornography. Sex offenders may choose to offend against children for numerous reasons, either based on a specific desire for children or based on availability, opportunity or a child's vulnerability (Oliva, 2013:159). The researcher agrees with the descriptions above and therefore, the term sexual offender is operationally defined as any person convicted of any sexual offence (as defined in Par. 1.2.1). The distinction is not made that the victim will be a child, unless otherwise stated, as literature sometimes does not distinguish between adult and child victims. Therefore, when specifically referring to an offender who targets a child the term "child sexual offender" will be applied. Furthermore, the terms sexual offender and sex offender will be used interchangeably, and both refer to the definition described above.

1.2.3 RAPE

Rape is considered a form of sexual violence and thus, is a type of sexual offence (MacKay, 2001:80). It should be noted that there is no singular definition of rape as the motives, behaviours and actions of rape differ between countries and cultures. For example, De Wet (2008:6) points out that there are different methods and motivations in date rape versus acquaintance rape. While both types of rape represent sexual penetration against a person's will, they are defined differently. Some penal codes in the United States of America (USA) do not use the word rape when referring to sexual assault or sexual offences, in addition, some policy makers and researchers use the term sexual assault as an all-inclusive term (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:437). Therefore, it is usually difficult to determine when literature refers solely to the act of penetrative rape, or of sexual assault exclusive or inclusive of penetrative rape. In the USA, the two terms are distinguished within the penal code but arrest statistics only account for sexual offences as a broad category (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:15). Similarly, the SAPS arrest statistics account for crimes of rape, attempted rape and sexual assault within the category of sexual offences (SAPS, 2016).

However, the essential characteristic and defining factor of all types, or categories, of rape is the lack of consent. The lack of consent is present in the definition provided by Sadock and Sadock (2007:882), which outlines that rape is the forceful coercion of an unwilling person to participate in a sexual act, most times sexual intercourse, including acts of fellatio[1] and anal intercourse.

Notwithstanding the above, it is important to note that there are distinct categories of rape, which may compound definitional problems. Forcible rape is distinguished from other rape categories such as statutory rape and rape by fraud. Internationally the term forcible rape is used when referring to the sexual crime involving forced intercourse. Statutory rape is defined as sexual intercourse between an adult and an underage person, or a person under the age of consent (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:437). Thus, despite the child agreeing to the sexual activity, sexual contact with a young person, who is under the age of consent, is an offence as it is presumed that the child does not have the capacity to give informed consent (Gavin, 2014:163). The age of

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[1] Fellatio – an oral sex act involving the use of the mouth or throat, which is usually performed by a person on the penis of another person.

consent refers to the age at which individuals are considered to be competent to consent to sexual behaviour.

Consent is described by the Act as any voluntary or uncoerced agreement. Consent therefore means that a person voluntarily agrees to something (e.g. sexual intercourse) without being forced or pressurised into doing so (Coetzee, 2015:7). The Act describes the following circumstances under which a person does not voluntarily agree to an act of sexual penetration:

- When a victim is subjected to sexual penetration by means of force, intimidation or threats of harm against a person or property;
- When there is an abuse of power or authority to such an extent that a person is prevented, or inhibited from indicating their refusal or resistance to the sexual act;
- When a person is unable to understand, or appreciate the sexual act, such instances include: when a victim is asleep, unconscious, in an altered state of consciousness, under the influence of alcohol, drugs and/or other substances, under the age of 12 years or when a person is mentally disabled; or
- When the sexual act is committed under false pretences or fraudulent means. For example, in instances when a victim believes they are having sex with one person, but it is in fact a different person (Coetzee, 2015:7).

The age of consent differs between countries. In the USA, the age of consent ranges from between 16 and 18 years of age in the different states (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:437). Conversely according to South African law, specifically the Act, the age of consent is 12 years old. However, the Act also previously differentiated that when a person has sex with a child older than 12 years of age but younger than 16 years of age, despite having the consent of the child, the person was still guilty of the offence statutory rape. However, according to the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act 5 of 2015 a person will guilty of the offence of committing the act of consensual sexual penetration with a child if there is more than a two-year age difference between the offender and the victim.

Another category of rape is rape by fraud which is defined as any sexual relations with a consenting female adult under fraudulent conditions (e.g. a psychologist who uses

their power in a therapeutic set up to have sex with patient under the pretence that it forms part of the therapy) (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:437; Bartol & Bartol, 2017:373). Spousal or marital rape is an additional category of rape which has only recently gained support as a distinct offence. Spousal or marital rape is defined as the rape between a married or cohabiting couple (Gavin, 2014:163). Once again, the lack of a consenting partner in the sexual act is highlighted.

For the purposes of the current study, the definition of rape outlined by the Act will be used. Rape occurs when an individual unlawfully and intentionally commits an act of sexual penetration against another person, without that person's consent. The Act defines penetration as any act which causes sexual penetration to any extent by:

- the genital organs of one person into or beyond the genital organs, anus or mouth of another person;
- any other 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 of another person.

The sexual penetration must take place without the consent of the victim (the instances in which there is a lack of consent are described above). Thus, the term rape will be inclusive of any category or type of rape.

1.2.4 SERIAL RAPIST

Generally, offenders who commit two or more of the same type of offence are referred to as serial offenders. The offences committed by a serial offender are referred to as a series (Woodhams, Hollin & Bull, 2007:234). De Wet, Potgieter and Labuschagne (2010:36) define a serial rapist as someone who has raped two or more victims during separate incidents, over an extended period of time. Furthermore, De Wet (2008:8) adds that a serial rapist is someone who rapes two or more victims during different incidents. Thus, a serial rapist is operationally defined as someone who has raped on two or more occasions, during separate incidents.

1.2.5 CHILD MOLESTER

It is important to define and distinguish a child molester from a child rapist. Similarly, the term child rapist is distinguished from a paedophile in the current study. A child

molester has no singular comprehensive definition. In public populace, the term child molester can mean different things to different people. The challenge of defining a child molester is elucidated by some authors who describe that the presence of classification pluralism (between the terms child molester and paedophile) represents a diagnostic pluralism and hinders research on child molesters (Feelgood & Hoyer, 2008:33, 36). The definition given by Rufo (2012:72) is somewhat vague as it merely states that a child molester is an individual who commits some form of sexual act with a child. To compound the issue, Bartol and Bartol (2014:470) use the term child molester interchangeably with the term paedophile (defined below), which highlights the difficulty in distinguishing between the terms in literature. The terms child molester and paedophile represent the socio-legal and psycho-pathological overlap conceptualisations of molestation behaviour. However, Feelgood and Hoyer (2008:34) indicate that despite the overlap, the terms are not interchangeable. This is supported by statements that child molestation is not synonymous with paedophilia and is not a clinical diagnosis (Hall & Hall, 2007:458). To distinguish the terms, Hall and Hall (2007:458) indicate that a child molester is someone who touches a child to gain sexual gratification, with a specifier that the offender is at least four to five years older than the child (the age qualifier is necessary to distinguish between normal childhood play).

Despite the overlap of terms, the term child molester in the criminal investigation field is generally used to identify a person who sexually abuses a child (Goldstein, 1999:25), and child molestation generally is used as a term to describe the sexual abuse of children (Jonker & du Preez, 2012:23). As such, a child molester is understood to be an individual who abuses a child. Hence, it is important to define child sexual abuse because it is understood to entail various behaviours.

Child sexual abuse can be considered as the assault of a minor, or sexual activity between a minor and an older person (usually an adult) who is presumed to coerce or exploit the child (Gavin, 2014:158). Other authors claim that child sexual abuse refers to the sexual exploitation of a child by an adult, or an older child, and can refer to any sexual act performed in the presence of a child. Such acts may include incest, indecent exposure, fondling of the child's genitals, exploitation through pornography or prostitution and rape (Oliva, 2013:159). The exploitation of the child is done for the person's sexual and control gratification (Bartol and Bartol, 2014:335).

Furthermore, sexual abuse of a child is considered the mistreatment of a child in a sexual manner and includes touching, fondling and penetrating a child (Rufo, 2012:11). Some authors state that child sexual abuse refers to when a person commits indecent assault against a child or when a person rapes a child (Jonker & Du Preez, 2012:23). Other authors do not differentiate abuse from penetrative rape in their definition of sexual abuse and state that sexual abuse of children refers to any sexual behaviour between a child and an adult, or two children where one child is significantly older or uses coercion (Sadock & Sadock, 2007:1338). The sexual behaviours include touching of breasts, buttocks, and genitals (clothed or unclothed), exposure of genitalia (exhibitionism), fellatio, cunnilingus[2] and penetration of the vagina, or anus, with sexual organs or other objects. Sadock and Sadock (2007:1338) note that in addition to inappropriate touching, child sexual abuse includes the exploitation of children, such as trafficking children for prostitution and includes any activities related to pornography.

The SAPS categorise rape of children under the age of 18 years as a sexual offence and has a sub category for child abuse (cruelty to children), kidnapping and abduction (SAPS, 2014). Therefore, child abuse is differentiated from child rape or attempted rape as categorised and classified in sexual offences. Pistorius (2005:295) asserts that a child molester can be considered to be an individual who normally prefers sex with adults but may have sex with a child for various reasons including curiosity, opportunity or to hurt the parent of the child. In addition, Pistorius (2005:295), states that a paedophile who has sex with a child is considered a child molester. However, the researcher is of the opinion that molestation of children may be inclusive of the act of sex (i.e. penetration) but not limited to sex.

Goldstein (1999:25) defines a child molester as someone who is older than the victim and engages children (as defined by law) in activity (prescribed by law) that would be considered sexual gratification of their desires. It is understood that a child molester does not possess a sexual desire for children, although their crimes are sexual in nature they are not considered to be sexual predators (Oliva, 2013:3-4). Child molesters tend to resort to sexual activities with children as substitutes for adult partners. A child molester's behaviour may be considered a regression, due to

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[2] Cunnilingus – an oral sex act performed by a person on a female's genitalia.

situational life stressors, which direct the individual to molest a child as a means to regain control over their life. These individuals may return to a socially acceptable way of life once control is regained and external stressors are removed (Oliva, 2013:3-4).

Therefore, molestation can refer to a broader range of abusive behaviours that may, or may not, be inclusive of the act of penetrative rape. Considering the above definitions, the term child molester will be differentiated from the term child rapist in the present study. Child molester is further differentiated from a paedophile because the perpetration of molestation can occur without the presence of the psychosexual disorder (as described below). Therefore, the operational definition of a child molester will be any individual who abuses a child or commits an illegal act of a sexual nature with a child; the abusive behaviour can include rape. The diagnosis of paedophilia is not necessary for the offender to be considered a child molester.

1.2.6 PAEDOPHILE

It is common for the public to label a person who has engaged in child molestation, or child abuse, as a paedophile. However, despite the terms being used interchangeably across literature they refer to distinct concepts in the operational definitions of the current study. Child sexual abuse may or may not be an indicator of paedophilia, however, there may be other motivations for child sexual abuse, such as the unavailability of an adult partner (Gavin, 2014:156). A paedophile can simply be understood as a "perverse lover of children" (Holmes & Holmes, 2009:172), or an adult with a sexual attraction to children (Gavin, 2014:144). Clinically, a paedophile is someone who has been diagnosed with the clinical disorder of paedophilia. Paedophilia, the clinical diagnosis, falls under the umbrella term of sexual paraphilias. Psychologists refer to paraphilias as unconventional sexual behaviour in which the object of arousal is unusual (Gavin, 2014:142). More specifically paedophilia refers to the primary sexual attraction to children, specifically pre-pubescent children (Gavin, 2014:155; Rufo, 2012:241).

In addition, Psychology distinguishes between paedophilia and hebephilia, with the latter referring to an attraction to young adolescents, or pubescent children, between the ages of eleven to 14 years old (Bailey, Hsu, Bernhard, 2016:977; Gavin, 2014:155). Ephebophilia is also distinguished from paedophilia and refers to an attraction to older adolescents, generally between the ages of 15 to 19 years (Bailey

et al., 2016:977). However, in general, the term paedophilia is referred to as the sexual attraction to children under the age of consent (Gavin, 2014:155). Additionally, paedophiles can be specified according to their attraction to only females, only males or both sexes which is described by the terms heterosexual, homosexual and bisexual respectively (Bailey et al., 2016:977; Sadock & Sadock, 2007:708).

Furthermore, Bartol and Bartol (2014:471, 497; 2017:398) use the term paedophilia when referring to the illegal actions against, or sexual contact with, children, which ranges from sexual touching to penetration. The authors confirm that paedophilia is a clinical condition, which does not always include an action (Bartol & Bartol, 2017:398). It is therefore not a legal term. Paedophilia, or paedophilic disorder, is therefore a clinical diagnosis made by a psychologist or psychiatrist (Hall & Hall, 2007:457). The sexual attraction, symptomatic of paedophilia, is characterised by an infatuation with children which may lead to a variety of acts, including child molestation and intercourse (Rufo, 2012:241). However, it must be noted that paraphilias are psychosexual disorders and do not always entail criminal activity (Oliva: 2013:6). The American Psychological Association (APA) diagnostic criteria does not require sexual activity with children. Therefore, legally, paedophilia is not an issue unless sexual activity has taken place (Gavin, 2014:156). Oftentimes, paedophiles may engage in various sexual acts with children, including exposing themselves (exhibitionism), looking at naked children (voyeurism) or the rubbing of genitalia against a child (frotteurism). Thus, the presence of other paraphilias is relatively common amongst paedophiles (Hall & Hall, 2007:458; Sadock & Sadock, 2007:708). The acts can also include masturbation in front of a child, interfemoral sex (between the thighs), fondling a child, engaging in oral sex, or penetration of the mouth, anus and/or vagina (Hall & Hall, 2007:458). Therefore, the acts performed by paedophiles can be broadly inclusive of sexual acts outside of penetration.

Hence, for the purposes of the current study, the presence of paedophilia will not be necessary for a person to be considered a child rapist. Subsequently, when necessitated, the researcher will make use of the terms paedophile and child rapist as mutually exclusive terms. Furthermore, a child molester will be distinguished from the term paedophile, because as described above, a child molester does not necessarily have a sexual desire for children whereas most types of paedophiles do exhibit the sexual and social desire for children (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:478-479).

Some paedophiles, such as the exclusive type, are attracted to children only, whereas paedophiles of the non-exclusive type are attracted to both children and adults (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:470). Some authors argue that there are few children who are 13 years old and still prepubescent; most are pubescent. Therefore, men preferring children aged 13 years (or even 11 or 12 years) are typically hebephilic when using age as a differentiating factor. Some authors also argue that the APA's definition of paedophilia fails to account for offenders who are attracted to both prepubescent and pubescent children (Bailey et al., 2016:977). Subsequently, Bailey et al., (2016:977) propose a term "pedohebephilia" to refer to the preference for either prepubescent children or pubescent children, or preferential attraction to both prepubescent and pubescent children. It is argued that the term "pedohebephilia" accounts for sexual preferences of men to both prepubescent and/or pubescent children. The term "pedohebephilia" describes the sexual preferences of a larger group of men, more so than what the term paedophilia does, as that only describes the sexual preferences of men to prepubescent children.

Nonetheless, the APA's definition of a paedophile, specifically an individual who exhibits paedophilic disorder, will be used as the operational definition for the current study. The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders of the APA (currently the DSM-5) depicts the diagnostic criteria for paedophilic disorder, previously paedophilia, as unchanged from the DSM-IV-TR criteria (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). Hence, the criteria for paedophilic disorder include: over a period of at least six months recurrent, intense sexually arousing fantasies, sexual urges or behaviours of engaging in sexual activity with prepubertal children (generally 13 years old or younger). The person must have acted upon the urges, or experienced marked distress or interpersonal difficulty from the fantasies or urges. The person must be at least 16 years of age or five years older than the person fantasised about (Gavin, 2014:156; Sadock & Sadock, 2007:708).

The previous two sections described the terms child molester and paedophile in order to distinguish them from child rapists. Child rapists are the focus of the current study and therefore it is important to specify what the term entails.

1.2.7 CHILD RAPIST

Although a perpetrator of child abuse and or/rape is commonly referred to as a paedophile, sexual abuse and rape of children is distinguished from paedophilia (Gavin, 2014:156, 158). Some professional indicates that offenders who use physical force or violence which causes physical harm to a child should be termed child rapists, thus making a distinction between child rapists and child molesters or paedophiles (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:474). Indeed, the terms are often used interchangeably, however, not all molesters exhibit the psychological disorder of paedophilia. Additionally, not all types of paedophiles, for example the immature paedophile, will abuse or rape children (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:479; Gavin, 2014:144) (the typologies of paedophiles are detailed in Chapter 2). The act of rape of a child usually forms part of a broader scope of behaviours under the umbrella term child abuse and can be referred to as child sexual abuse (Oliva, 2013:160).

For the purposes of the current study the term child rapist will refer to any male over the age of 18 years who has committed the act of rape, as set out by the legal definition of the Republic of South Africa. The rape must be against a child younger than the legal age of consent, or against a child younger than the age of 18 years under forced, fraudulent or other circumstances. The age of 18 years is considered the cut-off age as children under this age are considered legal minors who, according to South African law, are not fully capable of acting independently without assistance from parents or legal guardians (Strode, Slack & Essack, 2010:247). Furthermore, according to Bezuidenhout's criteria used to determine abnormal sexual behaviour, children cannot consent to sex because they are not as intellectually developed as adults. Therefore, sex between an adult and a child who provides consent is considered abnormal sexual behaviour (Bezuidenhout, 2018b).

1.2.8 SERIAL CHILD RAPIST

Incorporating all of the terms outlined above, the term serial child rapist will be operationally defined as an individual who has raped two or more children, under the age of 18 years, on separate occasions. The rape can occur as a part of a cluster of sexually abusive behaviours or be exclusively the act of rape. The presence of paedophilia is not deemed important for the criminal act of rape of a child and is thus not required. For the purposes of the current study a serial child rapist may indeed

have adult victims in their series of rapes, however, the majority of the victims of a serial child rapist will be children.

1.2.9 GROOMING

Essential to the understanding of the various types of offenders who target children, the means and strategies employed by such offenders offer further insight into the behaviour of these offenders. The complex nature of the tactics that are used by the various offenders to sexually abuse children is receiving more attention and thus becoming more evident (Craven, Brown & Gilchrist, 2006:287; Williams, 2015:28).

In South African legislation, the Act defines that a person is guilty of the offence of sexual grooming of children when a person:

- *supplies, exposes or displays to a child complainant ('B')- (i) an article which is intended to be used in the performance of a sexual act; (ii) child pornography or pornography; or (iii) a publication or film, with the intention to encourage, enable, instruct, or persuade B to perform a sexual act;*
- *commits any act with or in the presence of B or who describes the commission of any act to or in the presence of B with the intention to encourage or persuade B or to diminish or reduce any resistance or unwillingness on the part of B to- (i) perform a sexual act with A or a third person ('C'); (ii) perform an act of self-masturbation in the presence of A or C or while A or C is watching; (iii) be in the presence of or watch A or C while A or C performs a sexual act or an act of self-masturbation; (iv) be exposed to child pornography or pornography; (v) be used for pornographic purposes as contemplated in section 20 (1); or (vi) expose his or her body, or parts of his or her body to A or C in a manner or in circumstances which violate or offend the sexual integrity or dignity of B;*
- *arranges or facilitates a meeting or communication with B by any means from, to or in any part of the world, with the intention that A will commit a sexual act with B;*
- *having met or communicated with B by any means from, to or in any part of the world, invites, persuades, seduces, induces, entices or coerces B- (i) to travel to any part of the world in order to meet A with the intention to commit a sexual act with B; or (ii) during such meeting or communication or any subsequent meeting or communication to (aa) commit a sexual act with A; (bb) discuss, explain or describe the commission of a sexual act; or (cc) provide A, by means of any form of communication including electronic communication, with any image, publication, depiction, description or sequence of child pornography of B himself or herself or any other person; or (e) having met or communicated with B by any means from, to or in any part of the world, intentionally travels to meet or meets B with the intention of committing a sexual act with B.*

While the Act incorporates a vast and widespread set of behaviours which depict sexual grooming as an offence in terms of legislation, the definition does not encapsulate important contextual aspects within the actual process of grooming. More specifically, the Act does not contextualise how certain acts would convince a child to perform various sexual acts. While the acts and behaviours described above are satisfactory in terms of criminalising certain coercive and fraudulent acts with children for sexual purposes, further definitions are important to add to the understanding of the complex behaviour of grooming.

Various definitions have previously been provided to describe the grooming of children in the context of sexual abuse. Firstly, O'Connell (2003, in Craven et al., 2006:288) states that grooming is a type of conduct which is performed by a paedophile which causes a reasonable person to become concerned that a child could be approached or met by the paedophile. Secondly, Howitt (1995 in Craven et al., 2006:288) proposes that grooming entails the steps that are taken by paedophiles to "entrap" their victims. The problem with the above two definitions is that they both refer to paedophiles, and as the researcher has delineated above, not all sexual abuse involving a child victim is correlated with an offender having paedophilic disorder. Thus, the definitions would exclude all offenders who sexually abuse children but are not diagnosed as paedophiles. The theory provided by Sheldon and Howitt (2007 in Williams, 2015:30) states that grooming is a sequence of behaviours, used by an offender, to make a victim less resistant to sexual abuse. However, Williams (2015:30) highlights that some definitions require clarification of terms and phrases such as "sequence of behaviours" and a "reasonable person".

Moreover, the definition provided by Gillespie (2002 in Craven et al., 2006:288) indicates that grooming is a process whereby a child is befriended by a would-be abuser in order to gain the child's trust, which enables them to get the child to accept and consent to abusive activity. However, as Craven et al., (2006, 291-296) go on to detail in their evaluation of sexual grooming, it becomes apparent that the definition provided by Gillespie fails to account for the other important factors that are considered within the grooming process. For example, the grooming of the child's significant others and environment, as well as the self-grooming that plays a role on part of the offender are also included in the overall sexual grooming process.

Important to the explanation of the grooming process, the luring communication theory as proposed by Olson, Daggs, Ellevold and Rodgers (2007) suggests that male sex offenders engage in a particular process in order to lure victims into various sexual encounters. The theory was formulated from a grounded theory approach, using literature to determine sexual predators' processes of entrapment to lure victims into a sexual relationship (Olson et al., 2007:231). The theory indicates that within the luring process, a victim, and possibly their families are targeted by the offender to cultivate relationships intended to benefit the offender's own sexual interest. Within the luring process, three constructs are accounted for, specifically grooming, isolation and approach. The theory defines grooming as subtle communication strategies that a child sex abuser will use to prepare potential victims to accept sexual contact. This definition of grooming also fails to fully explain or elucidate all the complexities outside of the victim themselves which are necessary for the child sex abuser to gain access to, and compliance from, the victim. While the theory does explain the overall process of luring in a more comprehensive manner by accounting for the isolation and approach of the victim, it is more appropriate to explain the sexual offence in its totality.

While it appears that some professionals disagree on what constitutes the sexual grooming of children, Craven et al. (2006:297) define the sexual grooming of children as:

> *A process by which a person prepares a child, significant adults and the environment for the abuse of this child. Special goals include gaining access to the child, gaining the child's compliance and maintaining the child's secrecy to avoid disclosure. This process serves to strengthen the offender's abuse pattern, as it may be used as a means of justifying or denying actions.*

In an ethnographic account of the stories behind stranger and acquaintance grooming, Williams (2015:30) describes the above definition as the most comprehensive and clearest explanation of child sexual grooming. The researcher agrees with the proponents of the above definition because it attempts to encapsulate the complexities of sexual grooming. Thus, the definition by Craven et al. (2006) will be used as the operational definition for the current study.

1.2.10 MODUS OPERANDI

Modus operandi, a Latin phrase familiar with most law enforcement members, describes the way in which a criminal operates, hence, the 'method of operation' (Keppel, 2000:122, 124; Oliva, 2013:9). More specifically, within investigative terms modus operandi refers to all the actions and procedures that are required for a particular offender to successfully perpetrate a crime; therefore, it becomes a behavioural pattern as an offender gains experience in a particular offence (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:373; Hazelwood & Warren, 2003:588). Hence, modus operandi can be considered a learned behaviour that develops over time as an offender becomes more successful in their offences, gaining experience, and as they become more involved within the criminal justice processes (Oliva, 2013:9; Pistorius, 2005:28).

Common crime characteristics that are associated with modus operandi include (Keppel & Birnes, 2009:5):

- Victim's age, gender and race;
- Offender's mode of travel;
- Time of the day of an offence;
- Day of the week of an offence;
- Location of an offence;
- Weapon(s) used;
- Offenders approach to victims; and
- Factors facilitating the commission of a crime.

Other modus operandi factors that are noted as common crime characteristics include wearing a mask, any implements used to bind victims and type of building chosen for entry (Keppel & Birnes, 2009:5). Various modus operandi characteristics have been used in order to develop a profile of offenders which makes it possible to predict any escalation of offending. Profiles that have been formulated on South African offenders are based on aspects that include where the offence occurred, the environment surrounding the incidents, how the perpetrator chose their victims, the use and extent of violence and any steps to avoid detection. Additionally, pre and post crime scene behaviours are used to construct an offender profile (Labuschagne, 2015a:36). In order to construct a behavioural profile of serial offenders, various modus operandi characteristics can be investigated.

In particular, Pistorius (2005:254-255) indicates that important aspects which pertain to the modus operandi of a serial rapist include:

- Choice of time and location – this entails the day, date, time and location that crimes occur, including the place where the rapist met the victim, raped the victim and left the victim;
- Method of approach – this includes whether the offender used a con story to gain confidence of a victim or whether a blitz attack occurred;
- Method of control – this aspect considers whether a weapon, bondage or verbal threats were used to control the victim. This aspect further applies to if a weapon or bondage was used, whether they were brought to the scene by the offender;
- Steps to ensure personal protection – this includes methods used by the perpetrator to conceal their identity by means of hiding their face behind a mask, instructing the victim to look away or blindfolding the victim. Additionally, precautionary measures include using condoms or forcing the victim to remove clothing, thus getting rid of DNA evidence;
- Reference to police or legal procedure – this aspect entails threatening the victim to not report the offence or using the cover of law enforcement in their approach to the victim; and
- Theft of objects – theft of items may indicate the motive of the offence.

Pistorius (2005:256-257) further indicates that the following behaviours of personal and sexual gratification are aspects that should be analysed by investigating officers and hence are included in the modus operandi of a serial rapist:

- Sexual problems, such as premature ejaculation or failure to get an erection;
- Sexual deeds that are either named, performed, attempted or asked for which include: kissing, fondling, digit insertion, penetration, oral sex and masturbating;
- Sexual verbal themes, including something the rapist may say or want the victim to say;
- Habits associated with sexual or personal gratification, such as rituals, sources of pleasure or other indications of abnormality;

- Indications of a paraphilia by identifying fetishisms[3]; and
- Gratifying violence entailing the enjoyment of inflicting violence upon the victim.

Furthermore, Pistorius (2005:257-259) points out that the following behavioural aspects determine the offender's attitude and intimacy:

- Level of violence in reaction to victim resistance (most rapists use minimal levels of violence to control their victims – usually a slap or punch with a fist);
- Abuse and use of profanity (rapists will usually insult the victim only when they resist);
- Using language as a control mechanism (aspects of vocabulary and syntax can be used to link cases – the degree to which threats are made often depend on victim resistance);
- Concerned reassurances such as lies, implied threats, inappropriate comments or direct concerns (e.g. stating that they will "only rob" the victim or that they "won't hurt" the victim);
- Inquisitiveness (usually rapists do not ask many questions during their offences, so the higher levels of inquisitiveness can increase the likelihood of linking cases);
- Self-revelation entailing lying about himself (the offender will oftentimes lie about himself in order to mislead the victim and law enforcement, but the lies are usually similar to the truth);
- Offering compliments to the victim (the offender may use compliments during the approach method or when he is pleased by certain acts performed by the victim);
- Concerned behaviour (sometimes the offender can show or feign concern for the victim's future safety or even ensure that the victim can get home offering directions or money);
- Offering apologies to the victim (sometimes trying to justify their behaviour);
- Expressing or requiring affections (sometimes the offender will show or demand affection inappropriately); and

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[3] Sexual fetishism or erotic fetishism is a sexual fixation on a non-living object or non-genital body part.

- Attempting to extend the relationship beyond the offence (some offenders will experience the rape as the continuation of a normal sexual relationship).

Therefore, accounting for all of the above descriptions, the modus operandi of an offender will be operationally defined as any act or behaviour, which occurred before, during and/or after the rape act. It will include, but not be limited to, behaviours, verbal remarks and various actions performed by an offender leading up to the offence, during the commission and completion, as well as ending of the rape. The behavioural aspects of serial rape as defined by Pistorius (2005, 256-259) are included in the operational definition of modus operandi in order to account for a broad understanding of the behavioural profile of serial child rapists. (Behavioural profiling is defined and discussed in detail in the subsequent chapter. In the field of speciality, specifically Investigative Psychology, behavioural profiling considers various aspects, including the modus operandi of offenders).

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Violent crime is prevalent across the globe, provoking fear in some individuals who may be concerned about the possibility of becoming a victim to crimes such as murder, rape, robbery and assault. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa aims to protect citizens from violent crime, stipulating that every person has the right to be free from violence (Bezuidenhout & Klopper, 2011:182, 183). Unfortunately, the right is not guaranteed as South Africa has one of the highest violent crimes rates in the world. A crime of particular concern is that of rape, which is highly prevalent in South Africa (Jewkes, Dunkle, Koss, Levin, Nduna, Jama & Sikweyiya, 2006:2949; Jewkes, Nduna, Shai & Dunkle, 2012:4).

The recent Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act, No. 32 of 2007 changed the preceding definition of rape to be more inclusive of various acts not previously recognised. The new definition accounts for any sexual penetration by any organ, object or parts of an animal into the genitals, anus or mouth of another person. The penetration is irrespective of the gender of the victim or perpetrator. The penetration occurs without the voluntary consent of the victim. Furthermore, the perpetrator must have intent to penetrate the victim, with the knowledge that the victim has not consented to the act. The Act differentiates between sexual assault and rape, with the former referring to sexual acts in which penetration did not occur

(Bezuidenhout & Klopper, 2011:230-231). The Act was noted as an important development in the fight against crimes regarding children because it enabled the creation of statutory sexual offences and special protection measures to facilitate attempts to fight crimes against vulnerable groups (Jonker & Du Preez, 2012:22).

Despite the South African legal system heading in a positive direction towards protecting victims of sexual violence, South Africa is plagued by one of the highest rates of sexual offences (Marchetti-Mercher, 2003:6; Peterson, Bhana & Mckay, 2005:1233; Singh, Parsekar & Nair, 2014:430; Van der Watt & Van Graan, 2013:106), especially towards women and children. Local statistics pertaining to all sexual offences indicate that during 2013/2014 a total of 56 680 sexual offences were recorded (SAPS, 2014), while the 2014/2015 year saw a decrease to 53 716 recorded sexual offences. The 2015/2016 SAPS statistics recorded a further reduction in sexual offences to 51 895, thus a decrease of 3.2% (SAPS, 2016). In a similar trend, the 2016/2017 statistics revealed an additional decrease of 4.35% to 49 660 reported incidents (SAPS, 2017). It is noteworthy that there was a decrease in number of sexual offences against children under the age of 18 years in the 2014/2015 year. However, there was also a decrease in the detection rate of such crimes (SAPS, 2014), and therefore a true decrease in such offences is not likely.

Yet, increases or decreases in the broad group of sexual offences do not indicate much regarding specific offences. The Institute for Security Studies states that the National Victim Crime Survey (NVCS) reported a decrease of 21% in reporting of sexual offences to police from 2011 to 2014 (Institute for Security Studies, 2015:3, 4). The Institute for Security Studies warns that the rape statistics recorded by the police cannot be taken as an accurate measure of the extent or the trend. Thus, it is not likely that the decrease in recorded sexual offences actually represents a decrease in the offence itself (Institute for Security Studies, 2015:3, 4). Nonetheless, of the total number of sexual offences, it is estimated that around 55 000 rapes are reported to the police annually (Seedat, Van Niekerk, Jewkes, Suffla & Ratele, 2009:1011, 1013; Van der Watt & Van Graan, 2013:106). In the 2015/2016-year, rape accounted for 80% of the sexual offences total (SAPS, 2016:41). Similarly, in the 2016/2017-year, 39 828 rapes accounted for 80% of the sexual offences total (SAPS, 2017).

Despite the statistics, it is estimated that the true number of rapes is said to be around nine to 13 times higher than what is recorded because most rape and sexually violent crimes are not reported (Institute for Security Studies, 2015:4; Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell & Dunkle, 2010:23; Seedat et al., 2009:1011,1013). Moreover, the incidence of sexual offending against children is considered to be higher than assumed (Sadock & Sadock, 2007:877). The dark figure of rape perpetration is associated to the stigma attached to being raped, resulting in many women choosing not to define forced sexual intercourse as rape and thus not to report it (Jewkes et al., 2010:23). In addition to the feelings of shame, underreporting can be attributed to the belief that there is a lack of legal recourse (Sadock & Sadock, 2007:882). The serious under-reporting could also be explained against the backdrop of survival and desperation which characterises some of the relationships seen in the "blesser" phenomenon (Bezuidenhout, 2018c:331).

Nonetheless, the country has one of the highest incidences of rape reported in the world (Pistorius, 2005:240) and subsequently has earned the title of the world's rape capital (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell & Dunkle, 2009:2; Jewkes et al., 2010:23; Marchetti-Mercher, 2003:6; Van der Watt & Van Graan, 2013:106). Moreover, the former head of the SAPS's Investigative Psychology Section (IPS), Prof Gérard Labuschagne, states there are approximately 100 serial rapists operating at any given time, in Gauteng alone (Bezuidenhout & Klopper, 2011:233). Gauteng exhibits the highest number of recorded rapes in South Africa, followed by the Eastern Cape and Kwa-Zulu Natal (Nkonkobe, Kimberley, Stone & Plaatjie, 2012:1; SAPS, 2016:44; Stupart, 2012:12). Despite the hidden numbers of unreported attacks, sexual violence is a well-recognised global health problem (Jewkes et al., 2006:2949).

Globally, physical and sexual abuse, especially against children, is rife. Sexual violence against children occurs daily and many girls are raped at a young age. It has been indicated that Africa has the highest prevalence rates of child sexual abuse (Singh et al., 2014:430). Children can be sexually abused and raped from as young as infancy (Kleijn, 2010:53) and as late as adolescence (Sadock & Sadock, 2007:877). The majority of victims of sex offenders are children (Rufo, 2012:1), thus the victimisation of children is real and significant, and unfortunately considered to be higher than assumed (Holmes & Holmes, 2009:183; Sadock & Sadock, 2007:877). The difficulty of determining the prevalence of child sexual abuse is highlighted due to

the hidden and illicit behaviour, the omnibus category when recording offences as well as various definitions and understandings which cut across a wide range of settings (Richter & Dawes, 2008:82). Contributing to this, children are frequently raped as a result of the "blesser" phenomenon which predisposes many young girls to the risk of sexual violence (Bezuidenhout, 2018c:331). It is highlighted that Black/African girls are at especially high risk for being raped in South Africa.

In 2003, one in every 35 victims of rape, in Gauteng, was aged between one and three years. Annually, of the reported rapes around 40% of victims are children and 15% are younger than 12 years old (Cox, Andrade, Lungelow, Schloetelburg & Rode, 2007: 950; Richter, 2003:394; Seedat et al., 2009:1013). Ultimately many young girls are raped before the age of 15 years (Jewkes et al., 2010:24). In addition, research indicates that 39% of girls report some form of sexual violence before the age of 18 years (Seedat et al., 2009:1013). While rough figures estimate that one in four girls will experience sexual assault by the age of 18 years (Cox et al., 2007; 950; Marchetti-Mercer, 2003:6), the numbers of young boys at risk for sexual assault are also concerning. The World Health Organization (2016) estimates that one in five women and one in 13 men will report being sexually abused as a child.

Although, being a girl generally results in being a higher risk to be raped, the sexual abuse and rape of young boys must not be ignored. Oftentimes the effects are similar, if not more traumatic for males, as they are generally not believed when they try to report a rape incident. In addition, gender plays a role in the disclosure of sexual abuse with many young boys fearing the stigma associated with being a male victim of sexual violence (Meinck, Cluver, Boyes & Mhlongo, 2014:13). Thus, rates of male sexual assaults are likely imprecise (Singh et al., 2014:430). Nonetheless, it is estimated that one in ten boys who reach the age of 18 will have experienced some form of sexual abuse and violence (Marchetti-Mercer, 2003:6; Singh et al., 2014:430). Moreover, young boys are more likely to suffer severe physical beatings than girls (Seedat et al., 2009:1013). Other figures suggest that over 40% of high school going boys in South Africa have experienced rape (Meinck et al., 2014:19).

It is widely reported that most of the sexual crimes perpetrated against children are committed by someone known to the victim; a relative, acquaintance, friend or neighbour (Cox et al., 2007: 950, 952; Gavin, 2014:159; Kleijn, 2010, 241; Luphahla,

2012;26; Naidoo, 2013:110; Richter, 2003:395; Seedat et al., 2009:1013; Wilson, 2012:6). Sometimes perpetrators are authorities such as schoolteachers, child care workers or religious leaders who operate under a sense of sexual entitlement and impunity (Seedat et al., 2009:1013; Sullivan & Beech, 2004:42; Umar, 2013:3). Alarmingly, some research indicates that schoolteachers make up the majority of the perpetrators who rape children in South Africa (Naidoo, 2013:110).

Another group of perpetrators who engage in sexual acts with young girls, often with a sense of entitlement, are the so called "sugar daddies". The "sugar daddy" or "blesser" phenomenon is an alarming trend seen in sexual offences. whereby perpetrators engage in sexual intercourse with young women and girls. "Sugar daddies" or "blessers" are older men who exchange money or goods for sex (transactional sex) with a non-marital partner, oftentimes a women or girl who is mostly under the age of 20 years. The girl or women is oftentimes ten or more years younger than the perpetrator (Bezuidenhout, 2018c:331; Wyrod, Fritz, Woelk, Jain, Kellogg, Chirowodza, Makumbe & McFarland, 2011:1275). Currently, it is an offence for anyone under the age of 16 years to have sex, even if the sex is considered consensual (Strode et al., 2010:247). A growing body of literature indicates that informal sexual exchanges are relatively common, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa where up to 80% of sexually active adolescent girls, aged between 12-19 years old, admitted to having had transactional sex (Stoebenau, Heise, Wamoyi & Bobrova, 2016:186).

While many of the cross-generational relationships, are relatively short-lived (Longfield, Glick, Waithaka & Berman, 2004:126), the features of the relationships are culturally specific (Wood, Hutchinson, Kahwa, Hewitt & Waldron, 2011:397). In situations of poor economic contexts, young women engage in sexual relationships with the "sugar daddies" in order to obtain money or gifts (Longfield et al., 2004:126). The financial benefits are often the female's primary incentive for engaging in such relationships (Dunkle, Jewkes, Brown, Gray, McIntryre & Harlow, 2004:1582; Longfield et al., 2004:125). However, financial needs are not the sole motivations for transactional sex.

In addition to financial motivations driving transactional sex relationships, peer pressure, in the form of obtaining social status and prestige, as well as family

influences, such as parents selling their children or encouraging their children to perform sex for financial rewards are additional incentives for transactional sex (Stoebenau, et al., 2016:187; Wood et al., 2011: 399). In South Africa, a "roll-on" is a secret sexual partnership, which is concurrent with, and hidden from a primary relationship. The "roll-on" (sometimes referred to as a "sugar daddy") is oftentimes an older man who provides financial resources or emotional support to a woman in exchange for sex. Sometimes this "roll-on" can be the father of a woman's child, or children, with whom the woman continues a sexual relationship in order to obtain financial support (Dunkle et al., 2004:1582).

The "sugar daddy" phenomenon forms part of the transactional sex, or cross-generational sex, which is briefly defined as the practice of exchanging sex for goods, or financial and lifestyle rewards (Brouard & Crewe, 2012:49: Wyrod et al., 2011:1276). Locally, it is argued that these men take advantage of the high levels of unemployment and inequality in South Africa, turning everyday intimate relations into a part of "making a living" (Brouard & Crewe, 2012:48). Many of these men have unprotected sexual intercourse with numerous young girls at once, which forms part of the concern regarding the spread of Human Immune Deficiency Virus (HIV/Aids) (Bingenheimer, 2010:1; Dunkle et al., 2004:1581; Longfield, et al., 2004:125; Stoebenau et al.,2016:186; Wyrod et al., 2011:1275).

Due to the disproportional power within the relationships, the young girls cannot successfully negotiate safe sex practices such as condom use (Longfield et al., 2004:126, 132; Wyrod et al., 2001:1275-1282). The transactional sex phenomenon is especially concerning because Sub-Saharan Africa "bears the brunt of the global HIV pandemic" (Bingenheimer, 2010:1). Globally, 15% of young women living with HIV are between the ages of 15 and 24 years, with 80% of these women living in Sub-Saharan Africa (Stoebenau et al., 2016:186). Young African women, between the ages of 15-19 years old are more likely to be infected with HIV than their same age peers (Wyrod et al., 2011:1275). While it is acknowledged that the sexual behaviours within these relationships are often agreed upon, an aspect of concern is whether the young girls are of an age of consent in order to engage in the sexual relationships with the older men. If not, then these acts indeed constitute rape.

Furthermore, the power imbalances and the structural forces within transactional sex relationships echo the economic and gender inequality present within the South African society (Stoebenau et al., 2016:191). An association between gender-based violence and transactional sex has been discussed in literature. Specifically, women who have experienced forms of gender-based violence, especially child sexual assault, are more likely to trade sex for money or drugs. On the other hand, trading sex puts young women and children in an especially vulnerable situation, increasing their risk of being raped or experiencing other forms of physical violence (Dunkle et al., 2005:1582).

The rape of young children, sometimes even infants not older than a year, is not a phenomenon that plagues only South Africa (Kleijn, 2010:53; Richter, 2003:392-393). Sexual abuse and the rape of children is a universal phenomenon (Benson, Horne & Coetzee, 2010:16: Singh et al., 2014:430). Statistics from the USA indicate that rape appears to be mostly perpetrated against the youth, with approximately 29% of all forcible rapes occurring against children younger than eleven years old and 32% occurring against children between the ages of eleven and 17 years. Hence nearly two thirds of the victims of rape are younger than the age of 17 years (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:442; 2017:378).

In addition, research (De Wet et al., 2010:42) regarding South African serial rapists has found that 25% of the perpetrators target children younger than 16 years of age. Accordingly, adolescent girls are considered easy prey for sexual predators, as South African children are often taught to respect authority and not to question elders. Therefore, they are vulnerable to such predators when pressurised into inappropriate situations. Sex offenders feel at ease with children because they are often considered innocent, trusting, gullible and naïve, and therefore are vulnerable to victimisation (Rufo, 2012:3). Age is not the only vulnerability factor for victims of rape; however, it does have further implications for the extent of trauma associated to the offence.

A range of psychological, physical, emotional and social effects are attributed to all forms of child sexual abuse including depression, anxiety, compulsion, obsession, grief as well as post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms, such as flashbacks and emotional numbing. Sexual and social dysfunction are also consequential of sexual abuse (Gavin, 2014:158). Rape, specifically, is considered a devastating personal

trauma for victims and results in psychological scars which may be worse for child victims (Naidoo, 2013:210). Regardless of the motivations and offender characteristics, the psychological and social consequences of rape are immeasurable (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:440). The experience of trauma and violence in childhood affect brain development and reduces the ability to form strong emotional relationships (Seedat et al., 2009:1015).

Furthermore, victims of rape are often exposed to secondary victimisation by law enforcement officials and the processes within the criminal justice system. For many child victims, it is highly traumatic to recall and describe the events of the act in front of law enforcement authorities or medical staff who are sometimes insensitive to the victim's plight (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:440). In addition, the physical examination procedures by medical staff are described as intrusive and invasive, which could potentially re-traumatise the victims (Cox et al., 2007:953-954). Unfortunately, many rape victims are exposed to secondary victimisation by some police members who respond to them in an insensitive or unhelpful manner (Geldenhuys, 2013:10). Local reports indicate how some victims of sexual assault, especially those from vulnerable groups, are mistreated and their statements are misconstrued when they open sexual assault cases (Sibanda, 2013:5).

A further example of secondary victimisation is demonstrated by a police official who forced a four-year-old girl to recount her rape incident in public (De Lange, 2008:8). By failing to ensure sensitivity and privacy when taking sexual assault statements of victims of sexual offences, police members may negatively affect the amount of information that is provided on file, which inevitably has implications for further judicial processes. It is common for child rape cases to be withdrawn in South Africa, specifically because of police being unable to locate the accused which adds to the issues experienced within the criminal justice system (Collings, 2007:15). Institutional secondary victimisation is not the only type of secondary victimisation experienced, it is additionally seen in society whereby a child, previously a virgin, is considered as 'damaged goods' after being raped. Victim blaming is also a type of secondary victimisation whereby there is a tendency to hold the victim responsible for the rape. For example, sometimes victims are thought to have asked for the rape by dressing provocatively (Gavin, 2014:172).

Sexual violence is therefore experienced by many women and children in South Africa (Jewkes et al., 2006:2950). Rape, an extreme form of sexual violence, is a threat to human security in any society (Potgieter & De Wet, 2010:1). Exposure to rape is one of the risk factors for South Africa's most prevalent health and social problems, specifically HIV/Aids, sexually transmitted infections (STIs), depression and suicide (Gavin, 2014:158; Seedat et al., 2009:1011). Rape is not only a violent crime but also considered a medical emergency, as survivors are often physically assaulted or endure penetrating organ injuries – especially in the case of a child (Kleijn, 2010:7; Naidoo, 2013:210). In particular, some literature states that rapes by strangers are more likely to involve physical violence and the use of a weapon, resulting in further physical injury other than that from the rape itself (Abrahams, Devries, Watts, Pallito, Petzold, Shamu and García-Moreno, 2014:1648). Moreover, rape has far reaching human rights and public health implications (Wood, Lambert & Jewkes, 2007:277).

South Africa has the largest HIV epidemic in the world and the rates of infections are increasing each year (UNAIDS, 2016:1) An estimated 12.2% of the population in 2012 tested positive for the virus (Shisana, Rehle, Simbayi, Zuma, Jooste, Zungu, Labadarios & Onoya, 2014:108). Whereas 2015, the UNAIDS organisation estimated that South Africa accounted for 19% of the global number of people living with HIV. UNAIDS figures also indicated that approximately 6.7 million people in South Africa, over the age of 15 years, were living with HIV (more than half of that number being females) (UNAIDS, 2016:1). In 2016, there were approximately 270 000 new HIV infections from the previous year. Therefore, because rape significantly affects children's vulnerability to HIV/Aids and other STIs. the prevention of sexual violence is a national public health priority (Gavin, 2014:158; Seedat et al., 2009:1011; Wood et al., 2007:277).

The role of Epidemiological Criminology (EpiCrim) is subsequently noted and defined as the merging of epidemiological and criminal justice theory, methods and practice. Thus, it draws from both Criminology and public health for its epistemological foundations. EpiCrim therefore includes critical analyses of anything that affects the health of a person, community, nation or society (Lanier, 2010:72). Crime and fear of crime are the most relevant examples. In other words, EpiCrim is the study of crime as a symptom of a disease in society or individuals. The rape epidemic in South Africa has certainly acted as a disease negatively impacting the health and psychological

state of many, if not most, citizens, and more specifically women and children. Consequently, understanding the 'who' and 'how' of child rape in South Africa is not only relevant but vitally important in efforts to safeguard the health, safety and futures of the country's children.

In addition to South Africa's high rape statistics, De Wet (2008:4) lists various prominent reasons as to why research on serial rape is needed in South Africa which include:

- Very little research has been conducted on serial rape;
- Before De Wet's study, no research had been conducted regarding the context of serial rape in South Africa;
- The exact number of serial rapists who have operated in South Africa cannot be known without empirical research;
- Linkage blindness (defined in the next chapter) will continue as a serious problem without a basic understanding of characteristics and common features of serial rape cases exist; and
- Without a basic understanding of serial rape in the South African context, typologies and new comparisons cannot be made to international research.

Therefore, research on serial rape in South Africa will allow more local knowledge regarding the phenomenon to be built, thus paving the way for further research to expand upon and determine relevance of international research within a local setting. Importantly, Labuschagne (2015c) points out that serial offenders in South Africa generally exhibit behavioural differences in comparison to serial offenders from other countries. By determining the uniqueness and dynamics of serial rape, specifically serial rape of children, citizens can be empowered with knowledge and awareness of criminal behaviour within a local context. Not only will the research aid in public knowledge and awareness of the phenomenon but it will additionally be useful in the criminal justice process.

Regarding the investigative process, it is noted that an offender's modus operandi usually starts to evolve after four months because of increased experience and knowledge obtained through contact with the criminal justice system. However, the modus operandi in serial sexual crimes evolves rapidly and can present significant

changes within weeks (Keppel & Birnes, 2009:5). It is thus argued that the ability of investigators to recognise similar modus operandi characteristics across a series of offences, pointing to a single offender, is imperative in sexual offence investigations. With the aid of the results from empirical research, investigators will be able to base their investigations on both experience and scientific value.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTION

What is the behavioural profile of male serial child rapists in South Africa?

1.5 AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of the current study is: to explore and determine a behavioural profile of male serial child rapists in South Africa.

The following objectives will ensure that the aim will be achieved:

- To explore the body of current knowledge regarding male serial child rapists;
- To determine the individual offender profiles of male serial child rapists within a series under investigation;
- To describe the general modus operandi of male serial child rapists within the combined series under investigation;
- To determine whether male serial child rapists exhibit behavioural consistency regarding their modus operandi; and
- To determine the view of experts regarding the behaviour of male serial child rapists in South Africa.

1.6 OVERVIEW OF METHODOLOGY

While Chapter 4 describes the research methodology in detail, a brief overview of the methods used will be discussed in order to orientate the reader to the process followed by the researcher. The methodology followed in the present study was guided within the qualitative research approach which allowed the researcher to use flexible methods throughout the study (Kumar, 2011:20). With the purposes of exploring and describing the phenomenon of child serial rape, about which little is known, the researcher made use of various methods in order to uncover as much information as possible.

The study design entailed a collective document case study and took place in two non-official phases. Firstly, a content analysis of police dockets was performed. The content analysis used a behavioural checklist to capture relevant variables from any documents within the police dockets (Bryman, 2012:289; Clark-Carter, 2010:104). The behavioural checklist was designed to capture information from various documents in the case dockets which detailed any biographic and modus operandi evidence pertaining to male serial child rapists.

Thereafter, the researcher interviewed various experts in the fields of Investigative Psychology, Clinical Psychology and Social Work in order to glean relevant information that would enhance the quality and trustworthiness of the data captured from the content analysis (Rule & John, 2011:108; Lietz & Zaya, 2010:193). The interview schedule, used during the interviews, was guided by the information obtained from literature as well as the content analysis the first phase of present study. By seeking information from experts via semi-structured interviews, the researcher was able to obtain primary data in order to triangulate the research. Additionally, by allowing open-ended answers within the interviews, the researcher ensured that the phenomenon could be explored accounting for various opinions. Hence, the study was conducted in two non-official phases to order the data capturing in a logical and systematic manner.

1.7 OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

The present chapter defines the various concepts relevant to the current study. In addition, the statement of the problem and the study's aim and objectives are listed. The extent of the problem is provided by referring to the nature and prevalence of rape, as well as the need for the current research. Chapter 2 achieves the first objective of the study by providing an overview of existing, relevant literature and recent research on male serial rapists. Chapter 3 provides the theoretical framework of the study by making use of three theories, namely the rational choice theory, routine activities theory and the crime pattern theory. The theoretical framework is not intended to draw parallels to the motive of male serial rape, as the current study does not intend to explore the offenders' individual motivations or causes of behaviour. However, the theories provide a backdrop from which to consider the behaviour of the offenders.

The research methodology of the study will be discussed in Chapter 4. The presentation and analysis of the data are dealt with in Chapter 5, while Chapter 6 presents the discussion of the results, incorporating the interview data. Chapter 7 concludes the present research by detailing the extent to which the aim and objectives were achieved; the chapter also concludes with a discussion on the limitations and challenges of the study. The value of the study as well as future study recommendations are also delineated.

1.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter provided the operational definitions of the key concepts central to this study. Additionally, the problem statement was detailed in order to describe the relevance and importance of the research. The aim and objectives were described, and a brief overview of the applicable methodology was provided. The following chapter will provide a review of the relevant literature pertaining to the phenomenon of child serial rape.

2. OVERVIEW OF EXISTING RESEARCH AND LITERATURE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will provide an overview of the existing research and literature pertaining to serial child rape. In particular, the chapter outlines relevant research regarding serial sexual offender and rapist profiles along with various behavioural variables. Offender profiles and typologies are also discussed in order to orientate the reader towards the topic. The importance of behavioural evidence in serial sex offences is highlighted and the specific area of speciality pertaining to the study is also outlined.

2.2 SEXUAL VIOLENCE AND RAPE

Sexual violence is based on power, control and the need to dominate and occurs in every culture, social class, race and religious denomination. Rape is, for the most part, not a crime of passion but a crime of violence, domination, humiliation and violation (Coetzee, 2015:25,31; Kleijn, 2010:54; Mackay, 2001:80: Peterson et al., 2005:1243). Rape, as a form of sexual violence, occurs when an individual unlawfully and intentionally commits an act of sexual penetration against another person, without that person's consent (The Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act No. 32 of 2007). Rape expresses power and aggression, rarely is it about a need for sex but rather a non-sexual need or pseudo-sexual act expressed through sexual ways (Kleijn, 2010:77; Sadock & Sadock, 2007:882). However, this contention is not necessarily true in South Africa as various rapes occur exclusively for sexual gratification.

The opposing argument explains that rape is sometimes perpetrated for sexual gratification and that women, and young girls especially, are raped because they represent some exciting challenge that an offender can pursue in efforts to achieve orgasm (Bezuidenhout, 2017). Whichever argument one supports, it is undeniable that ultimately there are multiple influences and suggested causes for rape, including various developmental, biological, socio-cultural, inter-personal and intra-personal variables, of which a full review is beyond the scope of this study. Nonetheless, some important influences are discussed below in order to attempt an understanding of the rape phenomenon.

2.2.1 MOTIVATIONS BEHIND RAPE

Feminist theories depict that rape is a form of sexual coercion in the process of intimidation in order to keep women in a state of fear. Therefore, many feminists believe that rape is not sexual but rather is an act of violence motivated by a desire to control women (Gavin, 2014:170). Socio-biological theories of rape are somewhat more controversial as they have been critiqued for explaining rape as a necessary biological function. The socio-biological theories are based on the premise that rape is a strategy used by male animals that lack the ability to persuade females into reproduction in a non-violent way. Therefore, theorists liken the behaviour of rapists to the same strategies that animals use in order to procreate, hence claiming that rape, as all forms of human behaviour, is a form of evolutionary adaption (Gavin, 2014:170). Feminist and socio-biological theories contrast in terms of explaining the primary function of rape. One explains that the primary function of rape is motivated by sexual desire (socio-biological) while the other explains that it is the need for domination and to exert power (feminists). Additionally, there are psychological theories behind rape which are vast and numerous.

Sexually motivated violence involves the use of sex in order to achieve non-sexual needs, such as the need for power or to satisfy anger (Oliva, 2013:73). Ultimately, the motivations and impulses behind rape are multifaceted and differ depending on the individual and context. A complex fuse of multiple factors, which interact in a specific time and place, influences behaviour. Previous learning experiences, conditioning environmental stimuli, cognitions and beliefs, as well as various rewards and punishments are involved in the determination of the poorly understood behaviour of rape (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:44). More specifically a pattern of cognitive distortions and ideations, which supports or justifies rape, exists among sexual offenders and rapists alike (Collings & McArthur, 2000:11, 13; Jewkes et al., 2012:1). Cognitive distortions, when related to sexual aggression, refer to an individual's internal processes, including justifications, perceptions and judgements which are used to rationalise a sex offender's behaviour (Paquette, Cortoni, Proulx & Longpre, 2014:182).

Although sexual offenders are not a homogenous group, similarities do exist (Tulu & Erden, 2013:1). Essentially, many rapists subscribe to rape myths (Jewkes et al., 2012:1; Tulu & Erden, 2013:1). Moreover, child sexual offenders are likely to endorse

child sexual abuse myths (Collings & McArthur, 2000:13). Rape myths are the false beliefs that women must be dominated and coerced into sexual activity, justifying male aggression against women. Generally, men who hold rape myths are hostile toward women (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:449) and hold gender inequitable views. The gender inequitable views are commonly blamed for producing a gender hierarchy in society (especially in South African society); the gender hierarchy is considered to be at the root of the problem regarding sexual violence towards women and girls (Jewkes et al., 2010:23; Jewkes et al., 2012:1; Marchetti-Mercer, 2003:8). The gender inequitable views that some men hold regarding women not only produce an inequitable society, but are also blamed for acts of rape, because rape is oftentimes regarded as the ultimate form of dominance and control over females.

Hence, another major factor that explains rape behaviour are the beliefs many perpetrators hold of women and the act of rape. Ultimately, many men who rape subscribe to attitudes that encourage male domination and control over women (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:448). As a result, women are thought to be submissive and weak. The patriarchal society, in which men are the holders of wealth and power, generally encourages men to engage in behaviours to maintain the control, whether they are aware of it or not. Sex and gender roles in society reinforce the notion that girls and women are taught to be passive (Gavin, 2014:170). It follows that the patriarchal system exposes children, who are especially vulnerable and submissive in society, to long-term harm (Richter & Dawes, 2008:85). The patriarchal society is therefore a factor blamed in the overall perpetration of rape in South Africa.

Resulting from ideas of male domination, rape is sometimes understood as an expression of gender power relationships among men who fantasise about status and power (Jewkes at al., 2006:2950; Jewkes et al., 2010:29). It is argued that many forms of male peer association develop ideas of hostility towards women and define masculine success based on sexual conquests (Jewkes et al., 2006:2958). Hence, one of the key drivers of rape is the patriarchal society in South Africa that produces distorted constructions of masculinity (Jewkes, Penn-Kekana & Rose-Junius, 2005:1809, 1810; Seedat et al., 2009:1014). Excessive identification with masculinity is one of the commonalities between male sexual offenders. Indeed, cognitive distortions and maladaptive beliefs are commonly related to many forms of sexual assault (Tulu & Erden, 2013:1, 8). Although, many explanations have been put forward

in attempts to explain the motivations behind rape behaviours, intra-psychic variables, such as cognitive distortions, are especially significant. While the researcher does not attempt to explain the motivations of offenders (partly due to not speaking directly to any offenders), some explanation regarding the inner forces and/or beliefs that are associated with rape is warranted.

Cognitive distortions are somewhat prevalent amongst rapists who, as a result, may perceive more sexual intent in women or children's behaviour than what the victims themselves would intend. Thus, rapists may have a perceptual difficulty in discerning when a potential victim is sexually interested and when they are not (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:450). The cognitive distortions are used as one factor to explain the perpetration of rape. Ward (2000:491) argues that various cognitive distortions develop from the causal theories or implicit theories. It is suggested that child molesters are thought to have experienced adverse and negative events in their childhood, which they were unable to explain and as a result develop inappropriate implicit theories. The various distortions or ideas about victims are organised in the form of implicit theories which enable entities, such as women and children, to be represented with relationships and properties (Ward, 2000:498).

In a study depicting the childhood experiences of child sexual abuse perpetrators the researchers emphasise the "sexually-abused-sexual abuser hypothesis". The hypothesis predicts that individuals who are abused or victimised in childhood will perpetrate sexual abuse in the future (Thomas, Phillips, Carlson, Shieh, Kirkwood, Cabage & Worley, 2012:187-188). The history of a negative childhood amongst perpetrators of child sexual abuse is emphasised.

Various negative aspects in the childhood histories of the perpetrators include not fitting in at school, not feeling love or affection from parents, as well as abandonment and forms of abuse. Interestingly, some of the narratives identified in the research by Thomas et al. (2012:194) highlight cognitive distortions that have developed amongst the perpetrators. For example, an offender "not knowing that the early sexual behaviour was inappropriate", claiming that sexual activity experienced in their own backgrounds and childhoods shaped their offending behaviours. Thus, offenders continued to seek the kind of sexual activity to which they were introduced to at first

(Thomas et al., 2012:195). Therefore, some negative experience/s in childhood may shape the beliefs held by perpetrators of child sexual abuse.

The various implicit theories as provided by Ward (2000) provide the framework in order to explain and interpret the perpetrators' beliefs and thoughts. Recently, some researchers have conducted research that supports the implicit theory framework. For example, Paquette et al. (2014:182-183, 188-191) found that the implicit theories are indeed present in child molesters. Specifically, the implicit theories, which were supported in research, included the "entitlement" theory, in which participants believed that they were entitled to and had the right to have sexual relations with children. The second implicit theory present in child molesters refers to the "nature of harm", in which offenders believe that their acts are not harmful (e.g. saying they "only touched" the victim and did not penetrate them).

Thirdly, the "uncontrollability" implicit theories were relevant to those offenders who shift responsibility for their acts on external factors such as drugs, alcohol or themselves being abused in childhood. Offenders who view children as 'sexual beings' are demonstrated in the fourth implicit theory (Paquette et al., 2014:182-183, 188-191). Statements by offenders maintaining this model claim that the children they victimised were sexual beings who solicited the sexual acts themselves. Thus, the children were viewed as sexual objects. Another theory that is put forward in Paquette et al. (2014:183), is the theory of a "child as a partner" in which participants viewed children as equal sexual and social partners. The 'child as a partner' theory is more grounded in affection and friendship with the child than the actual sexual relations.

Research has shown that child sexual offenders are more likely to hold the distorted beliefs and attitudes that may support the abuse of children (Collings & McArthur, 2000:11). Overall, researchers highlight that there are many studies, which provide evidence of cognitive distortions, present among child molesters and child sexual offenders, which are used to excuse their offences. The specific cognitive distortions include the belief that the child wishes to engage in sexual relations with the offender, the belief that the sexual contact with children is acceptable and/or that their assaults are not harmful towards the children. Furthermore, some sexual offenders will make use of defences, such as intoxication due to alcohol or drug use, as a way to excuse their behaviour (Collings & McArthur, 2000:11; Paquette et al., 2014:183). If a situation

is incorrectly perceived by the potential perpetrator (as would be the case when applying cognitive distortions to perceive the outside world) it may result in anger, which could predispose the individual to commit a sexually violent act.

Sometimes anger and aggression trigger rape perpetration, deeming the act necessary for punishment of the identified victim. While punishment is less of a motivation for the rape of young children, children are sometimes raped to punish or enact revenge against the child's mother or guardian (Jewkes et al., 2010:23; Kleijn, 2010: 77, 235, 239; Seedat et al., 2009:1015). The rape of young girls is oftentimes more associated with sexual entitlement of the offender, than anger or punishment. There is also a theory, specifically the "virgin-cleansing" myth, that some rapists in South Africa believe that raping a young child is considered a cleansing ritual, to purify their blood from infections such as HIV (Jewkes et al., 2010:27; Kleijn, 2010:75-76). However, the HIV cleansing theory is highly sensitive and needs to be verified in more scientific terms (Richter & Dawes, 2008:85). Cognitive distortions and myths are not the only factors implicated in the perpetration of rape against young children; additional social factors are subsequently provided in an attempt to further explain the phenomenon.

Perpetrators of rape are oftentimes susceptible to peer pressure, likely to abuse drugs and engage in delinquent behaviour (Jewkes et al., 2009:3; Jewkes et al., 2012:2, 5). More specifically, alcohol is an important factor that is implicated in violent crimes such as rape (Jewkes et al., 2010:23, 28; Seedat et al., 2009:1015). According to the SAPS, the incidence of alcohol consumption by both victims and offenders contributes to the incidences of sexual offences (SAPS, 2016). Nearly one-half of convicted rapists in the USA have a serious problem with alcohol (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:475). A study in Canada found that alcohol consumption prior to sexual offences increases the level of coercion used by the offender (Beauregard, Lussier & Proulx, 2005:265), while a study in Turkey found that alcohol intoxication was associated to high rates of violence during sexual offences (Tulu & Erden, 2013:7). Other social factors such as abuse and adversity in childhood (as discussed above) are especially prevalent risk factors for rape perpetration. Both partner and non-partner rape is associated with adversity in childhood (Jewkes et al., 2006:2957). In addition, sexual abuse and victimisation in childhood exposes young girls to a risk of being raped in adulthood and additional risks to experience intimate partner violence (Seedat et al., 2009:1015).

Evidence shows that factors such as poverty, unemployment, overcrowding and low levels of education can aid in the understanding of violence within South Africa (Kleijn, 2010:9; Richter & Dawes, 2008:86.87). Likewise, the inequality present in society is crucial to the social dynamics underlying rape perpetration as a manifestation of violence in South Africa. Therefore, the widespread abuse of children is evidence of their low status and power in society's age and gender hierarchy.

Consequently, female children possess the lowest status in society, exposing them to a higher risk of sexual violence (Seedat et al., 2009: 1014, 1015). In addition, boredom and opportunity are sometimes associated with rape of children. Hence, absence of a regular hobby or occupation in the profile of sex offenders who violate children is frequently associated with criminal opportunity (Tulu & Erden, 2013:1). It is highlighted that high levels of unemployment not only result in family stress, sometimes resulting in more punitive behaviours in the home, but it is also associated with a large number of men who are at home or in the community during the working day (Richter & Dawes, 2008: 86). In addition, child sexual offenders generally sense that young children will be less likely to report the offence and therefore, may experience no consequences for their actions (Jewkes et al., 2010:23, 27, 30).

Considering the brief explanations of some of the factors that motivate rape behaviour, it is important to note that rape, like other forms of human behaviour, is a multifaceted and complex issue. To better understand the motivation behind each perpetrator's rape or sexual abuse behaviour, in depth reviews of the context of their crimes and lives would shed further light on the matter. However, in depth studies of offenders' motivations is beyond the scope of the current study, nonetheless a general profile of rapists in South Africa is explained in order to provide an overall depiction and local understanding of rape.

2.3 PROFILE OF SOUTH AFRICAN RAPISTS

The following descriptions provide a brief explanation of rapists within the South African context. In a random sample of male citizens, who were not incarcerated, 27.6% disclosed that they had raped someone. The young age of onset for rape perpetration is evidenced in that 73% of the sample raped for the first time before the age of 20 years. More than half of the men reported that they raped more than one girl, or woman, who was not a partner (Jewkes et al., 2009:2, 3; Seedat et al.,

2009:1013). In addition, over 23% of the men who disclosed rape reported to have raped someone on two to three separate occasions, while 7% committed rape on more than ten occasions (Jewkes et al., 2010:26). The results are a mere indication of the undetected serial nature of many rape offences.

Regarding the educational history of the men that disclosed rape, 27% completed grade 12 (matric), while 5% completed further tertiary studies. The significant findings regarding education were that incomplete educational histories were associated more often with rape perpetration than other relevant histories (Jewkes et al., 2010:25). Other noteworthy information showed that 85% of the sample were Black/Africans. Over 60% of the men were single and nearly a third of them were the only income providers for their household. Conversely, a large proportion had no income, with some reporting to occasionally go hungry due to a lack of money (Jewkes et al., 2010:25). Of concern is that one in 20 of the men disclosed raping a child under the age of 15 years (Jewkes et al., 2010:26).

In general, men who abuse drugs, have eight or more lifetime partners and a prior history towards a partner are associated with a high incident of rape perpetration. Rape is additionally associated with gang contexts and many rapists are considered to have been in conflict with society before their first rape offence, therefore many offenders have criminal records (Jewkes et al., 2009:2; Jewkes et al., 2010:26; Jewkes et al., 2012:1). Moreover, men who rape are more likely to engage in sexually risky behaviour and consequently, are more prone to HIV/Aids infection. It is important to understand that South African sex offenders, and/or rapists, are unique in many aspects. While various characteristics from international literature cannot be readily applied to the local context, it is warranted to provide an overview of some literature that has established variables and aspects that are relevant to the current study.

2.4 INTERNATIONAL FINDINGS REGARDING PROFILE CHARACTERISTICS OF SEXUAL OFFENDERS

International literature corroborates the young age onset of rape perpetration, depicting that most individuals arrested for forcible rape are under the age of 25 years (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:446). A study in Turkey corroborates the young age of sexual offenders, indicating that 67.9% of the sample were between the ages of 18 and 35 years old (Tulu & Erden, 2013:2). Other evidence shows that rapists who target

strangers tend to be young, mostly under the age of 30 years (Holmes & Holmes, 2009:151). It is said that many men convicted of rape have been in conflict with society long before their initial rape offence. For example, it was determined that 82% of a sample of rapists studied in the USA had a prior criminal record. The rapists tend to be convicted for non-sexual crimes, such as burglary and robbery (39%) and kidnapping or abduction (29%). The recidivism rate for convicted sexual offenders showed that only around 5% of offenders were reconvicted for sexual offences, while 41% were in fact arrested for non-sexual offences, thus indicating a high recidivism rate for non-sexual offences (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:447).

Hence sexual offenders often commit a variety of crimes beyond sexual offences. In fact, there is evidence to show that adult sexual offenders are more likely to be convicted for non-sexual offences than they are for sexual offences, both before and after a conviction for a sexual offence (Smallbone & Wortley, 2004:183). In accordance with sexual offending, there are a few aspects of human behaviour, which are considered intrinsic to sexual crimes. For example, Roberts (in Rufo, 2012:2-3) claims that sexual offenders may preferentially act out against children. For some sexual offenders paraphilias form an integral part of the criminal behaviour as they are necessary for their psycho-sexual pleasure. Additionally, some sexual offenders experience remorse and guilt while others do not.

In light of the above, sexual offenders are frequently viewed as a homogeneous group of individuals; however, they do differ in the frequency and type of sexual activity they engage in, as well as many personal attributes such as age, background, personality, religion, race, attitudes, and interpersonal skills (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:436). From the aforementioned, it can be deduced that there is no single profile that encompasses the majority of sex offenders. Similarly, while there is no singular profile to cover sex offenders who target children, there are some characteristics, which cut across child sexual offenders.

2.5 PROFILE CHARACTERISTICS OF CHILD SEXUAL OFFENDERS

As the term "child sexual offender" can account for an offender who targets children in a range of offences, it is difficult to delineate a profile of those who solely rape children. Child molestation can manifest in many different forms such as sexual harassment, sexual touching and sexual intercourse (rape) (Jonker & du Preez, 2012:22).

Subsequently, the characteristics of child sexual offenders (regarding any offence, including rape) are discussed below.

There is no single profile that describes child molesters or child sexual offenders (inclusive of those who rape children), accurately. Child molesters' profiles have varied personal characteristics, criminal histories and motivations for offending (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:475-477; Bartol & Bartol, 2017:406-407). In addition, caution must be taken to not imply that certain characteristics imply criminal types. Child molesters may be from any social spectrum and any lifestyle as child molestation has no racial, ethnic, economic or social boundaries (Goldstein, 1999:37). Despite the variety in the profile of child sexual offenders, there are a few common characteristics of perpetrators who offend against children. Specifically, child sexual offenders are generally male and are more likely than non-sexual offenders to come from a deprived background. They often do not accept responsibility for their actions and attribute their behaviour to external causes such as alcohol or a loss of self-regulation and control. Oftentimes, child sexual offenders have less social competence with adults and therefore seek the company of children (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:475-477). A common characteristic found in the descriptions of child sexual offenders is the clinical disorder, paedophilia.

The perpetration of child rape, or child molestation, is sometimes associated with paedophilia. Paedophilia is the clinical term often used to describe child abuse or molestation; however, it is highlighted that the clinical condition does not always accompany the act of rape or molestation (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:469; Bartol & Bartol, 2017:398). Therefore, the criminal offence of child rape cannot be equated with the psycho-sexual disorder (Oliva, 2013:6). Nevertheless, some literature and members of the public tend to use the terms interchangeably (Goldstein, 1999:25). Despite the interchangeable use of the terms, the researcher has, in the previous chapter, clarified the difference between the concepts in the context of the current study.

Furthermore, some professionals argue that the clinical condition depicting sexual fantasies (paedophilia) and the actual behaviours (abuse and rape) should refer to separate actions (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:470). There is evidence that some paedophiles are not child molesters, as they do not engage in activities with children for sexual gratification (Goldstein, 1999:25). Conversely some individuals only engage in sexual acts with children out of opportunity or in order to hurt the parent of the child (Pistorius,

2005:295). Thus, for legal and criminal investigation purposes the presence of the clinical condition of paedophilia is not as important as knowing the characteristics of the offender because it does not always imply the act of an offence against a child (Goldstein, 1999:26).

In addition to the above, a distinction is drawn between intra-familial child molestation and extra-familial child molestation. The former refers to cases of sexual contact with a minor by someone within the immediate family, while the latter refers to sexual molestation by individuals outside of one's family (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:470; Bartol & Bartol, 2017:399). The current study aims to focus on cases of any extra-familial child molestation, specifically rape of the child as a manifestation of molestation. Hence, the terms child molester and rapist are differentiated in the current study, and where necessary, the term paedophile will be used in the relevant context.

Following on from the discussion of paedophilia as a characteristic of child sexual offenders, some features of specific types of paedophiles who engage in forced sexual activity, demonstrate numerous similarities to adult rapists (Pistorius, 2005:298-299). Most notably, they display a high rate of school dropout, have problems with alcohol abuse, often have unstable work histories in unskilled labour and come from low socio-economic status groups. Additionally, paedophiles, in general, are more likely than rapists to be older than 30 years of age and have a history of sexual abuse in their own backgrounds, specifically when sexually abused by a stranger as a young boy (Pistorius, 2005:298-299).

A profile of child molesters in South Africa was delineated in a study by Jonker and Du Preez (2012) which highlighted to the role of the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) in the rehabilitation of child molesters. They referred to child molestation as any common-law crime that includes rape, indecent assault and incest (Jonker & Du Preez, 2012:23). The researchers also indicate that child molesters never fully develop their personal skills and thus generally exhibit an inadequate personality type. Commonly, a child molester's childhood is marked with drug and alcohol abuses, intense marital and domestic violence as well as poor emotional development stemming from neglectful parenting. Furthermore, these individuals tend to have an inability to be assertive or to take responsibility in their own lives (Jonker & Du Preez, 2012:23). Typically, these individuals cannot relate to their peer group and thus fail to

develop healthy recreational habits. Pistorius (2005:299) also highlights limited social contact with one's peer group as a relevant factor.

Sexually, child molesters have strong performance needs and behave in a compulsive manner to satisfy their urges. The compulsions inhibit these individuals from being aroused by normal sexual stimuli. Child molesters tend to have low social and coping skills, which act to maintain their sexually deviant behaviour (Jonker & Du Preez, 2012:30-32). Ultimately, child molesters have an exaggerated need for control, which can result in rape as an outcome of controlling behaviour. Using force and violence is thus an avenue to express their need for control, while using seduction additionally satisfies their need for acceptance (Jonker & Du Preez, 2012:30-32). The characteristics of child sexual offenders and molesters are central to the understanding of offenders who target children. To further narrow the discussion, it is important to recognise the profile features of rapists in South Africa who rape victims in a series.

2.6 PROFILE OF SOUTH AFRICAN SERIAL RAPISTS

It is hypothesised that serial rapists and sex offenders differ from non-serial rapists and sex offenders. Therefore, the characteristics of South African serial rapists are distinguished, and thus separated in the following discussion. A study by De Wet (2008) was the first of its kind to explore the profile of male serial rapists in South Africa. Due to the limited applicability of international research to the local context, the profile construction of the South African serial rapist was a valuable first step in providing baseline information regarding serial rapists in the country (De Wet, Labuschagne & Chiroro, 2009:37). Evidence regarding the demographics of the offender sample showed that over two thirds of serial male offenders belonged to the Black/African population group (Potgieter & De Wet, 2010:3). Similarly, a later study by Woodhams and Labuschagne (2012:564) found that all but one offender in their sample of 22 offenders were of Black/African ethnicity.

Regarding the age of offenders in De Wet's study (2008), the average age of onset of sexual offending was 31 years, which was differentiated by race groups, with Coloured offenders beginning their series of offences at a younger age. Additionally, those with higher education levels were associated with having started their rape series at a younger age (De Wet et al., 2009:40). Generally, serial rapists range from between 25

to 35 years of age (Bezuidenhout & Klopper, 2011:233). In De Wet's study (2008) race was also associated with criminal background differences, as Black/African offenders were more likely to have a wider range of criminal offences, whereas the criminal histories of White offenders displayed fewer, but more serious, criminal offences. The profile suggests that the types of criminal convictions prior to a rape series are more commonly robbery followed by burglary and assault. Prior rape convictions were evident, although to a lesser extent, in the offender profiles (De Wet et al., 2009:40, 41).

Regarding educational background of De Wet's sample, 56% of offenders had a low education level (grade 1 to 6) and 22% had a tertiary educational level (De Wet, 2008:165). Regarding occupation, most serial rapists have performed menial labour in their past (Bezuidenhout & Klopper, 2011:233). According to the profile explored by De Wet et al. (2009), at the time of the male serial rapists' first offence, employment as a labourer was the most common (44%) form of occupation, while 43% of the offenders were unemployed. Regarding victimology, generally, the serial rapists in De Wet's study targeted stranger victims between eleven and 25 years old (De Wet et al., 2010:47). Likewise, most victims of the offenders in Woodhams and Labuschagne's study (2012:564) were stranger women and girls and one fifth of the victim pool was under the age of 16 years.

Although there is limited generalisability of the serial offender profile, it does offer baseline information to stimulate academic discourse and research endeavours. In addition, De Wet's study (2008) as well as Woodhams and Labuschagne's study (2012) did not profile "blessers" who repeatedly engage in sexual activities with children under the age of 16 years. The "blesser" phenomenon will need to be clarified in future research. Although the current study will not focus on this phenomenon, it will seek to add to the profile construction of serial rapists in South Africa, more specifically those who target children. In order to understand the types of offenders who target children it is important to first explain the distinct profile typologies of sexual offenders and rapists. Therefore, the next sections of the chapter provide a discussion of evidence and frameworks used to outline the various types of sexual offenders and rapists.

2.7 PROFILE TYPOLOGIES OF SEXUAL OFFENDERS AND RAPISTS

Criminal profiles make important contributions to improved understanding of criminal phenomena and strategy development (Tulu & Erden, 2013:2). Some literature draws a distinction between two types of sexual offenders (as a broad category of offenders). Firstly, those who enjoy grooming their intended victim and secondly, those who act on impulse. Both types of sexual offenders will tend to rationalise their behaviour (Rufo, 2012:3).

There have been numerous attempts to classify rapists according to their behavioural patterns. International literature recognises that rape involves sexual and aggressive factors – information that has been used to formulate various behavioural classification systems. The classification systems aid in organising and making sense of various behaviours exhibited in sexual offending (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:454; Bartol & Bartol, 2017:388). However, despite the efforts to classify rapists, there is no unified pattern of offending, and once again, limited applicability of international systems to the local context is emphasised.

Nonetheless, the following discussion provides a brief overview of the most widely cited rape typologies: i) *Displaced aggression rapists/anger retaliation rapists* are mostly aggressive and violent in their behaviour with minimal or no sexual feeling attached to their behaviour. Their aim is to harm, humiliate and degrade their victims by means of various aggressive acts. The victim is not the source of the aggression for the displaced aggression rapist. Generally, these rapists are ambivalent towards women but show a stable and somewhat successful work history (Bartol & Bartol, 2017:389).

ii) *Compensatory rapists/power reassurance rapists* desire to prove their sexual prowess and adequacy, often responding to a specific stimulus in the environment which is intensely arousing to them. Usually these rapists are socially inept, withdrawn, introverted, lack self-esteem, have masculinity issues and live in a fantasy world that may distort the view of the victim. Compensatory rapists commit the act of rape to compensate for their inadequacy and do not intend to hurt the victim. Recently some scholars have referred to compensatory rapists as sexual gratification, non-sadistic rapists (Bartol & Bartol, 2017:389).

iii) *Sexual aggressive/sadistic rapists* (considered the most dangerous of all types) experience sexual and aggressive features together, therefore deriving sexual pleasure from violence and the pain inflicted on the victim associated to the sexual acts. Sadistic rapists believe that the victim enjoys the act of rape and the sadistic actions and behaviours. Oftentimes, they are involved in domestic disputes and have a history of unstable partners as well as a history of childhood abuse.

Finally, iv) *impulsive/exploitative rapists* do not display aggressive or sexual features but engage in rape when the opportunity presents itself, usually in the context of another crime such as robbery. Therefore, rape is an impulsive sex act of predation for impulsive rapists (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:455-460; Bartol & Bartol, 2017:389; Holmes & Holmes, 2009:153-166; Pistorius, 2005:241-245).

In addition to the above typologies, the MTC:R3 represents a refinement of the widely used Massachusetts Treatment Centre (MTC) classification and highlights four major types, and nine subtypes, of offenders. Ultimately, the refinement of the classification system was aimed at enabling investigators to identify the subtype of offender based on various parameters at a crime scene. Moreover, the revised system increases the understanding of the drivers of sexual offending. i) Opportunistic offenders present impulsive and predatory acts and are subdivided into either high social competence (type 1) or low social competence (type 2). ii) Pervasively angry (type 3) offenders are generally angry in all spheres of life. iii) Sexual offenders are subdivided into four types, namely: sadistic overt (type 4), sadistic muted (type 5), non-sadistic low social competence (type 6) and non-sadistic high social competence (type 7). Finally, iv) vindictive offenders are either low in social competence (type 8) or have moderate social competence (type 9).

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) uses another system of profile classification. The FBI employs the FBI/Groth Typology as a framework predicated on elements of power, rage and sex which includes the: i) *power-reassurance rapist*, ii) *power-assertive rapist*, iii) *anger-retaliatory* rapist and iv) *anger-excitation* rapist (Holmes & Holmes, 2009:153; Rossmo, 2000:38). The *power-reassurance rapist* is considered to be the least violent type of rapist, with average intelligence but unable to develop interpersonal or romantic relationships. The *power-reassurance rapist* will generally select and stalk their victim who is mostly unknown to them. The *power-assertive*

rapists are thought to make up most of reported incidents; they value physical aggression and rarely target specific people, rather acting spontaneously. The *anger-retaliatory rapists* usually suffer from substance abuse problems and anger-related pathologies. Additionally, if victims resist *anger-retaliatory rapists*, they may be killed during which time the offender will leave behind more evidence. Lastly, *anger-excitation rapists* are considered the most dangerous and elusive of the offenders because they are most likely to kill their victims, sometimes for self-gratification. According to the FBI classification the *anger-excitation rapists* are sexually sadistic and are considered to be atypical (Gavin, 2014:167).

Owing to the numerous profile typologies and frameworks, it is clear that rape and other sexual crimes have been the subject of many criminal profiling attempts (Gavin, 2014:166). The different typologies discussed above have been developed from international literature and evidence. Furthermore, the typologies generally apply to male rapists who target adult victims, and as such, may have limited applicability to South African child rapists. The typologies are, however, valuable and useful in any attempt to understand sexually violent behaviour. Furthermore, they have led to the development and comparison to child offender patterns, which are subsequently discussed below.

2.7.1 CHILD OFFENDER PATTERNS

Although there is a distinction between the psychosexual disorder of paedophilia and criminal activity, the fantasies and urges to engage in sexual behaviour with children are sometimes acted upon, potentially resulting in the rape of children. The rape of children can become excessively violent and escalate to other serious offences such as murder, especially when the individuals' fantasies do not meet reality (Oliva, 2013:5-6). Therefore, the presence of fantasies as they are associated with paedophilia is relevant to the perpetration of a sex crime, warranting a discussion on the child offender patterns, which generally revolve around paedophilia, or paedophilic disorder.

Paedophilia is sometimes simply referred to as a sexual preference for, or erotic fondness of, children (Rufo, 2012:51). Therefore, a paedophile is a "perverse lover of children" (Holmes & Holmes, 2009:172). Generally, children aged between ten and twelve years of age appeal to paedophiles. A paedophile's sexual attraction may lead

to an infatuation with children and a variety of sexual acts that include intercourse, against the child's consent (Rufo, 2012:51). Paedophilia does not always accompany the act of child rape. Sexual abuse is distinguished from paedophilia because not all paedophiles will abuse or rape children and not all child rapists suffer from the disorder (Gavin, 2014:144). Nonetheless, a brief description of the recognised paedophile types and child offender patterns, that explain paedophilia, is important to add to the possible explanations of offender behaviour. Once again, the classification systems fail to account for unique cultural factors in South Africa and may have limited applicability in the local context. Nevertheless, the classification systems are necessary to situate the potential research with what has been established on the topic of sexual offending against children.

Paedophiles are different in their behavioural patterns and method of operating, however there are two broad categories of behavioural patterns, namely the situational child molester and preferential child molester (Holmes & Holmes, 2009:174-179). Under the first broad category of the *situational child molester* there are three subtypes of child molesters, namely: i) the regressed child molester, ii) the sexually indiscriminate child molester and iii) the naïve or inadequate child molester. Broadly speaking, these types do not have a true sexual interest in children but will experiment with them during induced stressful circumstances. Under the second broad category of the *preferential child molester* there are two subtypes namely: i) the mysoped child molester and killer and ii) the fixated child molester. These types of molesters prefer children for their sexual and personal gratification (Holmes & Holmes, 2009:174-179). Some authors refer to sexual offences that may be committed by offenders who are not sexual predators, nor do they possess a desire or preference for children. However, these offenders regress in their behaviour due to stressful life situations, resulting in them being unable to use appropriate coping methods, thereby molesting a child in efforts to regain some sort of control. In addition, the molestation of a child is sometimes thought to stem from the inability to maintain a normal adult relationship (Oliva, 2013:3-4).

An additional behavioural framework is depicted in the MTC paedophile offender patterns (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:478; Bartol & Bartol, 2017:413; Holmes & Holmes, 2009:180-182): i) *Fixated paedophiles* have a long-standing preference for children in sexual and social circumstances and are considered immature and passive. Physical

force, aggression and sexual intercourse are rarely used. ii) *Regressed paedophiles* develop self-doubt and inadequacy regarding masculinity later in life. The background of these offenders commonly displays alcohol abuse, divorce and poor employment. Regressed paedophiles prefer stranger victims, outside their own neighbourhood and often seek genital contact with their victims. iii) *Exploitative paedophiles* seek children to satisfy sexual needs and exploit them using various strategies to gain compliance from child strangers. These offenders display a long criminal history and unpredictable relationships. iv) *Aggressive sadistic paedophiles* are attracted to children to satisfy their sexual and aggressive desires and seek to obtain sexual stimulation without consideration of the victim.

Moreover, the Groth Classification Model classifies the offender based on the longevity of offending and psychological motivations. The Groth classification distinguishes between offenders who have had a longstanding preference for children, (i.e. the immature/fixated offenders) and those who have had a degree of normal social and sexual interaction but resort to offending when suffering a blow to their self-esteem, (i.e. regressed offenders) (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:482; Bartol & Bartol, 2017:413). Regressed offenders do not always meet the criteria for paedophilia because they are attracted to individuals in their own age group but may be passively aroused by minors, however are able to suppress their interest if recognised as socially unacceptable (Gavin, 2014:160). Conversely, fixated offenders generally identify with children because of stunted social growth and may as a result seek out sexual relationships with minors. Sexual acts by fixated offenders are generally planned and do not involve the use of alcohol or drugs (Gavin, 2014:160). The Groth typology, similar to the MTC classification, describes sadistic offenders, although atypical, as individuals who use sex as a tool of sadistic suppression (Gavin, 2014:160).

The psychological aims and intentions of the offender are divided into, a) sex pressure offenders who entice children through persuasion or trap children through obligation and b) sex force offenders use force or the threat of physical force to carry out the act. Thus, offenders either intimidate the victim through exploitation or physical prowess. Further divisions are made for exploitative offenders who threaten to use force to overpower the child using manipulation, threats or intimidation. Sadistic offenders derive pleasure from harming the child, hence eroticising the suffering and pain, using

more force than what is necessary to sexually engage with a child (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:482; Bartol & Bartol, 2017:414).

Despite the differences among the types and patterns of child molesters, some commonalities have been found to occur across all of them. For example, the use of technology as a means to communicate and target children is common. Furthermore, the possession of child pornography is a common element in the offender's behaviour. Prior victimisation as a child, including witnessing abuse, is also linked to many sex offenders who target children (Holmes & Holmes, 2009:182,183). Growing up in a dysfunctional family can predispose individuals to seek affection and comfort from children (Rufo, 2012:3). It is acknowledged that the above information is derived from international research and therefore is not fully appropriate or applicable to the local context. The international typology classifications do however create a platform to promote and guide the current study. The next section discusses the behaviour of grooming. It is argued that whichever profile typology is applicable to the offender, a certain degree of grooming is evident in the behaviour of sexual offenders targeting children.

2.8 GROOMING

Grooming is a complex issue. It is especially complicated to identify the nature and extent of the various tactics that are used by child sex offenders in their efforts to obtain access to children in order to sexually abuse them (Williams, 2015:30). Child sex offenders can use numerous tactics depending on their own preferences, motivations, affective states, types of victims, as well as the circumstantial and contextual variables at play in the offender-victim interactions (Williams, 2015:30). Although little is understood about the phenomenon of pre-offence grooming behaviour (Williams, 2015:29), authors are paying more attention to the topic in order to further understand the dynamics of child sexual abuse (Craven et al., 2006: 287; Williams, 2015:28). More specifically, attention has been given to the grooming experiences of victims and communities (Williams, 2015:78).

Grooming involves both planning and contact with the victim and therefore is linked to various stages of the offence itself. Three strategies have been identified in the distal planning used by child sex offenders, namely: covert/implicit, explicit and by chance/opportunistic. Covert/implicit as well as explicit planning are thought to be the

most used by child sexual offenders. The first relates to offenders who do not acknowledge any planning but manipulate various circumstances to increase the chances and likelihood of contact with a child victim. Whereas explicit planning refers to the process in which offenders deliberately initiate contact with children for sexual purposes. Of importance and relevance to the current study is that evidence shows that many offenders often approach a child with the same method once they have developed a set of successful strategies (Williams, 2015:31). In other words, the research indicates that behavioural consistency is evident in grooming planning. Thus, forming a set of successful grooming strategies can form part of the offender's modus operandi.

In a review of various grooming literature, Craven et al. (2006) highlight the three types of grooming, specifically self-grooming, grooming of the environment and significant others, as well as the grooming of the child. Regarding the first type of grooming, self-grooming, van Dam (2001 in Craven et al., 2006:292) found that offenders refer to the denial or justification of their behaviour. The denial or justification of the behaviour manifests as cognitive distortions. Many child sexual offenders have cognitive distortions, or implicit schemes, which are maladaptive and supportive of their sexual interests and behaviours with children (Craven et al., 2006:292). Generally, the cognitive distortions serve to justify, excuse or rationalise sexual assault as well as to minimise or deny harm against children (Paquette et al., 2014:182-183).

The justification by means of cognitive distortions is considered important to the grooming process because it forms part of the process from being motivated to sexually abuse a child to actually taking the steps of targeting a specific victim (Williams, 2006:292). The offender's self-grooming is likely affected by the success or failure of their attempts, with successful attempts further justifying their behaviour, entrenching their sexual interests. Conversely, failures may likely cause desistence or the development of alternative strategies to ensure future success. The development strategies to ensure successful attempts may result in offenders escalating the offender's aggression towards children (Howitt & Sheldon, 2007 in Paquette et al., 2014:183).

The second type of sexual grooming according to the literature reviewed by Craven et al. (2006; 292-293) is the grooming of the environment and the child's significant

others. The review highlighted that child sex offenders have an ability to identify vulnerable children, such as those with poor relationships with their parents, those who are being victimised, or those who do not have many friends. Therefore, in order for the offenders to gain access to the child, they groom the child's environment and significant others such as parents, friends and teachers. They can also infiltrate themselves into society where they are likely to meet children. This aspect has been highlighted in research into professional perpetrators of child sexual abuse (Sullivan & Beech, 2004:39, 46). These offenders acknowledged a preference or sexual attraction to children in their adolescent years and admitted to choosing careers or professions in which they could access children freely.

These professional perpetrators make use of various organisations or institutions to target and abuse children (Sullivan & Beech, 2004:39, 46). The commitment to a professional career in child grooming emphasises the lengths that some offenders will go to in order to access children. The long-term nature of grooming the environment is further highlighted by an example in an ethnographic study conducted by Williams (2015:35). The study evidenced how an offender infiltrated a community and, by using various strategies, groomed the environment for 18 months. The offender in the study was described as patient and strategic, and targeted families in which certain vulnerabilities were present.

Many child sex offenders are often in positions of trust in a community (Craven et al., 2006:293), such as religious carers, teachers or other forms of child care. The offenders will first begin to groom the adults in the community, often in charming and helpful manners. The offenders develop their trustworthiness and public image so much so that they become so well-integrated into the community that sometimes, if a victim eventually discloses sexual abuse, the child will not be believed, and the community may support the offender instead (Craven et al., 2006:293). Due to the fact that the child sex offender targets already vulnerable children, it becomes easier for the offender to create opportunities to abuse the child by coming up with various reasons to be alone with them. Therefore, the grooming of the environment and significant others can occur from implicit or explicit planning, or even by chance.

The final type of grooming, as highlighted by Craven et al. (2006), is the grooming of the child. This type of grooming is the most acknowledged and commonly recognised

type of grooming and takes on two forms, namely physical grooming and psychological grooming. Physical grooming entails the gradual and eventual sexualisation of the relationship between the victim and the offender, while psychological grooming is used to increase the sexualisation (Craven et al., 2006:295).

The offender will build the child's trust, make them feel worthy and then begin to violate various boundaries. For example, the offender may walk around naked in front of the child, exposing himself, or he may be present when the child undresses or bathes. The offender may begin to desensitise the child to physical touches (Craven et al., 2006:295). They will, for example, touch the child with non-sexual contact such as pats on the back or head, tickling or stroking. Then while conversation usually becomes more sexual, the offender will progress or develop the physical touching to become more sexual, such as touching areas underneath the child's clothes. The acts are ultimately aimed at overcoming the child's resistance, thus increasing their compliance. The psychological grooming is also intended to reduce the likelihood of disclosure.

It is common for the offender to isolate the victim in efforts to maintain the child's cooperation. Due to the established relationship, the child oftentimes wants to be around the offender and consequently maintains the secrecy of the encounters. Offenders also use bribery and threats as strategies to ensure the child's submission (Craven et al., 2006:295). Bribes can take on the form of gifts, money, or other privileges. Williams (2015:37-38) highlights examples whereby offenders, depending on the age of their intended victim, will make use of what some authors describe as 'forbidden fruits' activities. 'Forbidden fruits' activities include providing items to children that are illegal for their consumption, such as cigarettes and alcohol. By providing such commodities to the children, their cooperation is increased as the offender manipulates the deviancy in order to further reduce disclosure of the sexual encounters. Offenders also manipulate children's vulnerabilities such as the inherent desire to protect their parents; offenders can take advantage of this by threatening that the child's parents would be upset and hurt if they find out what happened (Craven et al., 2006:295).

The grooming of the child, the offender's self-grooming as well as the grooming of the environment and significant others are applicable and relevant to situational and

preferential offenders, as well as intra-familial and extra-familial offenders (Craven et al., 2006:296). It is accepted that the intra-familial offenders are perhaps already in positions of trust, integrated into the environment in which they can access child victims (Craven et al., 2006:293). It has been claimed that because grooming is not used solely by one group of offenders, the three types of grooming are also relevant to the different typologies and classifications of offenders (Craven et al., 2006:296). The discussion has thus far highlighted the offender profiles, typologies and classification patterns that exist within rape literature. The next section provides a discussion on the practical aspects and reasons behind the determination behavioural patterns and profile typologies.

2.9 AREA OF SPECIALITY

2.9.1 INVESTIGATIVE PSYCHOLOGY

In order to orientate the reader on the current study's practical applicability it is important to discuss the field of Investigative Psychology (IP). IP, a term coined by David Canter, is a broad discipline that draws on psychological research and principles in order to understand and investigate crime and criminals. IP therefore contributes to law enforcement investigations (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:369; Bartol & Bartol, 2017:311; Canter & Youngs, 2009:41). More specifically, IP is the study of offenders and the process of apprehending them, dealing with a full range of issues related to the management, investigation and prosecution of crime. IP covers all forms of crime that are investigated by police, considering and analysing the full range of criminal activity in order to inform the investigation, the prediction of crime as well as the legal case (Canter & Youngs, 2009:4, 5).

The field of Forensic Psychology is relevant to criminal investigations as it grew from a need for psychological evidence to be used in the legal process (Gavin, 2014:9). Furthermore, it is one of the disciplines upon which IP draws from (Canter & Youngs, 2009:15) and the term Forensic Psychology is often applied to Investigative and Criminological Psychology (Gavin, 2014:9). Ultimately, Forensic Psychology is a term that is used to refer to any application of Psychology to the legal and criminal process. When Psychology is used in the investigation and detection of crime it is referred to as IP (Gavin, 2014:10). The contributions of IP to the legal process have gained momentum over the last 20 years. The rich potential of psychological findings,

developed from IP, are relative to not only the effective identification and apprehension of suspects but also to the evaluation of guilt. One of the functions of IP is offender or criminal profiling (Canter & Youngs, 2009:1, 2, 5). The applicability of IP and its relevance to the current study are discussed below.

2.9.1.1 INVESTIGATIVE PSYCHOLOGY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Investigating psychologically motivated crimes, usually serial crimes, requires expert and specialist knowledge in order to identify the psychological and criminal elements of a serial offence. The SAPS have a specialised unit, namely the Investigative Psychology Section (IPS) that is responsible for this function (Omar, 2008:33). The IPS provides a similar function as that of the Behavioural Analysis Unit (BAU) of the FBI (Labuschagne, 2015a:217). Micki Pistorius, a renowned South African psychologist and ex-profiler, established the section, previously known as the Investigative Psychology Unit (IPU) in 1996. The unit was established in order to assist SAPS with psychologically motivated crimes by providing psychological profiles and psychological crime scene analysis to detectives (Pistorius, 2005:16).

Psychologically motivated crimes are referred to as crimes that do not appear to have an external motive. Serial rape and paedophilia are a few of the topics that are investigated by the unit (Omar, 2008:33). Some of the unit's tasks include profiling offenders in order to provide investigative support to investigators. The profiles that are compiled by the IPS, coupled with good detective work may result in the quick apprehension of suspects. The IPS conducts training courses, on various psychologically motivated crimes, to detectives across the country (Pistorius, 2005:17). Therefore, the value of IP is recognised locally. The development and use of IP in South Africa has stemmed from the international development of profiling or behavioural profiling.

2.9.2 BEHAVIOURAL PROFILING

An important interim stage in the emergence of IP was the development of outlines of offenders, which became known as 'offender profiles'. The description of unknown offenders came from inferences made that were based on crime scene details, which pointed towards a type of criminal who committed the crime (Canter & Youngs, 2009:28). Hence, once a crime has been committed, Psychology can play a role in the investigation process, which includes crime scene analysis and profiling (Gavin,

2014:10). Offender profiling is thus a function used within IP (Canter & Youngs, 2009:5).

Generally, profiling is a term that is used to describe the process of gathering various kinds of information about people (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:369; Bartol & Bartol, 2017:312). In a broad sense, a criminal profile provides behavioural clues about an offender based on their behaviour during a crime as well as evidence left behind at a crime scene (Petherick, 2009:68). Profiling in the criminal investigation field is considered to have been pioneered by FBI agents who studied the human sciences and established the specialised unit known as the Behavioural Science Unit or BAU (Pistorius, 2005:6).

The FBI was the first agency to develop a type of profiling in order to detect behavioural and personality characteristics of an individual based on the analysis of a crime that was committed (Gavin, 2014:221). Hence, the FBI method of profiling usually entails identifying an offender into either an organised or disorganised category, and thus relies mostly on the classification stage of profiling. Conversely, the statistical approach to profiling, also known as United Kingdom (UK) profiling, pioneered by David Canter is based on complex statistical methods of analysis. The statistical technique relies on psychological crime scene evidence and the input of the information into databases in order to determine the existence of patterns across similar offences (Gavin, 2014:227).

Profilers attempt to understand human behaviour and psychopathology, which requires the study of aspects of the crime scene in order to build a picture of an offender. The profiles that are created are used to guide the investigatory process as a means to narrow searches and eliminate suspects. Therefore, when used effectively, profiles are valuable in aiding police and security agencies in their investigations (Gavin, 2014:10-11). Profiling is best suited to psychologically motivated crimes such as serial murder, stalking, kidnapping, occult-related crimes, muti-murders and importantly, serial rape (Pistorius, 2005:14).

There are two approaches within the profiling practice, namely clinical or actuarial. The first approach attempts to infer aspects about an offender based on the analysis of evidence gathered from a crime or a series of crimes and is thus case-focused. The clinical approach relies heavily on an investigator's experience and training,

sometimes supplemented by subjectivity. The latter approach is based on a group of similar offenders who have committed similar crimes which are recorded in a database. Therefore, data from the accumulated behavioural patterns are referred to as base rates. A base rate will thus allow a profiler or investigator to state the probability of a type of behaviour performed by a perpetrator (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:340).

Similarly, Turvey (2012:16, 17, 28) highlights two types of profiling, namely inductive and deductive profiling. Inductive profiling entails the creation of a profile that is generalised to a suspect from demographic and behavioural characteristics of other offenders that have previously been studied. Conversely, deductive profiling, the type that is undertaken by the IPS, involves assessing forensic evidence such as photographs, crime scene reports and Victimology. The aim of deductive profiling is to reconstruct crime scene behaviour and patterns from which offender characteristics can be drawn. Thus, the patterns will allow the profiler to deduce the demographics, motivations and emotions of the offender. Deductive profiling is useful to draw up the modus operandi of an offender and is additionally beneficial to link cases to an offender in a process of case linkage (see definition below).

There are numerous terms which are often used interchangeably to define the process of profiling and evidently, there is a lack of uniformity of such terms in literature (see Table 1). Despite the various terms that are found in literature, the term *behavioural profiling* will be used for the purposes of the current discussion. Nonetheless, in order to elucidate the concept, a brief description of some of the terms used in literature is subsequently provided.

Canter and Youngs (2009:38-39) refer to the term *offender profiling* and also indicate that there are numerous terms that are sometimes used to explain the same thing. Offender profiling is practised by individuals who draw upon their clinical and/or professional experience to make judgements about the personality traits or psychodynamics of the perpetrator. The terms *offender* or *criminal profiling* are used by Gavin (2014:220) to describe the process of predicting characteristics of an offender based on information that is gathered from a crime scene by both police officers and various scientific officers. In addition, Gavin (2014:220) points out how psychological information that is applied to investigations has recently been

broadened beyond providing a profile of perpetrators. Subsequently, the process of profiling encompasses crime scene analysis, Victimology, interpretation of geographic data and crime linkage. Moreover, Turvey (2012:5) applies the term *criminal profiling* to describe a process of inferring traits about individuals who are responsible for committing a crime.

Labuschagne (2003:67) refers to the term *offender profiling* as an investigative tool, which is used around the world and in South Africa. A definition used by the IPS, of the SAPS, states that *offender profiling* is any activity that is performed in order to assist an investigator to determine the most likely type of individual who would have committed a specific crime. The profiling process involves a review of any docket material that is available such as statements, photographs, forensic reports and investigative decisions (Labuschagne, 2003:67). In addition, the process entails an assessment of the crime scene and could include attending an autopsy in the event of a crime resulting in a death/s.

The information gathered by the profiler is then compared to any existing research and hypotheses are formulated regarding the type of individual or suspect who committed the crime*.* Labuschagne (2003:67) adds that the hypotheses that are formulated during the profiling process can be verbally communicated to the investigators but usually are formulated into a written report. Ultimately, the aim of *offender profiling* is to assist the investigators by narrowing the focus of their investigation towards the most likely suspect of a crime.

Bartol and Bartol (2014:372) use the term *crime scene profiling* interchangeably with *criminal profiling* and *offender profiling.* They explain crime scene profiling as a process which identifies personality traits, geographic habits, behavioural patterns and demographic features of an unknown offender based on characteristics of a crime (Bartol & Bartol, 2017:314).

De Wet (2008:9) refers to *behavioural profiling* as the process whereby crime scene characteristics, victim information and criminal behaviours such as sexual, verbal or physical behaviour are analysed in order for the observable actions of behaviours to be linked to a specific individual. The process of behavioural profiling is used to construct a behavioural profile of an offender which includes, but is not limited to, age, population group, educational history and criminal history. For the purposes of the

current study, the operational definition will be based on the definition provided by De Wet (2008).

Table 1: Various terms used for profiling

Applied Criminology or clinical Criminology
Behavioural investigative analysis
Crime assessment
Crime scene analysis
Crime scene assessment
Crime scene reconstruction
Criminal behavioural analysis
Criminal investigative analysis
Criminal personality profiling
Criminal profiling
Criminal profiling from crime scene analysis
Equivocal death analysis
FBI – criminal personality profiling
Geo-behavioural profiling
Geographic/al profiling
Investigative Criminology
Investigative profiling
Investigative Psychology
Offender profiling
Personality profiling
Psychiatric profiling
Psychological profiling/ psychological (criminal) profiling
Socio-psychological profiling
Suspect-based profiling

Sources: Bartol and Bartol (2014:372-373); Bartol and Bartol, 2017:312; Canter and Youngs (2009:38-39), and Gavin (2014:220).

Therefore, the process of behavioural profiling is utilised in investigations to identify aspects such as the demographics of offenders and various modus operandi tactics, which are necessary and valuable for linkage analysis. The following section briefly

outlines linkage analysis and its applicability in South Africa as an outcome of the behavioural profiling process.

2.9.3 LINKAGE ANALYSIS

Linkage analysis, crime linkage or case linkage, is a form of behavioural analysis and therefore a part of the behavioural profiling process. Case linkage is part of the shift towards intelligence-led policing (Hewitt & Beauregard, 2014:60) and is used to determine whether one offender commits a series of crimes from an analysis of crime scene behaviours. Therefore, it incorporates components such as the modus operandi, ritual, and signature of a crime (Hazelwood & Warren, 2003:587; Woodhams & Bennell, 2015a:1). More specifically, it entails a process of determining any distinctive behavioural features, or discrete connections, between two or more previously unrelated cases by means of crime scene analysis (Turvey, 2012:332). Crime linkage rests on two principles, specifically the principles of behavioural consistency and behavioural distinctiveness (Woodhams & Bennell, 2015a:1). Essentially, by identifying similarities in a series of crimes, linkage analysis will point to the offences being committed by the same offender (Woodhams et al., 2007:234).

It is important to link crimes for numerous reasons, including, but not limited to, being able to increase evidence against an offender and to group offences in order to investigate the incidents together. Additionally, linking crimes is important because where there is evidence of similar offences, case linkage can be used in court procedures as similar fact evidence (Woodhams et al., 2007:234). Linkage analysis evidence is increasingly being used in legal processes as evidence to convince the court that a single offender is responsible for a series of offences. In addition, linkage analysis evidence is especially useful and valuable when there is limited or no physical evidence at some crime scenes (Hewitt & Beauregard, 2014:59-60; Labuschagne, 2015a:198). Therefore, linkage analysis rests upon the assumption that offenders will behave consistently across various situations (Woodhams et al., 2007:235). According to Woodhams and Bennell (2015b:11), serial offenders display enough distinctiveness and behavioural consistency for crimes to allow a certain degree of linkage accuracy.

In contrast, the utility, reliability and validity of behavioural profiling, when accounting for profiler skills, as well as the conclusions and predictions drawn, are questionable (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:376, 377). Contemporary researchers argue that the

assumption that behaviour is consistent across different situations is indeed a flaw of "modern-day profiling" (Alison, Bennell, Ormerod & Mokros, 2002:115). Another criticism levelled against profiling methods is the assumption that the offence style or the evidence gathered at a crime scene is directly related to an offender's personality characteristics (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:377). It is also hypothesised that many of the actual statements made in profiling are too vague and are oftentimes open to various interpretations. Occasionally, investigators may interpret the information provided by a profile report in a biased manner, thus selecting aspects of the report which fit their own ideas of who the suspect is, while ignoring other key aspects (i.e. confirmation bias) (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:377).

Nevertheless, the current researcher acknowledges that determining various personality characteristics from crime scene behaviours is a complex issue, partly due to the nuances of personality features. Furthermore, the psychological concept of 'personality' is riddled with contentious issues and debates, especially when applying westernised concepts to South African offenders. However, the researcher recognises that while modus operandi strategies are known to develop and evolve based on criminal experience and various context factors, literature shows that there is value in identifying and using modus operandi characteristics in behavioural profiling. Specific modus operandi tactics that are valuable to elucidate include approach methods, which are more evident across a series of crimes and less susceptible to debates around the complexity of intra-psychic variables and terms such as the 'personality'.

It has also been established that both stability and versatility are found in sex offenders' offending patterns, and factors such as modus operandi are important to understand the changes of operational and behavioural patterns over time (Hewitt & Beauregard, 2014:73). Specifically, in a study of serial rapists' offending patterns, Hewitt and Beauregard (2014:73) found that there is versatility in the various sexual acts performed on victims during the crimes. They argue that the versatility could be a result of situational variables, such as being distracted or interrupted during the crime event by potential guardians, lacking the required time to perform more sexually intrusive acts or not being prepared for the offence while still taking advantage of the opportunity. Conversely, stability was found in offences in which the acts were more sexually intrusive, such as penetration. Hewitt and Beauregard (2014:74, 76) also found that the level of physical force used by the offender was consistent, which was

supported by similar studies. The researchers concluded that their findings suggest serial sex offending remained relatively consistent, which they deemed important for case linkage or linkage analysis.

Bartol and Bartol (2014:377-375) point out that profiling will be more useful and helpful to investigators when the profile focuses on aspects such as how the victims are chosen, how victims are treated as well as the distance and routes travelled by the offender. The researcher highlights that these aspects have been included in the operational definition and description of modus operandi in the previous chapter. Overall, the usefulness of crime scene profiling is critical and cannot be "relegated to the entertainment media and questionable applications by law enforcement" (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:377). Furthermore, Van Der Watt, Van Graan and Labuschagne (2014:67) indicate in their evaluation of two rape cases that the identification of modus operandi behaviour could serve as a "tipping point" and lead to the identification of a single offender provided local support for linkage analysis. The cases that were associated with the two-rape series in their study were concluded as "undetected" which means that the offenders essentially evaded arrest. In support of the argument for the use and value of linkage analysis, the practicality and applicability of using modus operandi characteristics in case linkage is discussed in the following section.

2.10 USING MODUS OPERANDI IN CASE LINKAGE OF SERIAL RAPE CASES

The increasing awareness that a large proportion of sexual crimes are serial in nature has motivated scientific and behavioural efforts to determine ways to link crimes that are perpetrated by a single offender (Hazelwood & Warren, 2003:588). Case linkage is described as the process undertaken to identify crimes that are likely to have been perpetrated by the same offender and is essentially the analysis of behavioural consistency (Van Der Watt et al., 2014:62). Therefore, case linkage is useful to the field of IP. The reason for this that it tries to ascertain aspects such as: i) behavioural features of a crime which may help identify a perpetrator, ii) inferences about the characteristics of an offender that may identify them and iii) any other crimes that may have been committed by the same person (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:369; Bartol & Bartol, 2017:311). As a technique, case linkage assists investigators to determine if a potential series of crimes are linked. Furthermore, case linkage is based on the

assumption that serial offenders, such as sex offenders, repeat offending patterns over time (Deslauriers-Varin & Beauregard, 2014:253).

Cases that involve serial sex offenders are highly solvable when the offender's patterns and rituals, as evidenced by modus operandi, are identified and linked in a series (Oliva, 2013:33). Rape as a crime often has a substantial amount of behavioural evidence in the offenders' crime scene behaviour. Therefore, the value of linking cases of serial stranger rape using behavioural information should not be underestimated (Van der Watt et al., 2014:61, 63). The inability of investigators to link crimes of a serial nature (because of being prevented from seeing crimes outside of jurisdictional responsibility) is referred to as linkage blindness (Labuschagne, 2012:199; Salfati, 2015:146).

Unfortunately, the SAPS have been accused of case linkage blindness, especially in child rape cases (Van der Watt et al., 2014:61). The various difficulties experienced by the SAPS in linking cases include the heavy workload placed on investigators, the backlog of forensic analysis and challenges within the criminal justice system. Moreover, the difficulties experienced by the SAPS ultimately limits the communication between various law enforcement officials (Salfati, 2015:146; Van der Watt et al., 2014:61). Considering the backlog of processing physical evidence, other factors, such as profile and modus operandi information, are essential to narrow down the suspect list of potential serial offences.

2.10.1 THE VALUE OF MODUS OPERANDI CHARACTERISTICS IN CASE LINKAGE

Modus operandi, fantasy and signature are crucial elements of behavioural analysis as they interact during crimes such as rape, and are essential to case linkage (Van der Watt et al., 2014:62). Case linkage is practical in the absence of physical evidence and it is recognised as an investigative tool in courts (Van der Watt et al., 2014:63). Testimony has occurred about certain crime scene characteristics that have proved to be vital in linking crimes (Keppel & Birnes, 2009:6). Behavioural profiling is an additional investigative tool, often necessary in the absence of eyewitness information, physical evidence and/or a confession (Hewitt & Beauregard, 2014:58). Most often authorities are concerned with a possible escalation of crime and therefore, offending patterns, that are evident in aspects such as modus operandi, are crucial to assist

police with their investigations. For example, some sexual offenders appear to hunt for specific victims; therefore, victim stability regarding age is sometimes indicative of a serial offender (Hewitt & Beauregard, 2014:58). The escalation of sexual offenders' offences can be exhibited in how many may begin their crimes by committing crimes with little or no contact and then progressing to more contact crimes (Oliva, 2013:3).

Furthermore, using modus operandi characteristics in order to link a series of serial sex offences is valuable because serial sex crimes may often present with an escalation of offences, with significant changes in modus operandi, sometimes within weeks (Keppel & Birnes, 2009:5). Through the successful completion of crimes, the sex offender will gain experience and over time may escalate their offences using more physical contact and violence, thus posing an increased risk for victims. When sex offenders begin to equate their fantasies with violence they may progress to more serious offences in a brief period of time, posing a severe risk to victims (Oliva, 2013:4, 5). With the above in mind, it is clear that it would be in law enforcement's best interest to identify any possible escalation of offences before further, more serious and violent crimes are committed.

The modus operandi of an offender generally serves the purposes of protecting their identity, enabling successful completion of the offence and facilitates escape from the crime scene (Turvey, 2012:335-336, 359). Modus operandi is often dynamic and based on experience, and includes information regarding the type of crime, type of victim, time and place of the offence, any tools used as well as entry and exit actions to and from the scene. It can provide a wealth of information regarding the offender's experience, skill, profession and area of knowledge (Van der Watt et al., 2014:64). Furthermore, modus operandi can be characteristic of knowledge particular to the crime scene, suggesting of surveillance, contact or intimate familiarity (Turvey, 2012:335). The value of modus operandi information in case linkage is also apparent in child rape cases. Linking unsolved cases of child rape using an offender's modus operandi can provide insight into the motivations and inner characteristics of the offender (Van der Watt et al., 2014:64). Evidence of behavioural consistency, which is portrayed in modus operandi, is essential to the profiling process. Profile information can also be used to link offences of a similar nature to a single offender.

2.10.2 THE VALUE OF PROFILE INFORMATION IN CASE LINKAGE OF SERIAL RAPE

Serial rape is distinguished from single-victim rape in numerous ways. Crimes of a serial nature are somewhat sensationalised by the media but are a real and potent criminal force in modern society (Bezuidenhout & Klopper, 2011:233; De Wet et al., 2009:37). A serial rapist is generally considered to be a person who has raped two or more victims, in a minimum of two separate incidents, over an extended period of time (Potgieter & De Wet, 2010:1; Van der Watt et al., 2014:62). Conversely, a single-victim rapist is an individual who has been apprehended for the rape of one victim (Park, Schlesinger, Pinizzotto & Davis, 2008:228). When it comes to victimology, the South African serial rapist differs from international serial rapists in that their victims are mostly young girls (Potgieter & De Wet, 2010:2). Moreover, serial rapists differ from single-victim rapists in that they mostly target strangers as victims (Bezuidenhout & Klopper, 2011:233; Park et al., 2008:228; Van der Watt et al., 2014:63) and as a result often go unidentified.

Serial rape is a particularly difficult crime to detect because many of the offenders evade authorities who are unable to link offences, especially when no or little physical evidence is left behind. Thus, many serial rapists are able to commit crimes for extended periods of time (Bezuidenhout & Klopper, 2011:233). Moreover, stranger serial rape cases are difficult for authorities to solve because of the absence of a connection between the offender and victim. In addition, stranger rape cases are problematic when there is little or no physical evidence left at the scene and pressure arises from the public who are eager for justice (Hewitt & Beauregard, 2014:57). Similar distinctive behaviours and similar geographic locations are indicative of serial rape activity (Van der Watt et al., 2014:61).

In order to detect crimes of a serial nature, specifically rape, investigators need to understand the modus operandi of the offender and in doing so, identify clusters of unique behavioural characteristics that can be linked to a perpetrator (Potgieter & De Wet, 2010:2). Specific modus operandi features that are especially useful in determining whether cases are linked to a single serial offender include the approach and attack locations used by an offender. Literature has shown that serial rapists tend to use the same, or similar, approach and attack locations in modus operandi

(Potgieter & De Wet, 2010:2). Therefore, a discussion of the geographic features of serial rapes is necessary.

2.10.3 SERIAL RAPISTS' APPROACH AND ATTACK LOCATIONS

Approach methods are considered important variables of modus operandi strategies used by serial rapists (Hewitt & Beauregard, 2014:63). There are three common types of approach methods used by rapists (Oliva, 2013:74-75; Hewitt & Beauregard, 2014:63):

i) The con approach is shown when an offender approaches a victim using some type of ruse in order to gain their trust or let the victim's guard down. Typically, the offender will engage in forms of manipulation, trickery or deception. The offender will confidently and openly approach the victim with the purpose to gain access and control of them. The offender will be friendly and charming initially, asking for help or some sort of assistance. Once the offender believes that the victim is in a position to be overpowered with little resistance they will attack.

ii) The blitz approach entails the offender using immediate and direct physical force to attack or to pacify the victim. The victim may be gagged, blindfolded or bound, without any time to respond to the blitz. The offender will rely on their physical strength to overpower and injure the victim, which renders the victim unable to resist or fight of the attack.

iii) The surprise approach is used when an offender hides out, waiting for their victim in some secluded or hidden area. The offender will make use of either a weapon or threats in order to subdue, control and/or scare the victim, thus the offender does not physically injure the victim. The offender who surprises their victim may lack the physical strength or confidence to approach individuals in other ways.

In a sample of cases from the FBI's Behavioural Science Unit, Park et al. (2008:228, 233) found that serial offenders most commonly use the surprise attack. In a review of serial sex offender studies ranging from Finland, Canada, the UK and the USA, Woodhams and Labuschagne (2012:548-549) found that a con or confidence approach was common across the offence behaviours of serial sex offenders.

Woodhams and Labuschagne (2012:560) explain that there are various ways in which a victim can be "duped" by an offender. In a study of South African serial rapists, the authors expand upon the con approach, identifying six different types of con-approaches. The different types of con-approaches identified are as follows (Woodhams & Labuschagne, 2012:555):

- Con-engages: which entails an offender using the con approach whereby the victim is engaged in some sort of conversation;
- Con-employ: details the scenarios in which an offender tells the victim that he will help him/her gain employment;
- Con-offers help: the offender uses the con approach whereby he offers assistance or help to the victim;
- Con-need help: in this type of con approach the offender will pretend to need assistance or help;
- Con-authority: the offender uses the con approach whereby he pretends to be an authority figure;
- Con-bribe: in this con type approach the victim is bribed, in some way, to follow the offender.

The researchers further go on to describe the extended con approach as one in which an offender will extend the con or ruse used over an extended period, for example many hours or days (Woodhams & Labuschagne, 2012:555).

In addition to the awareness of a common approach method used by serial offenders, knowing the sites and locations used by serial rapists is highly beneficial to police investigations. Serial rapists repeatedly use the same geographic space to approach and/or attack their victims (Potgieter & De Wet, 2010:9). Hence, serial offenders tend to pattern themselves geographically (Deslauriers-Varin & Beauregard, 2013:124). The choice of geographic location for criminal offending is dependent on spatial knowledge, time, distance and type of area. As such, a perpetrator will feel more secure in an area of familiarity and will determine their decision-making processes. An offender will choose an area as a result of their awareness of being undetected and lack of potential guardianship (Potgieter & De Wet, 2010:9, 11). Therefore, offenders often carefully consider the site selection (Deslauriers-Varin & Beauregard, 2013:124).

The value of consistent attack locations used by serial rapists not only indicates an area of familiarity but also has valuable implications for pro-active policing (Potgieter & De Wet, 2010:9, 11). Moreover, crime sites may change during the progression of a series of offences, which is helpful crime intelligence in case linkage and behavioural profiling efforts (Deslauriers-Varin & Beauregard, 2013:124). Evidence is subsequently provided which supports geographic consistency in the modus operandi of sex offenders.

Firstly, a study in Quebec, Canada, which investigated the consistency of serial sex offenders' use of crime sites, revealed that the most prevalent encounter site for sex offenders was the neighbourhood area, specifically a residential, outside area that is familiar to both the victim and offender. The second most prevalent encounter area was a commercial area, such as a shopping centre, in a public space, that both the victim and offender were familiar with. The victim's home as an encounter area was used by 32% of offenders, thus the chosen area was private, residential, inside and familiar to only the victim (Deslauriers-Varin & Beauregard, 2013:127). Overall, the study concluded that serial sex offenders operate over limited environments with limited diversity of sites and locations. The perpetrators select sites familiar to themselves and their victims, as well as areas that attract criminal opportunity and have a large pool of potential victims.

In addition to the above findings, there was more diversity between sites during the perpetrators' first three offences; thereafter a more consistent pattern of approach and attack sites was found. Hence, serial sex offenders may begin their series by experimenting with which location or area works for them, then based on previous success, will behave more consistently regarding crime site choices later in their series. Finally, public sites were more prevalent among offenders' first three offences; whereas the subsequent offences in their series occurred in neighbourhood type locations. The results may allow investigators to determine how advanced the potential suspect is in their criminal career and therefore, could focus on suspects with a more (or less) extensive criminal record (Deslauriers-Varin & Beauregard, 2013:130-131).

Secondly, a New Zealand based study examined the spatial characteristics of serial sexual assault, specifically looking at spatial behaviours such as the journey to the crime, criminal range and the spatial pattern. The study found that, in line with other

international results, sexual offenders do not travel far (within three kilometres) from their base or home location and, thus, exhibit identifiable criminal ranges. Ultimately interrelated aspects such as offender background and target selection influence the spatial behaviour of sexual offenders (Lundrigan & Czarnomski, 2006:218, 226, 229).

Moreover, the spatial behaviour is often related to the non-criminal routine activities of the offender. Consistency of geographic and spatial behaviour was evident in the results, showing a restricted mobility of sexual offenders. The authors of the New Zealand study concluded that, in line with other literature, the consistent ranges of criminal offending are indicative of an offender's knowledge and experience of the environment (Lundrigan & Czarnomski, 2006:218, 226, 229).

Thirdly, a Turkish based study corroborates the evidence that many sex offenders do not travel far from their home. The results of the study showed that 31% of crime scenes linked to sexual offences were between two and five kilometres from the offender's home (Tulu & Erden, 2013:6). The research evidence presented above suggests that knowledge of criminal spatial patterns and general travel distances will be valuable to investigators' efforts in apprehending potential suspects. In addition to identifying similar approach and attack locations of serial offenders, the methods of attack used by sex offenders can also offer insight to investigators during a case linkage process.

2.10.4 SERIAL SEXUAL OFFENDERS' METHOD OF HUNTING AND ATTACK

It appears that each crime location implies something about the offender, for example how the offender searches for, and attacks, their victim. Crime locations can also provide clues as to the mobility of the perpetrator. Sexual offenders 'hunt' for humans, similarly to how animals hunt for their prey. Therefore, sexual offenders exhibit various search and attack methods (Rebocho & Silva, 2014:44). Rossmo (2000) developed a typology or hunting pattern that is employed by offenders who have to firstly, search for a suitable target, and secondly, determine an appropriate method of attack. The typology defines offenders according to four different victim search methods which includes i) *hunters* who set out from their home base searching for victims in their "awareness of space", thus mostly remaining in their city of residence. ii) *Poachers* will set out and commute away from their home location in order to search for targets outside of their residential city. iii) *Trollers* are opportunistic offenders who encounter

their victims during their routine activities. Finally, iv) t*rappers* are offenders who have an occupation or position where potential victims encounter them. These offenders may also entice victims into their home or other location that they have some control over.

The victim attack methods are additionally given by Rossmo (2000) and include: i) the *raptor*, ii) the *stalker* or iii) the *ambusher*. The *raptor* will usually attack their victims immediately after the initial encounter, whereas the *stalker* will follow their potential victim, moving into their activity space and attack when the opportunity arises. Finally, the *ambusher* will mostly attack victims who they have brought into a space in which they have control over, such as their own residence.

Furthermore, various cognitive scripts have been identified that account for behavioural and geographic aspects of crimes, which are useful for identifying types of offenders. For example, the coercive script applies to offenders who engage in home intrusions or outdoor rape while the manipulative script accounts for offenders that are sophisticated and infiltrate families to search for victims (Beauregard, Proulx, Rossmo, Leclerc & Allaire, 2007:1069). The different methods as described by Rossmo (2000:139-140) are useful to explain how offenders set out from their homes or entice victims to locations to carry out attacks, searching in areas of awareness that contain suitable targets. Typical approaches used against children include seduction and/or persuasion, using money or gifts or the use of games (Rebocho & Silva, 2014:46).

It is not clear whether South African offenders, specifically sex offenders, exhibit similarities of the hunting and attack methods. The scant research of this ilk is however important to embark on. Notwithstanding the above, limited research conducted on serial rapists in South Africa has uncovered key modus operandi tactics. The following sections outlines specific modus operandi characteristics identified in local research and forms the foundation on which the current study is based.

2.10.5 THE MODUS OPERANDI OF SOUTH AFRICAN SERIAL RAPISTS

It must be borne in mind that differences will exist between aspects of South African samples of serial sex offenders to that which has been presented in the existing studies of the phenomena. The modus operandi of the male serial rapist is briefly

presented below, extracted from a doctoral study exploring male serial rape in South Africa by De Wet (2008). De Wet used a sample of nine reported and convicted offenders who raped a total of 75 victims across the accumulated series (De Wet, 2008:52).

De Wet's study found that the majority of the offenders approached their victims, women and children, while they were walking alone on a road. Additionally, 85% of perpetrators approached their victims at one location and committed the rape at a separate location. The majority of the perpetrators (69%) approached victims at an outside, pre-determined location (De Wet et al., 2010:40). Commonly, perpetrators used the same location across their series to attack victims. Furthermore, it was indicated that the offenders targeted victims when they perceived the location and circumstance to be appropriate, and therefore considered the vulnerability of the target. Generally, the serial rape offences were committed in open spaces.

In addition, the most common type of approach used to target the victim, was the blitz approach (43%) followed by the con approach (37%). The approach location was most commonly somewhere where the victim was walking alone (34%) followed by open areas where the victim was walking with friends (22%). Examples of common approach locations included taxi ranks, bus stops, victims' homes, shopping centres and places of work. Most often, the perpetrators walked to the various locations while 25% used public transport. Very few of the offenders used their own vehicle but when a vehicle was used, it was done so consistently (De Wet et al., 2010:40). The consistent use of a vehicle is a valuable aspect for investigations.

In most of the cases, the method of control was verbal communication or the use of a weapon. Physical violence was indicated in 21% of the cases and was mostly associated to instrumental needs to gain compliance from the victim. Very few victims were violently attacked through expressive aggression aimed at causing harm beyond what was needed to ensure compliance (De Wet, 2008:182). Furthermore, the serial rapists were consistent in their preference of time of day. In general, the offenders failed to take precautionary measures such as covering their face and did not attempt to hide or remove evidence. In addition, many of the offenders returned to the same location for further offences, possibly an indication of the sense of impunity and lack of concern regarding law enforcement and possible detection (De Wet, 2008:182-183).

Most of the perpetrators engaged in vaginal penile penetration only and few of the offenders performed and forced multiple sexual acts during the offence (De Wet, 2008:182-183). The above profile information was gleaned from a relatively small sample of cases and included both adult and child victims (De Wet, 2008:176), however, it provides a platform from which to compare offenders who target only children.

In another study of South African serial rapists, Woodhams and Labuschagne (2012:551-561) sampled 119 sexual offences, committed by 22 serial rapists, against 123 victims. Most of the sample targeted stranger victims, but five of the offenders raped strangers as well as victims known to them, exhibiting a crossover in terms of victim-offender relationship. Out of the sample, three offenders consistently assaulted child victims (who were classified as children if they were younger than the age of 16 years). Most of the victims in the total victim pool were approached during daylight hours, in public locations and assaulted on weekdays. The results show that 72% of the victims were walking alone, when approached. Additionally, 28% of the offenders used a surprise approach, whereby the victim was commonly controlled by, for example, being grabbed from behind.

The researchers highlighted various con type approaches that were used in the majority of the offences. In particular, regarding the female victims, five incidents entailed the offender engaging the victim in conversation, 57 incidents entailed the offender engaging the victim under false employment opportunities and 3 offences entailed the offender pretending to assist or offer help to the victim (Woodhams & Labuschagne, 2012:560). Regarding the male victims, the con type approaches included eleven incidents in which the offender pretended to need help from the victim. In three of the cases the offender pretended to be an authority figure, while in four incidents the offender offered a bribe in order for the victim to accompany him.

Concerning the child victims, the bribe con approach, request for help and authority approach were exclusively used. Woodhams and Labuschagne (2012:566) state that for various cultural reasons, there are particular types of approaches that are successful when targeting Black/African children. One of the cultural factors at play is that young Black/African children are often taught that it is rude to point an adult in the

direction when they ask for directions, but rather the child must show them and accompany them to the location.

Regarding the choice of locations, most of the victims (83%) were approached in public locations, for example in the street. Likewise, most (79%) were assaulted in public locations such as open fields. A smaller portion of the victims was assaulted in private locations, while 6% were assaulted in a vehicle (Woodhams & Labuschagne, 2012:561). Regarding the sexual offence itself, in 14 of the cases, which were spread across various series, the victim was provided something to lie on (e.g. a cardboard box). There were three common methods found with regards to the removal of the victim's clothes. In over half of the incidents (57%) the offender demanded that the victim remove their own clothing, while in 54% of the incidents the offender removed the victims' clothes himself (sometimes in response to the first demand for the victim to undress, failing). In 88% of the cases, penile vaginal penetration was used, while the minority of the incidents entailed penile anal penetration (which was mostly clustered within two series). The penile anal penetration was seen in over half of the male victims. Pseudo-intimacy behaviours were not common.

Behaviours such as kissing the victim was found in ten offences while holding the victim's hand or cuddling the victim occurred in three incidents. It was also found that 19% of offenders engaged in multiple rape acts (raping their victim to the point of ejaculation and subsequently raping them again). Similar to De Wet's study (2008), it was uncommon for offenders to make use of precautionary behaviours, such as the use of a condom, that would protect or conceal their identity. Overall the sexual offence behaviour of the 22 offenders within the sample entailed a relatively short series of offending, whereas one series spanned over a period of ten years.

The use of a vehicle to commit serial rapes is not as common across South African samples as compared to international cases (Woodhams & Labuschagne, 2012:566). Another comparison made to international modus operandi behaviour is the use of violence and aggression, whether instrumental or expressive. It appears that violence is exhibited more often in South African cases. The authors explain the patriarchal views as well as the culture of violence prevalent within South African society portray that men can and should dominate women, whether physically or through sexual relationships.

Regarding physical violence and aggression, the offender sample commonly used either firearms or knives when displaying weapons to their victims. The threats of death or physical harm were also common with the South African sample, which occurred in most of the offences (Woodhams & Labuschagne, 2012:563, 567). The authors state that the threatening behaviour may be resultant of the broader cultural practices in South Africa in which men have been shown to coerce and encourage women into sexual acts through the use of threats and verbal coercion. Ultimately, the two studies presented above indicate that while some similarities between international and South African serial sex offenders do exist, there are differences, which may be explained, in part, by the unique socio-cultural backdrop of South Africa.

2.11 CONCLUSION

This chapter provided a discussion regarding rape and serial rape as a form of sexual violence. Some motivations of rape were described in order to orientate the reader with the current knowledge on rape perpetration. In addition, a discussion of a few profile characteristics of sex offenders in general as well as sex offenders who specifically target children was provided. Thereafter, some relevant offender profile typologies, derived from literature, were explained. The available literature regarding child offender patterns was also covered in this chapter. The process of grooming and its relevance to serial child rape was also described.

Furthermore, the area of speciality, specifically Investigative Psychology and behavioural profiling was also delineated. The applicability, use and value of behavioural profiling was outlined, specifically within the local context. Furthermore, the use of case linkage, as part of behavioural profiling, as well as modus operandi variables and the value and use thereof was outlined. Finally, limited evidence pertaining to research on South African serial rapists concluded the chapter. The following chapter details the theoretical framework, which guided the current study.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The following chapter will provide an overview of some purposefully selected theories applicable to the serial rape of children. The theories described below cover the nature of the setting and opportunities related to the crime; the opportunities are associated with everyday movement and activities. The current research study has not included interviews with offenders, therefore the chapter does not cover theories that are applicable to the specific motivations and psychological variables. However, some psychological motivations were provided in the literature review, for the purpose of overall insight. The general deviant motivations are not investigated and therefore not theorised. Thus, in the absence of theorised explanations of deviant motivations, it is hypothesised that the immediate environment plays an important role in precipitating child sexual abuse and rape (Wortley, 2008:61). The contextual and environmental aspects, as detailed by the theories below, are therefore essential to explain the process of target selection in serial child rape.

The rational choice theory or approach, routine activities theory and crime pattern theory provide a greater understanding into the process of victim and target selection employed by sexual offenders (Rebocho & Silva, 2014:43). Ultimately, criminal behaviour, especially that which is psychologically motivated and sexualised, cannot be narrowed down to a single explanation. Therefore, various theories can be used to develop a framework of understanding.

Woodhams and Labuschagne (2012:546) highlight that many studies on sexual offending have been criticised for their exclusive focus on psychological variables and internal processes when explaining offender behaviour. Despite the many psychological and biological explanations provided within literature, the following theories are significant and applicable to environmental aspects from a Criminological perspective. Hence, the theories selected account for the contexts in which the sexual crimes are committed. Furthermore, the theories are useful in explaining crimes of a serial nature and are thus considered valuable to provide some understanding of the repetitive nature of serial child rape.

It is argued that using theories, or approaches, that are founded within Environmental Criminology, aspects of situational crimes can be explained. It is important to clarify

specific modus operandi variables which are dependent on situational factors when attempting to delineate the behavioural profile of serial child rapists. Therefore, it is essential to understand the environment and situational variables that are explained in specific theoretical frameworks. Some authors argue for situational factors, such as victim reaction, situational context and the environment, to be considered, highlighting their importance in influencing behaviour typically displayed by sex offenders (Beauregard et al., 2007:265, 267; Woodhams & Labuschagne, 2012:546).

Environmental Criminology was born from the endeavours to study crime within Spatial Criminology (Andresen, Brantingham & Kinney, 2010:1) and refers to an umbrella term which encompasses various theories which focus on the investigation of crime as a temporal component (Andresen, 2010:7). The rational choice theory and the routine activities theory are considered useful and relevant by Environmental Criminology theorists (Woodhams & Labuschagne, 2012:546). The following section provides a brief overview of the selected theories and outlines their applicability to serial rape. Overall, the theories are appropriate to explain serial rape, and more specifically serial child rape, because the explanations of environmental factors are suitable and valuable, especially when the unique psychological variables of the offenders are not evaluated.

3.2 THE RATIONAL CHOICE APPROACH

The rational choice approach, developed by Cesare Beccaria, is rooted in the Classical School of Criminology (Siegel, 2004:107). The classical school of Criminology highlights that humans are rational beings and have the ability to make choices regarding their actions (Van der Westhuizen, 2011:127). However, in its modern use, the rational choice theory is a perspective, which criminologists revised from economists' explanations of a variety of decision-making processes regarding behaviour (Tibbets & Hemmens, 2010:101). The modern use of the rational choice theory combines criminal decision-making evidence from various fields including Cognitive Psychology, Environmental Criminology and Sociology of Deviance (Van der Westhuizen, 2011: 127).

The view that crime is a rational choice is common amongst many Criminology scholars who believe that the decision to violate the law is made for various personal reasons including greed, need, anger, lust, thrill-seeking, vanity revenge or

longstanding psychopathologies (Cornish & Clarke, 2008:22; Siegel, 2004:107). Furthermore, the offender considers whether to commit the offence through a process of rational decision-making (Snook, Luther & MacDonald, 2015:93). It is important to note that the rationality of an offender's behaviour implies reasonableness from the offender's point of view and thus, not the average person's point of view (Andresen, 2012:23).

Cornish and Clarke's research, *The Reasoning Criminal: Rational Choice Perspectives on Offending,* published in 1986*,* was a vital work that brought the theory into the forefront of criminological research (Tibbets & Hemmens, 2010:101). Following this work, many criminological studies, in the late 1980's and mid 1990's, were based on the rational choice perspective. The rational choice perspective (or approach) offers a way to explain criminal occurrences by accounting for the influence of the environment on behaviour. Cornish and Clarke (2008:24) explain that the environment refers to both the environment of everyday life, including lifestyle, needs and motives, as well as the environment of instrumental action in order to achieve certain goals. The conceptualisation of the rational choice perspective consists of six core concepts (Cornish & Clarke, 2008:24):

- Criminal behaviour is rational;
- Criminal behaviour is purposive;
- The decision-making of criminals is crime-specific;
- The choices made by criminals entail 'involvement' and the 'event';
- There are distinct stages of criminal involvement; and,
- Criminal events unfold in a sequence of decisions and stages.

According to the intellectuals of this approach, law-violating behaviour occurs when an offender considers both personal and situational factors. The offender evaluates the risk of apprehension and the potential value of the criminal act. If the immediate need outweighs the potential costs or risks, the offender will be motivated to commit the crime (Siegel, 2004:109). Moreover, many of the studies conducted in the late 1980's and mid 1990's revealed that official and formal sanctions have a limited effect on individuals' decisions to commit crime. Instead, it was found that informal sanctions and extra-legal factors were more significant in the decision-making process (Siegel, 2004:123; Tibbets & Hemmens, 2010:102). For example, in the decision-making

process, the possibility of experiencing shame or a loss of self-esteem was found to be more significant than the possibility of apprehension. Informal sanctions generally refer to reactions such as disapproval, stigma, anger or indignation from significant others including parents or peers. Additionally, the influence of peers carried a lot of weight in determining an individual's perception of the actual "pros" and "cons" related to a crime (Siegel, 2004:123).

More recently, it is argued that the perceived social disapproval of others in one's environment is likely to impact on the decision-making process, where social disapproval will reduce the likelihood of offending, similarly to the concept of informal sanctions (Siegel, 2004:123; Tibbets & Hemmens, 2010:102). Evidence shows that the weight of self-sanctions, such as personal shame or embarrassment, as well as the perceived response from family and friends, such as public humiliation, are important factors in decisions regarding criminal activity and behaviour (Siegel, 2004: 124; Tibbets & Hemmens, 2010:102). Personal shame and public humiliation are considered strong deterrents of crime. However, the effect of the informal deterrents will depend on aspects such as community cohesiveness and the type of crime being considered (Siegel, 2004:124).

The rational choice approach structures crime according to the i) type of crime, ii) the time and place of crime as well as iii) the target (Siegel, 2004:111-112). Furthermore, within this perspective there are four primary choices that a potential offender makes: i) whether or not to commit the crime, ii) whether or not to select a specific target, iii) how frequently to offend and iv) whether or not to stop offending (Andresen, 2010:24). The rational choice perspective recognises the influence of the wider environment on behaviour (Cornish & Clarke, 2008:24). In addition to inner drives and motivations, offenders are motivated to commit an offence based on their situational and/or environmental knowledge.

The theory acknowledges that an offender can decide to commit a crime due to a number of psychological, biological, social and economic factors which ultimately influence the overall decision-making process. With regards to determining a particular target, the offender interprets specific environmental cues such as the risk of being caught and the presence of potential guardians. The choice of how to commit a specific

offence will depend on factors such as the offender's ability to avoid detection and peer influences.

Within criminological research, an important theme in decision-making is that the expected benefits, such as the pleasure one receives from offending, are also significant factors in the decision-making process (Tibbets & Hemmens, 2010:102). It is important to consider that each specific crime has multiple sets of various rational choices that an offender must make for that particular crime. For example, the choices that a potential burglar must make when deciding which house to target will be different from that of a potential sex offender who will make decisions regarding potential victims and the environment in which to offend (Andresen, 2010:24).

Rational choice theorists view crime as both offence-specific and offender-specific, therefore certain offenders react in a specific way to characteristics of particular offences. Offence-specific crime refers to the offender's reaction to certain characteristics of an offence. For example, a potential sex offender will evaluate the availability of potential victims, the likelihood of being caught, as well as the vulnerability and guardianship of the victim. Offender-specific crime entails that the offender does not act automatically but rather engages in a unique decision-making process determining the specific prerequisites for a crime, such as need, skill, motives and fears. The offender may be deterred from committing a crime when they perceive that they can reach their desired goal through legitimate means, however if the legitimate means are not easily available then the individual will likely offend (Siegel, 2004:109).

3.2.1 APPLICATION OF THE RATIONAL CHOICE APPROACH TO SERIAL RAPE

Criminals are decision makers and act consistently based on knowledge and experience. Therefore, they determine the best time and place for a criminal act to occur and thus exhibit rationality. In particular, serial rapists have shown rationality in their choice of targets (Deslauriers-Varin & Beauregard, 2014:253). In general, rapists do not commit crime randomly, but show rationality by, for example, travelling away from their home base and, for the most part, taking care to avoid detection (Siegel, 2004:115). Researchers have hypothesised that serial sex offenders whose offence sites are in close proximity to their residence exhibit rationality (Siegel, 2004:115). They argue that the short distance between the offenders' home base and their crime

sites reflects the offenders' rational attempt to maximise the benefits through the least amount of effort for a great reward principle (Lundrigan & Czarnomski, 2006:220). The choice of target and crime site by serial sex offenders also reveals an evaluation of previous successful acts, further reflecting a rational selection of targets and locations (Deslauriers-Varin & Beauregard, 2013:124).

It has been evidenced that older, more experienced rapists will travel further out from their homes, or areas of awareness, while younger rapists, with less experience, will travel smaller distances. The less experienced rapists are therefore at a higher risk for detection (Siegel, 2004:115). Consequently, criminals develop crime scripts accounting for the systematic procedures that must be undertaken to commit a crime successfully (Cornish & Clarke, 2008:31). Therefore, the approach attempts to understand why a crime occurred at a particular place and time and involved specific people (Andresen, 2010:25). The systematic procedures that are used by potential offenders must include, and account for, situational variables before the criminal act.

Some of the situational variables that are accounted for by sexual offenders are highlighted by Leclerc, Proulx and Beauregard (2009:6). These authors insist that sexual offenders have to make a series of decisions before sexually assaulting a child. For example, evidence shows that before the offence, the offender selects their 'hunting grounds', such as the victim encounter sites and the time during which he will offend. Subsequently, decisions are made regarding the victim and their erotic value such as their age, gender and physical characteristics. Furthermore, the victim's vulnerability is assessed according to the offender's familiarity and knowledge. Decisions are also made regarding how the offender will approach their targeted victim and what type of strategy they will use in order to engage in the sexual activity.

Situational variables will also influence the offender's decision-making regarding which strategies to adopt during the commission of the act. For example, evidence shows that offenders who travel further away from their residence, or home base, tend to use more violence during their crimes (Leclerc et al., 2009:6). It is suggested that the increased use of violence is a result of the offenders rationalising that they are at a higher risk of apprehension and therefore need to exhibit more control during the offence. Other situational variables, such as victim resistance, have also been found to influence the decisions that sexual offenders make regarding their crime strategies.

The dynamic nature of crime could be evidence of the improved decision-making process undertaken by offenders who learn through experience to modify their strategies (Leclerc et al., 2009:6).

3.2.2 EVALUATION OF THE RATIONAL CHOICE APPROACH

The main premise of the theory is that law-violating behaviour will occur after offenders weigh up the information regarding personal needs and various situational factors that play a role in the commission of an offence (Siegel, 2004:130). There is evidence to support that offenders, specifically serial rapists, show rationality in the choice of the time, place and target of their crimes (Siegel, 2004:112, 115). Furthermore, it is evident that offenders make numerous decisions before, during and after their criminal acts (Snook et al., 2015:93). Small inter-crime distances suggest that offenders are consistent in their calculations of the various costs and benefits that is applicable to choosing their crime locations, which are not only close together, but also close to their home location (Snook et al., 2015:93).

Conversely, it has been argued that the rational choice approach is an impractical standard to assess human judgment and rationality. According to the approach, an offender would have to search for infinite amounts of information regarding various decision options, have knowledge of all relevant and applicable aspects and factors for each option, then weigh up all the information and finally, engage in calculations that represent the best choice at any given time (Snook et al., 2015:95). It has also been argued that decision-making, and judgment is constrained by processing limitations of the human mind.

Thus, humans have evolved to using simple strategies (i.e. heuristics) that can process and handle the complex information. The heuristics approach postulates that the human mind is equipped with simple mental tools that are fast and frugal in order to allow people to make decisions. However, sometimes information is processed too quickly and too frugally, involving limited calculations and ignoring some available information (Snook et al., 2015:95). Hence, it is not possible for an offender to account for all the available information in their evaluation of the risks and benefits of a crime.

3.3 ROUTINE ACTIVITIES THEORY

The routine activities theory, developed by Cohen and Felson in 1979, emphasises that routine activities are an essential part of human life. The theory is an additional contemporary form of the Classical School framework because it assumes a rational decision-making offender (Tibbets & Hemmens, 2010:106). Thus, the two theories, namely the rational choice theory and the routine activities theory, fit well together (Siegel, 2004:112).

The routine activities theory postulates that the distribution and volume of predatory crimes occurs because of routine activities that take place outside of the home. As routines change, so do the numerous opportunities for offenders to commit crime. Generally routine activities are the activities that are undertaken by people every day, such as going to school, going to work or taking part in various recreational events. Routine activities involve the coordination of multiple people moving through space and time (Andresen, 2010:15).

The presence of three components, according to the theory, come together in time and place to create the likelihood of crime and victimisation (Tibbets & Hemmens, 2010:103). The three variables, which are present at any point and any time a crime occurs, are (McLaughlin, 2007:252-253; Tibbets & Hemmens, 2010:103-104): i) the motivated offender, which is assumed using the rational choice theory, ii) the suitable target, which entails four factors namely: *value*, *visibility*, *accessibility* and *inertia*.

The *value* is the emphasised symbolic desirability or financial value of the target, which is calculated from the offender's perspective. The *visibility* refers to the possible risk of being observed during the act. The *accessibility* refers to the ease with which the criminal can access and leave the target without being noticed. *Inertia* refers to the physical aspects of the target that may hinder its suitability.

The third variable, iii) the absence of a capable guardian implicates the guardianship around the target and refers to how well the target is protected. People or technology can offer guardianship; generally, a guardian against crime is anyone whose presence or proximity discourages crime (Felson, 2008:71). The motivated, rational offender accounts for all of the above variables.

Cohen and Felson argue that a change in routine activities may explain the changes in crime rate trends as people change their activities across time and space (Andresen, 2010:15). Thus, adjustments in activities to maintain oneself, such as, change in the places an individual goes to, how often they go to those places and with whom they go, will change the ways in which individuals can be victimised or victimise someone else. Locations that have a high convergence of motivated offenders, suitable targets and a lack of guardianship can be referred to as crime hot spots where, the theory predicts, criminal activity will likely occur (Tibbets & Hemmens, 2010:105). Therefore, individuals who reside in, or near, the hot spots are at an increased risk of victimisation (Siegel, 2004:93).

3.3.1 APPLICATION OF THE ROUTINE ACTIVITIES THEORY TO SERIAL RAPE

The types of crimes that the routine activities theory attempt to explain are those which are referred to as direct-contact predatory violations (Andresen, 2010:15). The violations, therefore, involve at least one motivated offender, one suitable target (either a person or property) and the absence of a capable guardian. The theory was broadened to aid in the explanation of crimes such as serial murders and sexual abusive behaviour (Felson, 2008:73).

The idea behind the theory, in its application to serial child rape, is that in the absence of effective controls, such as diligent parents or guardians, offenders will prey upon vulnerable and attractive targets (Roelofse, 2011:354-355). The exploitation of absent guardianship is acknowledged within the sexual grooming process whereby the child sex offender will likely target vulnerable children who are poorly supervised, oftentimes as a result of unfortunate family circumstances (e.g. a single-parent household). Research has shown that children are susceptible to grooming behaviour when they belong to families whereby the capable guardian is either relaxed or non-existent. The relaxed guardianship then increases the opportunities for the offender to groom the victim (Williams, 2015:38).

The likelihood that a predatory crime, such as rape, will take place is increased when the three variables of the theory are present at any given time and place (Siegel, 2004:92). The motivated offender evaluates the potential target. Accordingly, the symbolic value will refer to the potential sexual attraction and possible gratification or the psychological value of dominance. The visibility and accessibility of children and

vulnerable victims is evident across numerous locations in South Africa. Potential sex offenders do not have to search far for vulnerable and suitable targets. Just as game hunters or poachers will find the best location, choose the right weather conditions and wait for the perfect shot, sex offenders employ similar tactics (Rufo, 2012:9). The evidence that criminals, specifically serial sex offenders, offend over limited environments indicates that they choose specific areas that are familiar to them, most likely because of their daily non-criminal routine activities (Deslauriers-Varin & Beauregard, 2014:254; Lundrigan & Czarnomski, 2006:218). Therefore, crime site selections of serial sex offenders are a reflection of their own knowledge gained from their routine activities (Deslauriers-Varin & Beauregard, 2013:124). The crime scripts that are developed by a rational offender also account for aspects such as location in the process of committing a criminal act (Cornish & Clarke, 2008:31).

In support of the theory's applicability to serial rape, a study in New Zealand on serial sex offending found a narrow spatial corridor of offending and substantiated that offenders do not travel far from their home base to commit their crimes. The authors of the New Zealand study concluded that the narrow corridor of offending could possibly reflect the routine activities of the offender, which are relatively fixed. Furthermore, the researchers insisted that consistent ranges of offending could be indicative of an understanding and experience of an environment (Lundrigan & Czarnomski, 2006:224-229).

The routine activities theory can also be applied to the sexual grooming process as described by Craven et al. (2006:291-293) which accounts for the environment in which the victim is targeted. Offenders will often target specific families who they meet during their routine activities such as in shopping centres, in playgrounds or other local settings (Williams, 2015:35). From the aforementioned, it becomes evident that the influence of the environment on criminal offending cannot be underestimated.

3.3.2 EVALUATION OF THE ROUTINE ACTIVITIES THEORY

In order to explain the occurrence of a criminal event within a time and place, emphasis is placed on the interaction between situational variables and the motivated offender. Despite the difficulties in working the theory, the routine activities approach is one of the most cited criminological theories in contemporary research (Felson, 2008:72). The main principle behind the theory is that crime is a function of motivated offenders,

the availability of suitable targets and the absence of capable guardians. The three variables present together at a specific time and place (Siegel, 2004:130).

It is important to note the linkages and applicability of the approach to other approaches or theories. As the routine activities approach implies the journey to crime, the journey to victimisation and a decisional offender, it does not explain the processes involved in these aspects, but merely assumes them. Thus, it is vital to link to routine activities approach with other relevant theories and perspectives within Environmental Criminology (Felson, 2008:73). The routine activities approach merges with the rational choice perspective in that both of the theories postulate that crime is a normal outcome and product of criminal opportunity. Furthermore, both of the theories highlight the importance and significance of target and victim attractiveness, as well as guardianship, and they both emphasise the physical environment and the offender's inner perspectives. In addition, the theories both account for the criminal opportunity inherent in crimes, which is ultimately a key factor in the criminal process (Siegel, 2004:112).

The routine activities approach is sometimes misunderstood or trivialised. Nonetheless, the original premise and idea behind the theory is that crime is linked to a wide range and scope of legal activities, thus crime can be interpreted in the broad ecology of everyday life, thus, the basis for the theory (Felson, 2008:70). The theory of human ecology, developed by Amos Hawley in 1950, must be recognised for its influence on the approach. Felson (2008:70-71) argues that many researchers, who cite the theory, fail to acknowledge the application and relevance of the general ecology theory. The awareness of the broader contexts and basis for the theory is important but so too is understanding the micro terms within the theory that not all researchers are completely aware of. For example, Felson (2008:71) states that the term guardian is not actually a guard as one would imagine it in the form of a police officer or security guard. Instead, Felson encourages the less ambiguous term supervision as more appropriate in explaining the concept behind guardianship.

The routine activities approach has been applied in many contexts and places. Modern uses of the theory include the process of geographic profiling which makes use of computer software for global positioning systems (GPS). GPS software is exceptionally useful as it can identify the exact locations of crimes. When the

geographic information is used in investigations to identify offenders, the process can help triangulate where a suspect or offender resides. Geographic investigative analysis has successfully been used to identify where serial killers are likely to reside based on triangulating information from crime scene sites (Tibbets & Hemmens, 2010:106). Thus, the process will assume that the offender operates within sites of their daily non-criminal routine activities, evidencing their familiarity of specific areas and locations. The theory provides an acceptable and theoretical model to explain why certain areas have higher crime rates than others. Importantly, the upsurge of geographic profiling using GPS, or other geographic mapping techniques, is becoming a key aspect in predicting crime and victimisation. The use of geographic profiling has increased the attention given to the routine activities theory (Tibbets & Hemmens, 2010:109).

Some criminologists are of the opinion that morals, beliefs and socialisation may influence the routine activities that produce crime. For example, even if an individual is surrounded by many criminal opportunities to commit crime, the person may refrain from criminal acts if they are bonded or attached to conventional peers. Therefore, the strength of the social bonds and relationships may act as a buffer or moral guardian, potentially reducing the pull of criminal acts (Siegel, 2004:93). This is supported in the evidence that social sanctions are often more likely to deter a rational offender from committing offences.

In particular, Siegel (2004:93-94) presents evidence that young males whose peers support violence against women were more likely to support date rape, whereas the young men who believe their peers would reject them and disapprove of their behaviour were deterred from victimising women. Thus, the informal social sanctions, which effect the rational offender, as explained above, also act as a moral guardian buffering or decreasing the likelihood of an individual engaging in a criminal act. The routine activities approach clearly emphasises the offender's viewpoint in assessing the various environmental aspects that are applicable to the commitment of a crime (Felson, 2008:71).

3.4 CRIME PATTERN THEORY

Each criminal event has a trajectory that is shaped by experiences, future intentions, daily routine activities and various constraints in the environment. The complexities

that form when these factors intersect sets the backdrop for various criminal events and presents patterns in which the crime, as a complex whole, could possibly be understood (Brantingham & Brantingham, 2008:78). Therefore, the crime pattern theory, or pattern theory of crime, developed by Brantingham and Brantingham (1993), views crime as a complex phenomenon in which certain patterns are apparent. The theory postulates that crimes, criminal decisions and the processes of committing crimes are all "patternable". Assuming that patterns refer to a recognisable inter-connectedness of objects, rules and processes, the patterns that emerge from criminal events can be identified (Andresen, 2010:26; Brantingham & Brantingham, 2008:79). The basis of the theory is that certain cognitive maps or templates (i.e. mental maps of the environment) are formed as, and when, offenders carry out their daily activities and routines, such as going to work and travelling back home. It is within these routines that the opportunities for the potential offender to commit crime will be present. Hence, offenders are more likely to offend in areas in which a potential target or victim exists within their cognitive map or awareness of space (Snook et al., 2015:94).

The crime pattern theory states that crime occurs in a particular situation, against a specific environmental background, which includes the physical infrastructure, the specific time and place, and people in and around the infrastructure. The crime also occurs within offender's routine activities and awareness of space (Andresen, 2010:26-27; Deslauriers-Varin & Beauregard, 2013:124). Therefore, the theory can be used to understand many aspects that occur within the criminal event, such as crime site selection (Andresen, 2010:26). The theory indicates that crime does not occur randomly or uniformly in society, space, across neighbourhoods or in social groups. There are various hot spots and cold spots as well as high repeat offenders. The proponents of the theory propose that a complete randomness of victims and targets is not plausible (Brantingham & Brantingham, 2008:79).

The theory postulates that the environment sends out various cues, or signals, that are used by potential offenders. The offender's daily activities and lifestyle nurtures the opportunity for crime by enhancing exposure and proximity, hence resulting that some places and times are more representative of criminal activity than others (Andresen, 2010:26; Deslauriers-Varin & Beauregard, 2013:124). The various signals or cues within the environment are conditions that must be present in order for the crime to occur (Andresen, 2010:27). Therefore, a crime is likely to occur where an

offender's awareness of space intersects with perceived targets. Consequently, the distribution of crime is related to the distribution of opportunity in the environment, is not random and does not appear uniform (Brantingham & Brantingham, 2008:79; Lundrigan & Czarnomski, 2006:220; Rossmo, 2000:116).

According to the theory, there are eight rules to bear in mind when attempting to understand complex crime patterns. The eight rules are briefly presented below (Brantingham & Brantingham, 2008:79-89):

- *Rule 1:* Individuals make decisions as they move through a series of activities. As the activities become regularised an abstract guiding template is created. Regarding criminal decision-making, a crime template is used;
- *Rule 2:* Most individuals function within a network of family, friends and acquaintances, that influence the decisions made in other networks;
- *Rule 3:* Crime templates and individual decision processes can be considered when individuals make their decisions independently;
- *Rule 4:* Individuals usually commit crimes when there is a triggering event and a process of locating a target or victim fits into a crime template;
- *Rule 5:* Individuals have a range of routine daily activities, usually occurring in separate nodes of activity such as home, work, school and places of entertainment;
- *Rule 6:* Those individuals who do commit crime have normal nodes of daily activities and spatial-temporal movement patterns like everybody else. Thus, the likely occurrence of criminal activity will centre around this normal activity and awareness of space;
- *Rule 7:* Potential victims of crime will have active or passive locations of activity spaces that intersect and cross with the activity spaces of potential offenders. A potential victim will become an actual victim when the potential offender's willingness to commit a crime has been prompted and when the potential victim fits into the offender's crime template;
- *Rule 8:* Crime generators are formed by the high flow of people through and to the nodal activity points. Crime generators are certain nodal areas to where a large number of people may be attracted, for reasons unrelated to criminal activity. The crime attractors will be created when they are located at the same

nodal activity points of individuals who have the willingness to commit crime. The crime attractors are particular places that create criminal opportunities to which intending criminal offenders are attracted because of the known opportunities that are present.

3.4.1 APPLICATION OF CRIME PATTERN THEORY TO SERIAL RAPE

Generally, serial offenders tend to pattern themselves geographically, thus they consistently choose specific environments and operate within limited spaces (Deslauriers-Varin & Beauregard, 2013:124). The crime pattern theory combines the rational choice theory and routine activities theory. The theory explains that serial offences are regarded as opportunities that develop into actual targets once the offender rationalises the reward and filters the possible opportunities with previous experience and perception. Hence, the distribution of crime is strongly linked to experience of the environment (Lundrigan & Czarnomski, 2006:220; Rossmo, 2000:117).

The crime pattern theory has been supported in research conducted by Deslauriers-Varin and Beauregard (2013:123) who found that serial sex offenders exhibit consistency in victim encounter and release sites. More specifically, victim release sites did not change over the offenders' series and were relatively fixed. Conversely, victim encounter sites were more likely to change based on experience and increased risk-taking. The change in sites is argued to be evidence of the offender's rationality and increased environmental awareness.

Furthermore, Hewitt and Beauregard (2014:57-58) speculate that many sex offenders are in fact serial offenders, exhibiting consistency across their patterned behaviour. In this regard, Deslauriers-Varin and Beauregard (2013:123) substantiate this by conjecturing that when serial sex offenders operate, particularly when they are a stranger to their victims, profiling the behaviour and patterns of the offender is crucial to the investigative process.

Additionally, in a review of studies regarding offender versatility and stability, Hewitt and Beauregard (2014:58) point out that serial sex offenders, especially offenders who target stranger children, exhibit relative stability regarding their choice of victim, particularly, across victim age, victim gender and offender-victim relationship.

Moreover, Hewitt and Beauregard (2014:58) highlight that certain studies have shown that sex offenders will exhibit a pattern of 'hunting' for, or selecting, the same type of victim. Whether offenders target and hunt a specific type of victim, or exhibit a degree of sexual polymorphism, the hunting characteristics are pattern based on the type of offender and the type of offence.

3.4.2 EVALUATION OF THE CRIME PATTERN THEORY

The crime pattern theory supports the notion that offender's spatial behaviour can be a significant and essential factor in linking crimes of a serial nature. Accordingly, when an offender has created and established their daily routine activities, they will be more likely to offend within the same geographical area. The offender will likely feel more comfortable in areas that they have existing knowledge about, specifically regarding the availability of particular targets. Evidence supports the notion that serial sex offenders will remain relatively consistent in where they offend, thus they do not often travel far distances from their home base and do not demonstrate vast distances between their crimes (Snook et al., 2015:94).

Therefore, it can be deduced that if there are numerous occurrences of the same type of crime in a specific geographic area (consistent spatial behaviour), then they are likely to be characteristic of a single offender. The notion operates under the assumption that other offenders will be bound by different geographic areas, specific to their own routine and daily activities, hence a difference in awareness of space (Snook et al., 2015:94).

Conversely, the theory does not explain why aspects of non-spatial behaviour would be less consistent than spatial behaviour; it may be evident that there is, in fact, a lack of stability in some behavioural domains. However, an account of the varying characteristics and dynamics of targets is likely to clear up the lack of consistency. As such, it would apply that there may be different and varying characteristics and factors of the targets that are available within the offender's awareness of space (Snook et al., 2015: 94-95).

3.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter provided an overview of the three theories which will guide and support the current study. The researcher did not explore psychological motivations and profile

typologies that are associated with serial rape of children. Rather, the study explored the behavioural profile of serial child rapists by attempting to explain certain aspects applicable in Environmental Criminology. In particular, the rational choice theory, routine activities approach and crime pattern theory guided the researcher's attempts to understand the situational variables within serial rape. Although the situational and contextual factors only account for one possible domain of understanding, they do aid in the understanding of the serial rape phenomenon. The following chapter will outline the research methodology employed in the current study.

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The present chapter provides a comprehensive explanation of the methodology which guided the current research study. The research methods that the researcher intends to employ will ensure that the study's aim and objectives are met. As briefly explained in Chapter 1, the research, will be undertaken in two non-official phases. The first phase will entail the content analysis of police dockets pertaining to cases of convicted serial child rapists. For this purpose, a behavioural checklist will be drafted from literature. The checklist will subsequently be revised after piloting. The checklist will be used to record the behavioural characteristics present in each offender's rape series.

The second phase of the study will entail semi-structured interviews with experts in the fields of Investigative Psychology, Clinical Psychology, Criminology and Social Work. The interviews will be conducted in order to enhance the data captured from the first phase of the study.

The researcher aims to provide a broad overview of the available information regarding serial child rapists within a South African context. The methods employed are considered valuable in providing a baseline understanding of serial child rape. Due to the flexible nature of the research, the phenomenon will be explored using various lenses, specifically during the interviews in the second phase of the study. The interviews with the selected experts will ensure that the perspectives and opinions from the various professionals are recorded. Thus, serial child rape in South Africa will be explored using material from investigative processes and interview data from experts who have experience working with the offenders and/or the victims.

4.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The present research is qualitative in nature. The qualitative approach was considered suitable for the intended study because it allows the researcher to make use of flexible methods (Kumar, 2011:20). Although the qualitative approaches are time consuming, the researcher will explore the phenomenon using flexible and emergent methods. The researcher will access multiple sources of information, such as various documents within the case dockets and glean information from professional experience from the interviews (Creswell, 2014:185). Furthermore, the nature of the qualitative research

means that fewer cases will be explored and the subsequent variations and variables will be described as they apply to the small sample. The trends and patterns across cases will be identified and organised in a descriptive manner (Kumar, 2011:20). The small number of research cases in the sample ensures that the behaviour of the serial rapists will be explored comprehensively.

The purpose of the research includes the exploration of the topic, with a descriptive element. Explorative research will be conducted to explore the serial rape of children, a topic about which little is known globally, and even less so, locally (Kumar, 2011:10-11). Therefore, the study will satisfy part of the researcher's curiosity and will path the way for further understanding regarding the persistent phenomenon of serial rape (Babbie, 2014:90). Additionally, the current study will test the feasibility of certain methods to conduct more extensive research regarding the behaviour of serial child rapists and will therefore lay a foundation for future research (Babbie, 2014:94).

Descriptive research in qualitative studies allows a phenomenon to be described. Thus, the behaviour and offender profiles will be described through the analysis of individual cases as well as consultations with several experts (Babbie, 2014:95). As studies are rarely limited to one purpose (Babbie, 2014:92), the current study aims to explore what information can be gathered regarding serial child rape and additionally, provide descriptions to enable some understanding of the phenomenon.

In addition to the above, the current study, defined as basic research, aims to provide new information regarding a topic rarely explored in the local context. Therefore, it is hypothesised that the basic research study will add to local knowledge in the fields of Criminology, Investigative Psychology, and more specifically to Psychocriminology. Furthermore, it is envisaged that the research will develop baseline knowledge regarding serial child rapists and will add to the limited local knowledge regarding serial sex offenders. As such, no intervention or programme implementation will be developed (Hagan, 2005:13). Nonetheless, the knowledge gained in the study can stimulate future research with specific interventions in mind.

4.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

4.3.1 RESEARCH QUESTION

What is the behavioural profile of male serial child rapists in South Africa?

4.3.2 RESEARCH AIM

The aim of the current study is to explore and determine a behavioural profile of male serial child rapists in South Africa.

The following objectives will ensure that the aim is achieved:

- To explore the current body of knowledge regarding male serial child rapists;
- To determine the individual offender profiles of male serial child rapists within a series under investigation;
- To describe the general modus operandi of male serial child rapists within the series under investigation;
- To determine whether the male serial rapists, within the series under investigation, exhibit behavioural consistency regarding their modus operandi; and
- To determine the view of experts regarding the behaviour of male serial child rapists.

4.4 RESEARCH DESIGN

The study entails a collective case study design. Multiple case dockets, pertaining to convicted serial child rapists, available from the IPS, at the SAPS, will be used to explore serial child rape in South Africa. The case dockets are subsequently treated as cases within the case study (Creswell, 2013:97, 99).

Primary data and information will be obtained from interviews with experts in the fields of Investigative Psychology, Clinical Psychology, Criminology and Social Work, which in turn will be supplemented by the case study data. The case study design allows the researcher to identify patterns in the behavioural profiles of the serial child rapists, as it will be identified within the case dockets and interview data (Fouché & Schurink, 2011:320).

4.5 RESEARCH METHODS

The current study will be conducted over two 'non-official' phases. During the **first phase**, a behavioural checklist will be created using relevant literature from previous studies. Knowledgeable individuals within the Psychocriminology, Investigative Psychology, Victimology and Social Work fields will verify the checklist. Following the checklist verification, the researcher will conduct a pilot study and will review the checklist against three case dockets at the IPS. Where necessary changes will be made to the checklist and the researcher will continue to retrieve data from additional case dockets within the collective case study.

The **second phase** of the study will entail interviews with identified experts in appropriate and relevant fields (mentioned above). The comparison of information from the two non-official phases of the study will thus form part of the triangulation process and will therefore increase the quality of the data.

Primary documents usually consist of original material from an author's own experience and observations, whereas secondary documents consist of material that is derived from information other than the original source (Strydom & Delport, 2011:377). Thus, the data that will be obtained from the case docket analysis will form the secondary dataset, while the information from the interviews will form the primary data. Secondary data is oftentimes derived from someone else's description; therefore, the primary data is considered a valuable inclusion to the study. The primary data will be gathered and analysed according to the researcher's interpretations of the relevant variables. Consequently, patterns and themes will be identified and discussed using both sets of data.

4.6 STUDY POPULATION AND SAMPLING

Non-probability sampling will be used throughout the research because the researcher is not able to determine the number of convicted serial child rapists before reviewing the case dockets (Babbie, 2014:199). During the first phase of the research, case dockets that are provided by IPS investigators, will be examined in order to identify serial rape perpetrators. Individual IPS investigators who personally worked on, and investigated, the specific cases will assist the researcher. Therefore, the IPS investigators will provide the researcher with the files, which fit the specific research criteria.

The case dockets contain documents such as victim statements, court reports, first report statements, statements by the relevant police officials as well as information regarding the nature of the offence. Based on the initial guidance and personal consultation with the IPS, a sample size of between ten to 20 case files was assigned (Labuschagne, 2015b). Subsequently, a sample of ten case files will be reviewed. The case files will be selected based on the purpose of exhibiting criteria related to serial child rape and thus, purposive sampling will be used (Babbie, 2014:200).

The criteria for selecting a case file will include: a male perpetrator of any age, who committed the act of rape, against two or more child victims, younger than 18 years old, on two separate occasions (although adult victims may form part of the series; the data regarding the adult victims will not be included). Furthermore, the criteria stipulate that the perpetrator must have been convicted for the series (no *sub judice* cases will be used).

It is assumed that the files will provide considerable evidence of the offences and the perpetrators' guilt. The individual IPS investigators, who worked the specific cases, will provide the appropriate case files to the researcher. By additionally employing critical case sampling the researcher will maximise the generalisation of information from the selected cases to other cases (Creswell, 2013:158). The content analysis will be conducted based on the availability of the IPS case dockets and it is envisaged that the analysis will span over a period of approximately five months.

During the second phase of the research, non-probability expert sampling (a form of purposive sampling) will be used. Qualitative studies typically use purposive sampling to seek a specific group of participants who have experience or knowledge regarding the phenomenon being studied (Lietz & Zayas, 2010:195). In this regard, various experts, in the aforementioned fields, will be identified and consulted regarding their expertise and knowledge of serial rape (their experience includes working with the offenders and/or victims of serial child rape). Thereafter, the researcher intends to follow a process of snowball sampling.

This will entail the researcher requesting to be provided with names and contacts of other experts. The researcher will conclude the expert sampling when saturation is reached. This is the point when no new or additional information can be gathered from

the interviews (Kumar, 2011:207). These envisaged interviews are dependent on the availability of the experts and a period of two months will be allotted for the interviews.

4.7 DATA COLLECTION

During the first phase of the study, the researcher will use a non-intrusive form of analysis, namely content analysis, also known as document analysis. Content analysis entails analysing texts such as conversations or speeches, personal documents or news media (Bryman, 2012:289; Clark-Carter, 2010:104). Thus, the above form of analysis is ideal in the current study because the data will be derived from various official documents contained in the police files. The documents, which will include victim statements, first witness reports and court documents will be analysed and reviewed according to their specific content. Hence, the content analysis enables a systematic approach to quantify the frequency of certain characteristics pertaining to the cases, from a qualitative form (Strydom & Delport, 2011:380-381).

A challenge of the study is that the documents within the case dockets are oftentimes incomplete, and in some cases conflicting information could be evident. Additionally, police dockets contain documents that are not recorded for social science research; this is recognised as a potential threat to the study (Creswell, 2014:191; Potgieter & De Wet, 2010:13).

An advantage of the data collection method is that analysing the documents is an unobtrusive form of data gathering. Thus, the data collection process will not have an effect on the subject(s) that will be studied (Babbie, 2014:301). As the research entails a highly sensitive topic, the child victims will not be identified, therefore, the researcher will avoid any possible re-traumatisation from inclusion in the study. In addition, the form of data collection in the content analysis allows the researcher to access the information at a convenient time (Creswell, 2014:191). Generally, document analysis efforts are also considered useful to start data collection in case studies when the design entails other methods such as interviews (Rule & John, 2011:67). Therefore, the first phase of the data collection will enable the researcher to narrow the focus of the study and direct additional data collection methods to glean specific information from the expert interviews.

The second phase will entail semi-structured interviews, with various experts in order to obtain primary data. Open-ended questions will be formulated prior to the interviews to guide the interviewing process. The semi-structured nature of the interview guide will allow for flexible and open conversation regarding the experts' perspectives pertaining to serial child rape in South Africa (Flick, 2014:197). The open-ended nature of the interview guide will allow information to be shared regarding other categories of rapists (i.e. non-serial rapists or those who rape adults). Thus, a fuller understanding of rape, serial rape and victim vulnerability will be established.

Furthermore, the nature of the interviews will ensure that valuable information, such as offender backgrounds and theories regarding rape motivations, will be obtained.

4.7.1 MEASURING INSTRUMENTS

4.7.1.1 BEHAVIOURAL CHECKLIST

A system for classifying material to be analysed is commonly created in content analyses (Clark-Carter, 2010:106). Therefore, in order to guide the initial review of case dockets, a preliminary measuring instrument, in the form of a checklist, will be compiled from examining relevant literature (Bryman, 2012:298). The serial child rapist checklist will be developed by the researcher and will subsequently be reviewed by subject specialists in the Psychocriminology, Investigative Psychology, Victimology and Social Work fields. The purpose of the checklist review is to ensure that the instrument will best glean the offender demographic and behavioural variables from the case dockets (Flick, 2014:429). Subsequently, a pilot study was conducted using the reviewed checklist, where after the instrument was finalised and utilised for the subsequent data collection process. The categories created within the checklist were derived from existing modus operandi literature and include variables such as approach, attack and offence behaviours.

The checklist (*Annexure A*) is divided into the following four sections:

- Section A (Offender's biographic details)

Section A includes the offenders' biographic details in order to establish a basic offender profile. The variables include:

  o age;

- age of first offence;
- age of last offence;
- population group;
- educational qualifications;
- marital history;
- work history;
- criminal history;
- history of mental diagnosis; and,
- any history of sexual abuse victimisation.

- Section B (Victim details)

This section will record brief details regarding the victim of each offence and offender's series. The variables include:

- age;
- population group; and,
- victim's relationship to the offender.

- Section C (Offence behaviour/modus operandi)

Section C includes the offending behaviour of each offence in an offender's series. The modus operandi information will thus be gleaned from each case docket. The variables include:

- date of offence;
- day of the offence;
- time of the offence;
- number of offences in the offender's series;
- use of substances during offence;
- geographic information, including the province of offence, approach and attack locations, as well as approximate distance between approach and attack locations;

- o additional geographic information including the distance between the offender's home and work locations compared to the locations used to approach and attack victims; and
- o mode of transport used by the offender.

Section C will also assess whether the victim was alone when approached; whether the offender operated alone; whether the offender pursued the victim before the offence; as well as what type of control the offender exercised over the victims. The checklist also included information such as the state of dress of both the victim and offender; action of grooming and/or fondling; the type and frequency of penetration; other sexual acts other than the penetration; sexual dysfunction of the offender; forensic precautionary measures and the presence of any witnesses to the offence. The section will further capture victim resistance and reaction such as crying or screaming. Evidence of the offender's threatening behaviour is also included in the section.

- • Section D (Post offence behaviour)

The final section of the checklist details any behaviour that occurred after the act of rape, including:

- o whether the offender cleaned himself or his victim;
- o the state of dress of the offender and victim;
- o any verbal interaction;
- o whether gifts or money were offered to the victim;
- o whether any of the victim's possessions were stolen; and,
- o whether the victim was left alone at the crime scene or accompanied somewhere else.

It is anticipated that the individual case files, and information therein, are not standardised as separate investigators, each with their own personal method of recording and organising their information, handled each case. Subsequently, it is hypothesised that the variables highlighted in Section A-D will not be consistently available across each case docket. Furthermore, it is foreseen that the variables will not be consistently present in each offence across each of the offenders' series.

4.7.1.2 INTERVIEW GUIDE

The interview guide (*Annexure B*) served as a guideline to direct the researcher's questions regarding serial child rape. The questions within the guide were formulated based on reviewed literature as well as the data from the first phase of the study (obtained by using the behavioural checklist). The interview guide was designed to capture any additional or supporting information regarding serial child rape in South Africa, with a specific focus on the experts' experience and knowledge base.

The questions were designed to capture information that may not be obtained from the police case dockets, such as:

o   whether South African offenders are unique in comparison to other offenders globally;
o   offenders' childhood backgrounds;
o   the role of paedophilia in South African offenders;
o   the motivations behind the offenders' behaviour; and,
o   how these offenders are caught or apprehended.

Furthermore, questions regarding the initiation and cessation of serial child rape, including the likelihood of successful rehabilitation, were included. The open-ended format of the schedule allowed for open discussions whereby the experts were able to inform the researcher of anything pertinent to the study that the guide did not evaluate.

4.8 DATA ANALYSIS

4.8.1 DATA PROCESSING

Content analysis will form part of the data analysis technique for both phases of the research. Content analyses entail reviewing and analysing texts such as conversations or speeches, personal documents or news media (Bryman, 2012:289; Clark-Carter, 2010:104). Content analysis is typically the study of recorded human interactions (Babbie, 2013:295). The **first phase** of the research will entail the analysis of documents reflecting the interactions such as victim and witness statements that were provided to investigators (Flick, 2014:429). Additionally, if available, the statements by the SAPS member(s) who worked on the case as well as the first report statements will be analysed in order to gather relevant information.

The data that will be recorded by the measurement instrument will then be captured into Excel worksheets, exclusive to each individual offender and their offence series. Then the data will be cleaned and organised for basic analysis. Through a process of enumeration, the individual offender's series will be sorted, with a general offender profile being analysed using basic descriptive statistics. Descriptive statistics can be applied to qualitative designs as an important function to summarise data. In qualitative research, descriptive statistics allow researchers to provide an enhanced representation of a phenomenon of interest (Schreiber, 2008:210). Furthermore, the technique of enumeration is considered an acceptable technique to quantify data in qualitative research (Dey, 1993:29). However, the nature of the research, as well as the available formats of the information, do not allow for more scientific measures to be used.

During the **second phase** of the study, the semi-structured interviews will be recorded by means of a mobile phone recording function (The researcher will seek the consent of the experts to be recorded and identified – see *Annexure C*). The recorded interviews will then form raw data which will be transcribed by the researcher (Rule & John, 2011:77). The process of transcribing interviews is valuable because the researcher is able to make side notes of themes that emerge from mental cognition. After the transcription process, themes and codes are then created as they apply to hand-coded data (Creswell, 2014:197).

4.8.2 DATA QUALITY

In an effort to ensure that the checklist measured what it intended to measure, the researcher envisages to ensure face validity. More specifically, the researcher will ensure that the variables captured by the preliminary checklist pertain to the offender demographic profiles and the specific modus operandi characteristics of the offences (Gravettor & Forzano, 2012:108). Therefore, identified knowledgeable individuals and experts will be asked to verify the preliminary checklist.

Furthermore, in order to ensure that the measurement instrument and procedure is consistent, credibility in qualitative research is confirmed by a process of member checking. The checklist instrument will be provided to an independent member of the IPS to determine the similarity and consistency of the information gleaned by the researcher (Gravettor & Forzano, 2012: 115,117; Lietz & Zaya, 2010:193). By using

peer checks in order to moderate the researcher's interpretation of the information from the case files, the trustworthiness of the data will increase (Lietz & Zaya, 2010:193; Rule & John, 2011:108).

To further increase the credibility of the data, the member checking method will be employed by the researcher at the end of the data collection phase. After the data collection, the researcher will engage in informal discussions with the IPS investigators in order to discuss a few of the cases included in the sample. The outcome of the discussions will probably assure the researcher that an accurate assessment of the cases was performed. The above processes will satisfy the credibility and dependability quality checks of the qualitative research (Rule & John, 2011:107).

In an effort to increase the data quality, the researcher will employ methodological triangulation, specifically data triangulation (Lietz & Zayas, 2010:198). Gathering data from multiple sources and the process of consulting with professionals will produce knowledge and information regarding serial child rape on multiple levels (Lietz & Zaya, 2010:193-194). Thus, the primary information will promote the quality of the data obtained from the secondary sources (Flick, 2014:183, 184; Lietz & Zaya, 2010:193). This form of triangulation is considered valuable to the current study because of the limited local literature regarding serial child rape. The inclusion of expert opinions will extend and supplement the data obtained from the content analysis, adding validity to the research (Creswell, 2014:201). The collection of information from multiple sources strengthens the truthfulness of the assertions within the study (Rule & John, 2011:109).

The researcher decided that she would not interview offenders for the current study for two reasons. Firstly, the social taboo of perpetrating child rape may have resulted in offenders being harmed by other offenders in the correctional centre. Secondly, during initial discussions with former commander of the IPS Brigadier Gérard Labuschagne it was evident that child rapists, more often than not, object to interviews and deny their acts, which may have inhibited the researcher's aims. Other South African researchers have found that most child molesters lie and thus information regarding offences is usually confirmed using police dockets or court transcripts (Jonker & Du Preez, 2012:20). Therefore, due to the inherent weaknesses and

disadvantages of using secondary data, the triangulation of data was considered highly valuable.

4.9 DEVELOPMENT OF CHECKLIST AND PILOT STUDY

After the serial child rapist checklist was reviewed and verified by knowledgeable professionals, a pilot study was conducted using three case dockets from the IPS. The researcher determined that saturation for the pilot study was reached after reviewing three case files (this included 35 rape incidents). Although only three case dockets were reviewed in the pilot study, it was determined that the available information in the dockets would be sufficiently captured by the checklist and only minor revisions to the instrument were needed. The checklist was subsequently revised and finalised after the pilot study. As a result of the limited sample size of male serial child rapists, as well as the value of the information obtained from the three case dockets, the data from this phase was later included in the main study.

4.10 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The researcher will adhere to and maintain numerous ethical considerations throughout the duration of the research. Permission to conduct the study was obtained from the Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Pretoria. Furthermore, permission to review the case files was received from the IPS within the Forensic Division of the SAPS (*Annexure D*), the SAPS Divisional Commissioner: Detective Service (*Annexure E*) as well as the SAPS Head of Strategic Management (*Annexure F*).

As a form of non-intrusive research, no harm or risk will result from the study, partly because the document study will not entail human respondents (Clark-Carter, 2010:104). Full confidentiality will be maintained at all times during the handling of police docket information, and full victim anonymity will be maintained. Furthermore, no identifiable information, pertaining to offenders or the victims, will be presented in the study, thus an element of anonymity will be maintained, specifically in the presentation of results (Strydom, 2011:119).

Near full offender anonymity can be established as the researcher will assign numerical codes to the individual offenders, and therefore no names will be recorded in the data collection tools (Strydom, 2011:120). Additionally, the integrity of the

sensitive evidence and information within the dockets will be maintained at all times. Voluntary informed consent will be obtained from the various experts who agreed to be interviewed in communications before the data gathering. The written consent forms explain the nature and purpose of the study to the various experts (Babbie, 2014:67). The research data will be stored securely at Department of Social Work and Criminology at the University of Pretoria.

4.11 CONCLUSION

This chapter highlights that the methodology of the current study is qualitative in nature, with the purpose of exploring and describing the phenomenon of serial child rape. Due to the fact that there is limited research in the South African context on male serial child rapists, the qualitative nature of the research is supported. Furthermore, due to the flexible nature of qualitative research the researcher will use different methods which will best capture the required detail.

The first phase of the study will enable the researcher to identify various characteristics of the individual offender profiles. As a form of descriptive research, the profiles will be explored in such a way that they could be generalised to a larger sample. The second phase of the study will enable the researcher to gain different views and opinions from various professionals, while still comparing information to common themes identified in literature and in the content analysis. The research design will be utilised to endeavour to provide a general profile of male serial child rapists in South Africa. The following chapter presents the results of the first phase of the study, specifically the content review of the case dockets and briefly reports on the realisation of envisaged methodology.

5. OUTLINE OF FINDINGS REGARDING CASE DOCKET ANALYSIS (PHASE 1)

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, the methodology of the current study was highlighted. The next section presents the outcomes of the research methodology employed by the research.

The content analysis was achieved using the serial child rapist checklist developed by the researcher. The content analysis was performed by reviewing the documents within the police case dockets. Some dockets contained lengthy court documents which provided significant and detailed information, whereas other dockets were limited to basic information from the investigators' own notes and/or some detail from health care professionals.

The time-consuming nature of the qualitative study was compounded by some of the difficulties experienced by the researcher, specifically the interpretation of some of the written content present in the case dockets. In particular, some information was recorded in a language unfamiliar to the researcher (i.e. Afrikaans; the researcher is English). In other cases, a few of the first report statements and/or victim statements were poorly written and illegible.

Nonetheless, the researcher was able to gather information pertaining to the behavioural profiles of the offenders in the research sample. The reliability of the data was increased using the test-retest and inter-rater reliability methods and determined a satisfactory level of consistency within the measurement (Gravettor & Forzano, 2012: 115, 117; Rule & John, 2011:107).

In this chapter, the results from the first phase of the study, the content analysis, will be presented. Quotation marks and italic font are used to indicate where the researcher recorded verbatim from the case docket (certain direct quotes may be offensive to the reader). The chapter details the demographic and behavioural profiles of each individual offender in the research sample (labelled offender A-J). In addition, brief victim profiles, pertaining to each offender series are presented.

Regarding each offender, a behavioural profile will be discussed in the following sections: *pre-offence* characteristics which refer to the actions which preceded the rape itself; the *offence* characteristics which apply to the behaviours that were evident

during the rape act; and the *post-offence* characteristics which pertain to the behaviours that occurred after the rape act. More specifically, the *pre-offence* section outlines the approach locations and methods that were used by the offenders. The *offence* section details the attack-specific behaviour as well as delineates the locations and methods used by the offenders. The sexual and verbal behaviours present throughout the series (as captured by section C of the behavioural checklist) are also outlined in the *offence* section. Finally, the *post-offence* behaviours are then detailed (as captured by section D of the behavioural checklist).

It is important to highlight that missing variables may be accounted for as a result of the young age of some of the victims (who were unable to recall or describe events in detail) as well as the time that elapsed between rapes and the reporting of the offences. Moreover, as outlined in Chapter 4, police case dockets are not prepared for research purposes, hence information was not consistently present in each case file. It is also noted that some of the offenders in the research sample sexually assaulted children throughout their particular series. However, the results refer only to the cases in which children were raped (as operationally defined). A last noteworthy point, the results only refer to the cases which fit the research criteria; some offenders may have raped other victims who were not included in the series or whose rapes were unreported.

5.2 OFFENDER A

Offender A's rape series consisted of three victims who were raped a total of ten times. The offender, who operated in the Gauteng province, began his rape series in 2011. He was apprehended in 2013 after one of the victims confided in her brother, who then informed their mother who alerted the police. The offender, who denied all of the charges, was convicted of ten rapes and one count of exposure of pornography.

5.2.1 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

The offender was a Xhosa and English-speaking Black/African male, with a Grade 10 educational qualification. He was single at the time of arrest, with no marital partner and no children. The offender's work history included work in the construction, bar tending and car wash industries. The offender did not have any previous convictions and according to the available data began his rape series at the age of 32 years.

5.2.2 VICTIM PROFILE

Table 2: Offender A's rape series

No. in Series	Date of Offence	Age	Gender	Population Group	Relation to Offender
1 *	2011	5	Female	Black/African	Related – Cousin
2 *	2012/2013	8	Female	Black/African	Related – Extended family
3 *	October 2013	7	Female	Black/African	Known – Friend of offender's cousin

*raped in the presence of another rape victim from offender A's rape series.

Table 2 illustrates that the offender raped three females who belonged to the same population group as the offender. He knew all of the victims; two were related to him, while the other victim was his younger cousin's friend. The victims were of a similar age when they were raped, between five and eight years of age. The data did not reveal the exact dates of the offences for which he was convicted.

5.2.3 BEHAVIOURAL PROFILE

5.2.3.1 PRE-OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

Regarding offender A's rape series, the exact times at which the attacks occurred were not evident in the data. However, all of the rapes occurred at some point during daylight hours.

5.2.3.1.1 Location of Approach

The victims were all approached in the offender's home, in an informal settlement around the Honeydew/Krugersdorp area in Gauteng. Based on their relationship to the offender, the victims willingly entered into his residence where the subsequent attacks took place.

5.2.3.1.2 Method of Approach

None of the victims in this series were approached off the street; owing to their relationship to the offender, the victims were already inside the offender's residence when they were overpowered. Victim one was sent to the offender's home to clean his house because she was related to him; hence the offender did not have to approach the victim but rather manipulated the relationship and opportunity that presented itself when he was alone with her. Victim one was alone when she was approached during the first offence, but later in the series she was raped again in the presence of her

friends, victim two and three. Both victims two and three were approached when they separately accompanied victim one to the offender's house where they cleaned and played outside.

5.2.3.2 OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

5.2.3.2.1 Location of Attack

The victims were all attacked inside the offender's bedroom of his house in an informal settlement. Therefore, the approach and attack locations were the same (i.e. the offender's residence).

5.2.3.2.2 Method of Attack

Victim one was physically grabbed and overpowered by the offender and subsequently placed on his bed. Victims two and three were called into his bedroom where after they were overpowered. All three of the victims recalled that they were threatened with violence during their attacks; and victim two was told not to tell anyone about the offence in addition to being threatened.

5.2.3.2.3 Sexual Behaviour

Victims one and two were forced to watch pornography although it was not clear from the data whether this was before or after the rape acts. All of the victims were undressed by the offender, however when victim two was raped for the first time, she was instructed to undress before the rape act but when she refused she was then undressed by the offender. Victim one was raped three times with penile vaginal penetration, victim two was penetrated by penile vaginal penetration on one occasion and then penetrated anally during the second rape.

Victim three was raped vaginally and anally by penile penetration, on one occasion. Victims one and three reported that they tried to scream during the offence, but the offender then covered their mouths using tape and his hand. Victim one witnessed the rape of victim two and was in the same room (ear witness) when the offender raped victim three. Victim three stated that the offender "*did the same thing*" to victim one, in other words victim three also witnessed the rape of victim one.

5.2.3.2.4 Verbal Behaviour

Very little information was available regarding the offender's verbal behaviour; most of the verbal communication consisted of instructions to the victims to follow the offender into his bedroom and undress. However, victim two recalled that the offender told her that her "*job was done*" and everything would be "*okay because he does silly things to children*".

5.2.3.3 POST-OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

There was limited evidence regarding the offender's post-offence behaviours. Victims one and two were told to clean the blanket on the bed on which they were raped. They were then each offered five Rand (R5) for cleaning the blanket. After the rapes, the victims were either told to leave the residence or were subsequently left at the scene by the offender.

5.3 OFFENDER B

Offender B's series included five acts of rape committed against three individuals. Along with the five rape convictions, the offender was convicted of two counts of attempted rape, 16 counts of sexual assault and 22 counts of using a child in the manufacturing of pornography. The offender's rape series occurred over a period of one year, during 2013, within the Northern Cape province. The authorities were alerted to the offender's actions after a grandmother of one of the victims became suspicious of his behaviour towards children. Following his arrest, he admitted to, and accepted responsibility for all of his offences.

5.3.1 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

The offender was a White, Afrikaans speaking male who began raping at 17 years of age and was apprehended at the age of 22 years. He was single at the time of his arrest, with no children and no prior criminal history. The offender, who previously worked as a shop manager, was self-employed when he was arrested. He operated and managed his photography business from his house, which he shared with his mother.

5.3.2 VICTIM PROFILE

Table 3: Offender B's rape series

No. in Series	Date of Offence	Age	Gender	Population Group	Relation to Offender
1	04/04/2013 & 13/10/2013	5 & 6	Male	White	Acquaintance
2	12/09/2013	5	Female	Indian	Acquaintance
3	17/11/2013	3	Male	Indian	Acquaintance

As illustrated in Table 3, the offender was convicted of the rapes of three victims, all of whom were of a similar age (between three and six) at the time of the offences. Victim one was raped for a second time when he was six years of age. The offender raped two males and one female, thus not exhibiting a gender preference. Offender B was convicted of five rapes in his series, but only four specific dates were evident in the data (from the available data it is assumed by the researcher that one victim was raped twice in one day). As a result of the relationship the offender's mother had with the victims' relatives, the offender established friendships with all the victims.

5.3.3 BEHAVIOURAL PROFILE

5.3.3.1 PRE-OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

The times at which the offender committed his offences were not evident in the data. However, the rapes occurred during the daylight hours.

5.3.3.1.1 Location of Approach

The three victims were approached in Kimberley, in the Northern Cape province. Furthermore, all the victims were approached indoors, in a residential/commercial location (the offender used his photography studio in the house he shared with his mother as his approach and attack location).

5.3.3.1.2 Method of Approach

The offender indicated in his statement to investigators that due to the relationship he had with the victims it was easier to persuade them to participate in the offences. The offender also indicated that he had regular contact with each of the victims because of his mother's relationship with the victims' relatives. The offender admittedly groomed the victims to the point where their resistance was limited. The grooming

behaviours were also evident in the statements made by some of the victims, specifically victim three, who stated that the offender bought him a bicycle which he was only allowed to use at the offender's house. Victim one recalled that sometimes children, including himself, were offered money to clean the offender's yard.

5.3.3.2 OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

5.3.3.2.1 Location of Attack

All the victims were attacked in the same location in which they were approached, specifically the offender's photography studio located at his residence.

5.3.3.2.2 Method of Attack

The offender admittedly groomed each of the victims because of the availability of the children. As a result of the regular visits, the victims were available to the offender who established a friendship with each of them. When the opportunities presented, the offender isolated the victims in his photography studio and showed them pictures of other naked children. Victim one recalled that the offender asked him to sit on his lap and asked him to do the "same things" that the offender displayed to him on his computer (i.e. the pictures of other naked children). There was no evidence of physical violence in the data, however two of the victims recalled that the offender warned them not to tell anyone what they did.

5.3.3.2.3 Sexual Behaviour

All the victims were told to undress themselves before the rapes. Victim one's penis and anus were exposed and touched before the rape act, while victim three's buttocks was exposed and touched before the rape act. Victims one and two were told to touch the offender's penis. Victim one was raped three times, firstly he was penetrated anally by the offender's finger, secondly the offender placed the victim's penis into his mouth and thirdly the offender forced his penis in the victim's mouth. Victim two was penetrated vaginally by the offender's finger and victim three was raped orally by the offender's penis. The offender documented the rape acts through photographs; the photographs also depicted other sexual assault acts such as the exposure of the victims' anuses. He also took photographs of his penis brushing the victims' anuses. (For legal reasons, the researcher was not permitted to see any of the above-

mentioned photographs; the photographs were all removed from the case file before the researcher gained access to it).

5.3.3.2.4 Verbal Behaviour

The available data did not provide information regarding the offender's verbal behaviour, however the offender may likely have engaged in friendly communication with the victims as a result of the established relationships with each of them.

5.3.3.3 POST-OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

The offender admitted that he masturbated after the rapes. Photographs, taken during the incidents, were kept by the offender for this purpose. There was no other post-offence information available.

5.4 OFFENDER C

Offender C's rape series involved 29 victims and spanned over a period of six years, from 2007 to 2013. Along with the 29 rape convictions, the offender was convicted of two attempted rapes, 18 sexual assaults, 16 counts of compelling a child to witness sexual acts, 17 assaults with the intention to do grievous bodily harm, nine counts of common assault, 45 kidnapping counts and four thefts. The offender denied all of the allegations.

5.4.1 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

Offender C was a Black/African male whose first known rape was perpetrated at the age of 34 years, with his last rape committed at the age of 40 years. The offender was unemployed at the time of his arrest and had an unknown level of high school qualification. His work history included part-time jobs such as masonry work and selling scrap metal. He was single at the time of his arrest and had no children of his own. The data indicated that the offender had one prior relationship, during 2008-2009, which was characterised by physical abuse on part of the offender. The offender's ex-girlfriend and relatives indicated that he was physically abusive, specifically stating that he used to bite his ex-partner, assaulted her and often locked her in various rooms of his house. The offender had a few previous convictions before the rape series, including a charge of assault in 1992, one charge of theft in 1993, escape from detention in 1996, as well as additional charges pertaining to theft, housebreaking and assault convictions (dates unknown).

5.4.2 VICTIM PROFILE

Table 4: Offender C's rape series

No. in Series	Date of Offence	Age	Gender	Population Group	Relation to Offender
1 **	06/06/2007	11	Female	Black/African	Stranger
2 **	05/04/2009	13	Female	Black/African	Stranger
3	07/05/2009	11	Female	Black/African	Stranger
4 **	31/05/2009	10	Female	Black/African	Stranger
5 *	06/06/2009	12	Female	Black/African	Stranger
6 *	06/06/2009	9	Female	Black/African	Stranger
7 **	03/07/2009	14	Female	Black/African	Stranger
8 **	12/07/2009	11	Female	Black/African	Stranger
9 **	15/08/2009	9/10	Female	Black/African	Stranger
10 **	03/10/2009	13	Female	Black/African	Not evident
11	29/12/2009	7/8	Female	Black/African	Stranger
12 **	16/01/2010	10	Female	Black/African	Stranger
13	09/12/2010	14	Female	Not evident	Stranger
14	06/04/2011	14	Female	Not evident	Stranger
15	18/05/2011	10/11	Female	Black/African	Stranger
16	02/08/2011	9	Female	Black/African	Stranger
17	11/02/2012	10	Female	Black/African	Stranger
18 *	21/02/2012	9	Female	Black/African	Stranger
19 *	21/02/2012	10	Female	Black/African	Stranger
20	31/03/2012	11	Female	Not evident	Stranger
21 **	13/04/2012	11	Female	Black/African	Stranger
22 **	06/05/2012	13	Female	Black/African	Stranger
23 *	19/05/2012	10	Female	Not evident	Stranger
24 *	19/05/2012	9	Female	Not evident	Stranger
25 **	16/06/2012	12	Female	Black/African	Stranger
26	03/07/2012	11	Female	Black/African	Stranger
27 *	26/08/2012	9	Female	Not evident	Stranger
28 *	26/08/2012	9	Female	Not evident	Stranger
29 **	26/04/2013	11	Female	Black/African	Stranger

*raped in the presence of another rape victim from offender C's rape series.
**raped in the presence of a victim who was sexually assaulted or abducted by offender C.

As illustrated in the Table 4, the age of the targeted victims ranged from seven to 14 years. The exact age of the victim at the time of the rape was not evident in the cases pertaining to victims nine, 11 and 15, however on average, the offender targeted victims aged 10.8 years. Most of the victims (n=20) were abducted and raped in the presence of another victim in the series, or in the presence of other friends/siblings, who were either sexually assaulted, or only abducted. The rape victims, and other children, witnessed the rapes in varying degrees (e.g. some witnesses only heard the offender's instructions while others saw the penetration take place).

The offender only targeted females across this series. In most of the cases, the victims noted that the offender was a stranger to them, however in one case the information was not explicitly evident. Even though the offender was a stranger to his victims, there were some instances where the victims saw the offender in the area where they were approached or raped, either preceding or after their rape.

According to various victim statements, the offender was known in the area. This is especially evident in victim nine's statement that she saw the offender speaking to her father before the rape took place. Additionally, victims 14 and 20 stated that they also saw the offender in the area before they were raped. Victim 26 was told by the offender that he recognised her.

In addition to the pre-offence sightings, some victims recalled that they saw the offender in the community after their rapes. Specifically, victim nine noted that she saw the offender on the opposite side of a particular road, wearing different clothes to the attire that the offender wore when he abducted her (the researcher assumes that the sighting refers to the same day of the offence). Victim 12 saw the offender on two separate occasions after the offence, once near her church and once on another day when he tried to call her over by stating "*baby girl come here*".

Victim 15 saw the offender at a local market a few days after her rape, similarly victim 21 saw the offender at nearby shops in the community. Victim 29 saw the offender in the community twice after the offence; on the second occasion, which was approximately two months after her rape, she alerted her family members who, along with other community members, detained the offender and informed law enforcement. Following the offender's arrest, the community indicated that other children in the area

recognised the offender because he used to frequent the local schools and often exposed his genitalia to the children.

5.4.3 BEHAVIOURAL PROFILE

5.4.3.1 PRE-OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

The offender approached and abducted all of his victims during daylight hours. The specific time of day at which the victims were approached varied across the series but most of the victims (n=16) were approached in the afternoon (between midday and 16:00), while eleven victims were approached in the morning (between 07:30 and 11:30). The time of day was not evident in two of the victims' statements.

The offender kept his victims for a number of hours once he abducted them. A total of 13 victims recalled that the offender abducted them and kept them until "*it was dark*", referring to night time. Similarly, seven victims were kept for the "*whole day*" and contacted a first reporting witness in early evening hours. While three of the victims were kept overnight at the attack locations. The duration of the abduction was not explicitly evident in five of the cases.

5.4.3.1.1 Location of Approach

The offender operated around two areas namely, Eldorado Park and Olifantsfontein, in the Gauteng province. All of the victims were approached outdoors, in residential, recreational or commercial areas, most commonly, while playing near houses or in parks (n=6). Regarding the residential areas, the victims were approached while either selling some produce (victim one), walking to or from the shops (victim five), or while returning home from school or parks (victim seven, 18, 19, 21). With reference to the commercial approach locations, victims three and four were walking next to railway lines. However, in the majority of the cases (n=15) the pre-offence activities were not clear from the data, but the victims in the 15 cases were approached, in the company of friends or siblings, in residential or recreational areas (near their homes, parks, or school).

5.4.3.1.2 Method of Approach

Most of the victims were approached while in a group of children (friends and/or siblings). The offender commonly initiated a conversation with the victims by using

various ruses. The ruses included asking for help or assistance (n=6), asking the victims to follow him for some reason (n=6), but most commonly the offender asked victims for directions to a specific place or particular person's residence (n=11).

Victim 10 was approached while selling clothes, when the offender asked her to follow him so that he could get money in order to purchase some of the items. Victims eleven and 16 were approached while playing and were offered food (bunny chow[4]) and then told to follow the offender. Similarly, victim 26 was approached and offered ice cream and then told to follow him to "*fetch his child*". Victim 15 was approached while in the company of her friend who was told to take four Rand (R4) and wait for the victim at a tree. The offender then took the victim by hand and walked away from the area (and the friend).

Oftentimes, the offender used a story first to initiate a conversation with the victims and gain their compliance. After the initial approach, the victims were then told to follow him for another reason, typically a story related to "*his child*". For example, the offender initially asked the victims whether they knew of a specific person or whether they could direct him to a specific place, and then he told the victims to either show him directions or follow him so that he could show them a specific place. Oftentimes after the victims complied, he changed the story to involve fetching or visiting "*his child*".

The researcher noted that the ruse of asking for help to fetch his child was often used by the offender when the victims questioned him about where they were walking to. Similarly, if the victims had no knowledge of the person he questioned them about, he changed his story and asked them to help him "*fetch his child*", "*deliver clothes to his child*" or to go "*see his child*". Other ruse stories that were used included assistance to help "*his wife carry clothes*", or to assist him by giving something to his child. He oftentimes used the story that he "*could not see the child*" for whatever reason and therefore needed the victims' help.

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[4] Bunny Chow – fast food dish consisting of a hollowed-out loaf of bread typically filled with curry, stew or other types of food.

5.4.3.2 OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

5.4.3.2.1 Location of Attack

All of the victims were raped outdoors, in a veld[5] or bush area. The offender used the same general areas to rape his victims across the series. Based on GPS information, provided in the data, the rape locations were clustered around distinct areas. Twelve victims in the series (two to seven, ten, eleven, 14, 16 and 29) were raped at location A[6]; three victims (9, 25 and 26) were raped at location B; four victims (17-19, 22) were raped at location C; and the rapes of victims 20, 21, 27 and 28 took place at location D. Conversely, victims 8, 12, 13 and 15 were each raped at locations that were not identified as A-D. It is highlighted that all of the locations used by the offender were clustered around two main areas, specifically one area where the offender lived, and another area where the offender previously worked.

Victims 22, 27 and 28 recalled being taken to a "*cave*" when raped; according to the GPS data in the case files, two separate areas with "*caves*" were used.

5.4.3.2.2 Method of Attack

Most of the victims (n=20) were abducted with another child and subsequently raped in their presence. However, victims three, 11, 13-17, 20 and 26 were isolated from others and abducted alone. Once the offender successfully lured the victim(s) away from the approach site, he then forced them to the attack location.

Two distinct patterns of behaviour regarding the initiation of the attack were apparent in the data. One, where the offender physically grabbed the victims and pulled them into the bush, and subsequently forced them to the ground (n=13) or, two, where the offender used an additional story and told the victims that they would need to lie down or "*hide*" in the bush, for various reasons (n=17). A statement reflecting the "hide in the bush" story is as follows:

> "*There were people after them who wanted to kill them, so they must hide*".

The methods of control used across the series included physically overpowering the victims, the threat or use of physical violence, and/or threats of death. The offender

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[5] Veld – open, uncultivated country or grassland in Southern Africa.
[6] Locations labelled A-D for the purposes of this study only.

threatened to kill most of his victims (n=18). In addition to death threats, nine victims were threatened with physical violence including "*being hit with a stone*" and the threat that dogs in the area would bite the victims. The researcher noted that the offender often used the story that people who wanted to hurt or kill them "*were after them*". During the abduction of rape of victims five and six (who were abducted and raped during the same offence), the offender also threatened the victims' parents, saying that he would kill the victims' parents or guardians (including the victim themselves).

In addition to the verbal threats, the offender oftentimes used a knife, or threatened that he had a knife, (n=11). The offender was physically violent throughout his series and sometimes used physical restraints to control the victims. Just over a third of the victims in the series were tied up with their own clothes. Six of the victims were strangled or throttled by the neck and the offender held up a stick against two victims' throats. Many of the victims (n=17) recalled that when they resisted the offender's sexual advances they were hit (with a brick, a stone or by hand) and some were kicked. In addition, victim 12 stated that she was hit when she questioned the offender.

In addition to the above behaviours, towards the middle of the offender's series, he began to bite his victims. Biting behaviour was first apparent during the rapes of victims 15 and 17 who were bitten on their cheeks. During the rape of victim 23, the offender pulled the victim's hair, and bit her chest and fingers. The offender also bit victim 26 on her cheeks and started to hit her face, to the degree of drawing blood, when she resisted his advances. Victim 27 was hit in the head with a stone and was also bitten. When victim 28 tried to take the offender's knife she was also bitten, specifically on the arm and the face.

5.4.3.2.3 Sexual Behaviour

Most of the victims (n=20) were told to undress themselves, however when some victims refused to undress, the offender took off their clothing below the waist. The other victims (n=9) were undressed by the offender upon arrival at the attack location. All of the victims were penetrated vaginally by the offender's penis while victims two, 21 and 25 were also penetrated anally after the offender penetrated them vaginally.

Before the penetration took place, the offender commonly used various substances in order to lubricate the victims' and his genitalia. Most commonly identified in the data

was Zam-Buk[7] (n=10), saliva (n=4), Labello[8] or Vaseline (n=3) and even Vicks[9] (n=1). In addition to using the substances to lubricate the victims' genitalia, the offender also forced the victims to lubricate his genitalia. Victim two was told to rub Vicks onto the offender's penis, similarly, victim six was told to rub the offender's thighs with the Labello while victim eight was told to rub his penis with Zam-Buk. In addition, victims 23 and 24 recalled that the offender rubbed Zam-Buk on his penis.

Other sexual behaviour evidence showed that the offender tried to kiss three of the victims (victims one, seven and 19). Excluding the penetration, the offender touched some of the victims' erogenous zones when he applied the lubrication. The data also showed that the offender licked victim 18's vagina after she had urinated following the first penetration. After victim 15 was penetrated for a third time, she was told to hold the offender's penis, conversely victim 17 was told to touch the offender's testicles as he penetrated her. Victims 18, 19 and 22 were also forced to touch the offender's penis at some point during the offence. Victim 23 was told to rub the offender's penis, while at the same time victim 24 (who was abducted with victim 23) was forced to rub the offender's thighs.

Victims seven and 13 were raped twice during the same abduction offence. Victim seven was raped at the same location, while victim 13 was told to walk further into the veld area and raped for a second time. Victim 14 was raped four times in the same general location but in different zones in the veld, whereas victims 15 and 17 were each raped three times. Victim 18 (who was abducted with victim 19) was raped twice, the second time occurred after victim 19 was raped. Victim 22 indicated that she was raped throughout the night of her abduction (she was abducted and forced to sleep in a "*cave*" overnight).

Victim 23 (who was abducted with victim 24) was raped for a second time, further into the veld area, after the offender told her and victim 24 to "*rub his penis*" and "*rub his thighs".* Victim 25 (who was abducted along with two friends who were not raped), was forced to sleep in the bush (along with the two other girls) and was given a clean pair

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[7] Zam-Buk – Herbal balm and antiseptic ointment used for a range of conditions including burns, cuts, insect bites and bruises. It causes a burning sensation when used on the eyes or on open wounds.
[8] Labello – Brand of lip balm widely used in South Africa.
[9] Vicks – Herbal balm typically used as a decongestant for colds. It has a menthol base and causes irritation if used near the eyes or open wounds.

of underwear after the first penetration. Subsequently, she was told to sleep on the opposite side to where the friends were told to sleep. She was then raped twice the following day after the friends escaped. Victim 26 was raped three times at the same location and victim 27 was penetrated for a second time after victim 28 (who was abducted along with victim 27) was raped.

5.4.3.2.4 Verbal Behaviour

In addition to the physical violence towards the victims, the offender was verbally threatening and aggressive with his victims. It appeared to the researcher that the verbal threats and remarks were used to extend the control over the victims or ensure that they complied with his instructions not to tell anyone what happened. Verbal remarks made by the offender revolved around threats to the victims to undress and after the rapes were commanded to get dressed.

Specific examples of the verbal interaction during the offences were evident in some of the victims' statements. Notably, victim one was told to tell the offender when she "*felt liquids*" after which time he stopped penetrating her. Victim six recalled that when she was led out of the veld, the offender pointed to bones located nearby and told her that the bones belonged to a girl that he killed. After victim seven was raped, the offender told her that he was "*the one raping children*" in the area, referring to the local media attention that the crimes received.

During the offence, victim ten was told that touching the offender's penis would "*make her feel okay*". She asked the offender why she was bleeding to which he replied to not ask him and then told her they must leave the bush area because there were people around who wanted to kill them.

Victim 12 was told she would "*be killed if she talked too much*". Victim 19 was slapped and hit in the chest when the offender told her she was "*not good at rubbing his penis*". During the abduction and rape of victim 21, the offender mentioned to her friends that he was going to rape her. After the offender put Zam-Buk on the victim's vagina, he asked her if she "*was ready*".

5.4.3.3 POST-OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

After the offences, the offender instructed his victims to dress themselves. Two victims, two and four, were told to wipe or clean themselves. Victims 13 and 25 recalled that they were given "*new*" underwear after the rape. Most commonly, the offender accompanied the victims out of the bush area to a nearby taxi rank or other location nearby the initial approach site (n=16). Conversely the offender left three victims (seven, 15 and 20) at the attack location and fled the area, while two victims (victims one and 12) were directed away from the attack location. The other victims in the series ran away from the attack site after they dressed themselves.

5.5 OFFENDER D

Offender D's rape series spanned two years, between 1980 and 1982, and included the rape of two victims. The offender was accused of numerous additional rapes not included in this case. Owing to the fact that many years passed after the rapes were perpetrated before the offender's conviction, there was a limited amount of behavioural information. The offender, who denied all accusations and charges, was apprehended after one of his victims (not referred to in this rape series) alerted authorities.

Offender D was convicted of two rapes and one count of indecent assault. The data presented evidence of other victims who described that they were raped and assaulted under similar circumstances to those presented in this series. However, in accordance with the research criteria, only the rapes for which the offender was convicted are included in the analysis below. Furthermore, the legislation during the time that the victims were raped only specified the act of penile vaginal penetration as rape, therefore many other acts (which would now, as of 2007, be classified as rape) were not included in this rape series.

5.5.1 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

The offender was a White male who was employed as a sports coach at the time of his arrest. During the series, the offender was married, with two children. Offender D's first known rape, according to the available data, occurred when he was 41 years of age; there was no evidence of a prior criminal history.

5.5.2 VICTIM PROFILE

Table 5: Offender D's rape series

No. in Series	Date of Offence	Age	Gender	Population Group	Relation to Offender
1	December 1980	12	Female	White	Known – coach
2	May/June 1982	12/13	Female	White	Known – coach

As shown in Table 5, offender D targeted two females, from his same population group, who were known to him as their sporting coach at the time of the offences. The offences for which offender D was convicted occurred many years prior to the commencement of the current study. The exact dates of the offences and subsequent investigation were not explicitly evident in the data. In addition, due to the fact that many years passed before the victims made statements regarding the rapes, the exact dates and specific nature of the offence behaviours were not apparent. The victims also indicated that they could not recall the exact details of the events.

5.5.3 BEHAVIOURAL PROFILE

5.5.3.1 PRE-OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

Both of the victims in this series were approached during afternoon hours, during coaching lessons.

5.5.3.1.1 Location of Approach

Both of the victims were initially approached outdoors as the offender established a relationship with them as their sport coach. However, before the rapes took place, victim one was approached indoors in a commercial building (a hotel), while victim two was approached outdoors in a recreational area (sports club).

5.5.3.1.2 Method of Approach

The method of approach that the offender used can be classified as a grooming approach because he initially developed a relationship with his victims through coaching them. Specific examples of a grooming process, clearly evident to the researcher, indicated that the offender slowly and progressively sexualised the victims. Examples of the sexualising behaviour included instances when the offender rubbed his penis against the backs of the victim's while he coached them, he also engaged in inappropriate conversations with them regarding puberty and other sexual and

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intimate aspects. On the days of the incidents, the offender isolated the victims as he led them to private areas (victim one – a hotel room and victim two – the offender's vehicle parked on the sports club premises).

5.5.3.2 OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

5.5.3.2.1 Location of Attack

Victim one was attacked, indoors at a commercial location, specifically a hotel room, in the North-West province. As the offender was the victim's coach and established a friendship with the victim's parents, he was trusted to travel with the victim, away from his residential area (the same residential area in which the victim resided in). The location of victim one's rape can be described as a place of employment because the offender took the victim away for a sports tournament, which formed part of his occupational duties.

Victim two was also raped at the offender's place of work, which is classified as a recreational area (sports club) in Gauteng. Victim two was raped inside the offender's car on the premises of the sport's grounds, thus in an outdoor area.

5.5.3.2.2 Method of Attack

The offender isolated his victims and took advantage of the sexualised relationship that he established with them. Various acts of sexual assault (some of which would now be classified as rape according to current legislation) occurred throughout the relationship. Victim one recalled that when the offender drove her home from sport's practice (which he often did) he oftentimes pulled the car over to the side of the road and instructed her to "*kiss his penis*" and perform oral sex on him. On the day of the rape, the victim was lured into the offender's hotel room under the guise that he needed to discuss sport's related matters with her.

When victim two was raped, she was instructed to go to the victim's car and was told to take off her underwear (which she did as a result of the sexualised relationship that was established). The extent of the sexualised and trusted relationship that the offender established was evident to the researcher. An example of evidence to support this was victim two remarked that she, at the time the rape offence took place, thought she loved the offender and therefore did what he requested of her.

5.5.3.2.3 Sexual Behaviour

Both victims were raped through penile vaginal penetration. After the offender successfully lured the victims away from other children, he started his sexual advancements. Victim one was lured into the hotel room when the offender told her to undress and get into a bath with him. The victim initially kept on her underwear, but the offender then instructed her to take them off. In the bathtub, the offender kissed the victim and then told her to "*kiss*" his penis by performing oral sex. Thereafter, the offender told the victim to go to the bed. On the bed, the offender lubricated his penis and told the victim he would try to penetrate her, which he subsequently did. He instructed her to tell him when the penetration began to hurt her; which she did, and the offender stopped. Victim two was raped by penile vaginal penetration; no other offence behaviour was evident in the data.

5.5.3.2.4 Verbal Behaviour

The offender made use of verbal instructions as his control method, specifically using verbal instructions to direct the victims what to do. Victim one recalled that the offender instructed her to tell him when he was "*hurting her*". He also told the victim that what he did to her "*was good for his marriage*". The offender also remarked, that "*they would try again later*" as a result of him hurting the victim. Victim two recalled that the offender stated that they "*were finally going to do this*" and "*this was what they needed to do and were going to do*", referring to the conversation before the rape occurred.

5.5.3.3 POST-OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

After the rape incidents, victim one was told to get dressed and leave the room. In the following days, she was given 'love letters' by the offender in which he wrote that he loved her and described the rape incident as "*phase 1*". In the "love letters", the offender also made reference to his love of the victim's body and asked her to take initiative in their relationship. The researcher noted that there was a strong sexual theme in the "love letters". Regarding the rape of victim two, she was told to clean herself and get dressed after the offence; no further information was available regarding this incident.

5.6 OFFENDER E

Offender E was convicted of a total of 12 rapes of eleven victims in this series. The offender was also convicted of one murder, his last rape victim. The offender's series, which spanned over a period of 17 months, began in 2010 and ended in 2011 when he was apprehended after he was identified by a community member. The offender pleaded guilty to all of the rapes as well as the murder of his last rape victim.

5.6.1 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

The offender was a Black/African male whose first known rape offence occurred when he was 25 years old. At the time of his arrest, the offender had a girlfriend and no children. Additionally, the offender had a grade 12 (matric) education but was unemployed when he was arrested. He was previously charged for damage to property however, no further information regarding prior criminal offences was available.

5.6.2 VICTIM PROFILE

Table 6: Offender E's rape series

No. in Series	Date of Offence	Age	Gender	Population Group	Relation to Offender
1	07/04/2010	7	Female	Black/African	Stranger
2	26/06/2010	5	Female	Black/African	Stranger
3 *	02/07/2010	8	Female	Black/African	Stranger
4 *	02/07/2010	5	Female	Black/African	Stranger
5	16/08/2010	2	Female	Black/African	Stranger
6	19/09/2010	4	Female	Black/African	Stranger
7	02/11/2010	5	Female	Black/African	Stranger
8	17 or 19 /12/2010	5/6	Female	Black/African	Stranger
9	26/02/2011	6	Female	Black/African	Stranger
10	18/07/2011	4	Female	Black/African	Stranger
11	12/09/2011	4	Female	Black/African	Stranger

*raped in the presence of another rape victim from offender E's rape series.

As outlined in Table 6, all but two of the victims were abducted alone; whereas victims three and four were approached, abducted and raped while together. Offender E targeted female children between the ages of two and eight years of age, on average the victims were 5 years old.

A few of the victims noticed the offender in the community area towards the end of the rape series period. Victim eight previously saw the offender passing her house; she also saw him entering a tavern at some stage. Victim nine did not see the offender in the area before the rape incident but on the day of the offence, other children in the area reported that they witnessed the offender walking around in the area. In addition, witnesses in the area of victim ten's rape location reported that the offender was in the area at least three times in the month preceding the offence.

5.6.3 BEHAVIOURAL PROFILE

5.6.3.1 PRE-OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

All of the victims across this series were approached during the daylight hours. More specifically, three victims were abducted in the morning, while five victims were approached and abducted during the afternoon. The time of day was not apparent or evident in the data for the other victims in the series.

5.6.3.1.1 Location of Approach

Offender E approached all but one of his victims outdoors in, or near, the residential location of the Khayalitsha informal settlement, in the Western Cape province. Victim one was also approached outdoors, but in a recreational area (a park) within the same informal settlement area. Eight of the victims were playing in the road, with friends, while two of the victims were walking in the street on their way back from various shops. Victim one was playing in the park with friends when she was approached.

5.6.3.1.2 Method of Approach

Most of the victims (n=8) were in the company of friends and/or siblings when they were approached, whereas victims two and eight were alone when approached. Once approached, the victims were either asked for directions to a house or a shop, or they were asked to assist the offender to carry cardboard boxes. Two victims were promised sweets or biscuits if they followed the offender. Victim one and nine initially refused to assist the offender but were then overpowered by him (victim one was grabbed by the arm, and victim nine was picked up and carried to the attack location). The method of approach was not evident in two of the cases, one victim was too young to provide a statement, whereas in the other case the information was not evident in the various forms of data.

On the day of victim seven's rape, the offender attempted to rape another girl in the area, but he was interrupted by community members. Additionally, on the day that victim nine was raped, another young girl reported that the offender previously tried to call her over, but she refused to go to him. Later that day, the young witness noticed the offender walking with a young girl (presumably victim nine).

5.6.3.2 OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

5.6.3.2.1 Location of Attack

Three of the victims mentioned that their rapes took place near a college in the area. The specific attack sites of the other rapes were not evident in the data, however, all of the victims were raped in outdoor locations, specifically in a veld area near the Khayelitsha informal settlement. The data indicated that the offender lived within a 5.5-kilometre radius of all the offences.

5.6.3.2.2 Method of Attack

In nine incidents (excluding those of victims five and eleven) the offender began the attack by isolating the victims and pulling them into nearby veld. The attacks were initiated after a period of walking with each of the victims, from the approach location to the attack locations. Once the offender successfully lured the victim away from others, he initiated the rape by either pushing the victims down or instructing them to lie down. More specifically, victims one, two, seven and eight were pushed down onto the ground, while victims four and ten were told to lie down.

More than half of the victims (n=6) recalled that the offender removed their clothes himself. Victim nine was asked to undress herself but when she refused the offender undressed her tights and underwear. Victims two and eleven were undressed completely, while for the other victims he removed the underwear from underneath their skirts or dresses. Conversely, four of the victims recalled that the offender undressed himself completely.

It was clear to the researcher that in all of the rapes, the offender's ability to physically overpower the victims was enough to ensure their compliance. In addition, the offender used verbal threats and was physically violent across the series. Victims two and number five were threatened with a knife and at some stage during the offence, the offender cut their vagina's (presumably to cut them open in order for him to carry

out the rape). It was also evident that the offender became increasingly physically aggressive and violent through his series as some of the later victims (n=5) were throttled or choked when they cried. Further evidence of the increased violence was shown in victim nine's case as she recalled that she was hit in the face when she cried. By means of strangulation, the offender killed the last victim in this series.

5.6.3.2.3 Sexual Behaviour

All the victims were penetrated vaginally by the offender's penis; victims two and nine were also penetrated anally (in addition to the vaginal penetration). Victim nine recalled that the offender used sticks to penetrate her anus after the penile vaginal rape.

5.6.3.2.4 Verbal Behaviour

There was very little evidence of the offender's verbal behaviour, however victims one, three and four recalled that the offender instructed them to close their eyes and pray when he started to rape them.

5.6.3.3 POST-OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

After the rapes, victims one and two were shown the way out of the veld area. Victims three and four were told to dress themselves and wait for the offender to return with cooldrink for them, however, the offender did not return. Similarly, victims six and eight were also told to wait at the scene for the offender to return with cooldrink and chips, respectively. Victim nine was told to stay in the bush and not come out.

In all except one of the rape incidents semen was found on the victims' clothes or at the crime scene (for example, a used condom was found nearby victim eleven's body). The semen samples were matched to the offender and thus DNA evidence was used to convict him. Despite the fact that no DNA evidence was found on victim four, she was in the presence of victim three when she was raped which meant the victims were witnesses to each other's rapes.

5.7 OFFENDER F

Offender F's rape series occurred in 2012, over a two-month period, and included the rape of three victims. The offender was chased and apprehended by community members after they caught him in the act with the last victim in the series.

5.7.1 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

Offender F was a Black/African Sotho speaking male. He was married and had two children, one teenaged child and one child aged four. At the time of the arrest, the offender was not living with his wife and had a girlfriend. He had a grade 12 (matric) education and was employed as a security guard when he was arrested.

His criminal history included abduction and rape charges in both 2009 and 2010, indecent assault and kidnapping charges in 2007 (according to a change in legislation, the indecent assault crimes would now be classified as rape; although the specific offences were not evident in the data, the possibility of additional prior rape charges cannot be excluded). The data also indicated that the offender was charged with the attempted rape of a 14-year-old boy, however no further information was available.

5.7.2 VICTIM PROFILE

Table 7: Offender F's rape series

No. in Series	Date of Offence	Age	Gender	Population Group	Relation to Offender
1	25/08/2012	6	Male	Black/African	Stranger
2	13/09/2012	9	Female	Not evident	Stranger
3	29/09/2012	7	Male	Black/African	Stranger

Table 7 illustrates that the offender raped three victims over a period of slightly over one month. He targeted both male and female children who were not known to him. The victims were aged 7.3 years old on average therefore they were pre-pubescent.

5.7.3 BEHAVIOURAL PROFILE

5.7.3.1 PRE-OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

The offender approached his victims at varying times of the day. Victim one was approached in the afternoon (around 16h00), victim two was approached during the morning at approximately 08h00, conversely victim three was approached at around midday. Thus, no pattern of approach time was evident in the data.

5.7.3.1.1 Location of Approach

All three victims were approached in outdoor areas of the Kayamandi informal settlement in Stellenbosch, Western Cape province.

5.7.3.1.2 Method of Approach

Victims one and two were alone when they were approached but victim three was in the company of another boy who was told by the offender to go and buy cigarettes, and therefore, was not abducted with the victim. All of the victims were isolated and lured away with a misleading con-type story. Victim one was told to follow the offender in order to help him find his car and victim two was told to follow the offender to get medicine (presumably 'muti'[10] medicine) from the bushes.

Victim three was lured away when the offender asked for assistance to carry clothes; the initial story theme was then changed to the need to find a specific house and then find the offender's car. Victim three in this case (who recalled walking a considerable distance after being approached) stated that it appeared as if the offender was lost. Along the route, victim three told the offender that he was hungry, after which the offender bought him food. Similarly, victim one was offered money before the attack.

5.7.3.2 OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

5.7.3.2.1 Location of Attack

The victims were all raped at outdoor areas, specifically in a veld which was located within walking distance from the approach location. Victim three reported that they walked a considerable distance before they approached the attack location.

5.7.3.2.2 Method of Attack

The offender initiated the attacks in the same way; once he and the victims reached the separate attack locations the offender pulled the victims into the bushes and then told them to lie down (victim two and three were told to lie down on an item of clothing). Physical violence and threats to kill the victims were used to control the victims. Victim two recalled that the offender had a knife on his person, during the attack. All of the victims were choked or throttled when they tried to scream. Additionally, victim three was slapped in the face before they arrived at the attack site.

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[10] Muti – a term for traditional medicine in Southern Africa. The word muti is derived from the Zulu word umuthi, meaning "tree".

5.7.3.2.3 Sexual Behaviour

Victim one was undressed by the offender but victim two was told to undress, which she subsequently did herself. During all of the incidents, the offender undressed himself to be semi-naked, taking off his pants or dropping them to his knees. Victim one was raped anally with a stick, victim two was raped by means of penile vaginal rape, and victim three was penetrated anally by the offender's penis. Victim three was raped twice, the second time just a short distance away from the first rape location (it was during this second rape that community members came across the victim and offender after which a chase ensued, resulting in the arrest of the offender).

5.7.3.2.4 Verbal Behaviour

The limited verbal behaviour evidence available in the data showed that victims one and two were told to keep quiet and not scream or cry. Victim three engaged in a conversation with the offender during the abduction and told the offender that they were going too far away from his home and that his mother would not allow it, it was at this time the offender slapped the victim.

5.7.3.3 POST-OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

After victim one was raped, the offender kept him in the bush overnight where he fell asleep. The offender was apprehended by community members after he raped victim three and was subsequently taken into custody by police. DNA samples from victim one and two linked the offender to the series.

5.8 OFFENDER G

Offender G's rape series spanned four years, between 2011-2014, and included eleven rapes of eleven victims. He was also convicted of two counts of sexual assault. The offender was apprehended after he sold one of the victim's phones (which he stole during the incident) to a community member; authorities then used cellular phone data to identify the individual to whom the offender sold the phone. This individual then led the police to the offender. Once apprehended, the offender was pointed out and identified by one of his victims.

5.8.1 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

The offender was a Black/African Sotho and Zulu-speaking male, whose first known criminal offence was his first rape, which took place when he was 26 years of age. The offender's educational level was not evident in the data and he was unemployed at the time of his arrest. The offender had a prior criminal history which included two previous charges of kidnapping in 2012, as well as a charge for robbery with a firearm in the same year.

5.8.2 VICTIM PROFILE

Table 8: Offender G's rape series

No. in Series	Date of Offence	Age	Gender	Population Group	Relation to Offender
1	01/04/2011	10	Male	Black/African	Stranger
2	12/12/2011	12	Male	Black/African	Stranger
3	25/05/2013	15	Male	Black/African	Stranger
4 **	29/07/2013	12	Male	Black/African	Stranger
5	25/10/2013	14	Male	Black/African	Stranger
6 **	23/11/2013	12	Male	Black/African	Stranger
7	05/12/2013	11	Male	Black/African	Stranger
8	18/03/2014	12	Male	Black/African	Stranger
9	24/03/2014	13	Male	Black/African	Stranger
10	10/05/2014	12	Male	Black/African	Stranger
11	25/05/2014	13	Male	Black/African	Stranger

**raped in the presence of a victim who was sexually assaulted or abducted by offender G.

As illustrated in Table 8, Offender G raped eleven victims between the ages of 10 and 15 years old, thus his victims were mostly pubescent. Two of the rapes occurred in 2011, while five took place in 2013 and the last four occurred in 2014. The offender targeted males within the same population group as himself. He was a stranger to all of his victims, however one of the victims (victim one) stated that he saw the offender at a local car wash in the community, just before he was approached. Additionally, victim nine recalled that he saw the offender in the community several times before the rape incident took place.

5.8.3 BEHAVIOURAL PROFILE

5.8.3.1 PRE-OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

Most of the victims (n=8) were approached and attacked in the afternoon, after 16h00. One victim was approached around 14h10, while two other victims (the last two in the series) were approached during the late morning around 11h00-11h30.

5.8.3.1.1 Location of Approach

Offender G approached his victims around the areas of Vanderbijlpark, De Deur and the Sebokeng informal settlement in the Gauteng province. Most commonly the offender approached victims (n=5) in the Sebokeng informal settlement, while four victims were approached near or around De Deur and victim one was approached near Vanderbijlpark. All but one of the victims were approached outdoors in residential areas while walking to and from various locations, such as a relative's house or a hospital. Victim one was approached in a residential area specifically in a passage of a hostel.

5.8.3.1.2 Method of Approach

All of the victims were alone when they were approached; however, victim four was with a friend who was also sexually assaulted during the abduction incident. Victim six was in the company of two friends when they were approached, one of the friends was also sexually assaulted, however the other friend was not victimised. Victim eight was walking with his brother when approached, however, the brother was told to go home.

The methods of approach used by the offender varied across the series, although two themes or methods were evident. Firstly, one method entailed asking for directions or assistance, and secondly, the offender approached and then immediately overpowered a victim, forcing them to follow him.

Victim one was immediately lifted up when approached and carried over the offender's shoulders. Victim two was initially asked for directions and then physically overpowered, while victim three was told to follow the offender and was threatened with a knife in the process of being approached. Similarly, victims four and five were first asked if they knew someone specific and then was asked for help to carry wood. Victim six was initially asked for directions, then asked for help to carry boxes and also

asked if he could help the offender sell shirts, while victim seven was asked if he would help the offender sell wood. Victim eight was initially asked if he knew someone specific, and then asked for assistance to carry boxes. Victim nine was followed from a train station where the offender started a conversation with him and then pulled out a firearm and threatened him. Victim ten was walking along a street when he was grabbed from behind, blindfolded and pulled into an unknown vehicle. As with some of the previous victims, victim eleven was also asked to assist the offender to carry heavy boxes.

Seven of the victims were promised money or rewards for their assistance. In particular, victims one, two, three, six and eleven were offered food (bunny chow) before the offence took place, while victims four, five and six were offered money.

5.8.3.2 OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

5.8.3.2.1 Location of Attack

All of the victims were attacked outdoors, in a bush/veld area. Some victims recalled being near a wooded area. All the locations of the attacks occurred within various zones of the Sebokeng informal settlement, where the offender lived.

5.8.3.2.2 Method of Attack

Most of the victims in the series were told to lie down once they were lured away from others, however four victims (victims one, four, nine and eleven) were pushed or forced down to the ground by the offender. Two victims were specifically threatened with death if they told anyone about the offence or tried to run away. The offender used weapons throughout the series in order to control the victims. Victims two and six were threatened with the weapons to not tell anyone and to not look up during the attack. More specifically, four of the victims (one, two, three and eleven) were threatened with a knife, while victims six and nine were threatened with a firearm.

The common method of control used by the offender across the series entailed verbal threats that were made to the victims with a weapon in hand. However, the offender also used physical violence to subdue his victims. Specifically, he hit victim one's hands during the attack, victim two was grabbed by his neck during the abduction, victim four was slapped when he refused to "*kiss*" the offender's penis and he was also "*beaten*" when he tried to escape. During the incident in which victim six was

raped, the other abducted victim, who was sexually assaulted, was slapped across the face.

5.8.3.2.3 Sexual Behaviour

Most of the victims (n=5) were undressed by the offender himself, however four victims (victims one, two, seven and eight) were told to undress themselves. All of the victims were penetrated anally by the offender's penis, and victims four and eight were forced to put the offender's penis in their mouths before they were penetrated anally, thus they were each raped twice.

Other sexual acts which were demonstrated by the offender in the series included forcing victims to kiss his lips (victims one and two), or to kiss another victim (victim four), forcing the victims to "*kiss*" his penis (victims four and eight) and forcing the victim to "*play*" with his buttocks (victim six).

5.8.3.2.4 Verbal Behaviour

Most of the offender's verbal behaviour in the series entailed instructions to victims to lie down on their clothes and their stomachs and not to look up. Victim two was told to swallow the offender's saliva after kissing. The offender also instructed victims one and eleven to "*give him one round*" before the offence. When victim one questioned the offender regarding the meaning of "one round", the offender, in reply, told him to remove his pants. Victim eleven was told he would be killed if he did not give the offender "*one round*", similarly victim three was told to choose between "*one round*" or dying. The offender attempted to penetrate the other boy who was abducted along with victim four. The offender asked him if he penetrated his anus to which that victim lied and stated he had. However, when he made a formal statement to the investigators, he indicated that he was in fact not penetrated (hence, the sexual assault charge in conjunction with the other convictions in the series).

During the abduction of victim six, the offender told him to play music, on his cellular phone, which the offender could be "*remembered by*"; he also told the victim that he (the victim) was "physically fit" while raping him. He also asked the victim why he and the other boy followed a stranger. Moreover, when victim eight told the offender that he (the offender) hurt him during the rape, the offender told him that he spoke too

much and would be killed. Victim ten was asked if he wanted to die to which he replied that he did not, the offender then told him (the victim) to obey him.

5.8.3.3 POST-OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

During the first offence in offender G's series, he offered victim one fifty Rand (R50) after the rape act, whereas, further in the series, he began to rob his victims of money and personal items. In particular, victim three was robbed of his cellular phone and ten Rand (R10). Subsequently, victim five was also robbed of his cell phone, victim six was robbed of his underwear and victim seven was robbed of various clothing items, along with his cellular phone, while victim seven was robbed of his shoes. Victim ten was also robbed of his cellular phone, a school bag (of which the offender emptied the contents into a plastic bag and gave them back to the victim), a jersey and three Rand (R3). Similarly, victim eleven was also robbed of two cellular phones, a jacket and one Rand (R1).

The verbal behaviour after the offences consisted mostly of instructing the victims to get dressed or give up their personal items. However, later in the series, victim ten and eleven were told that if they wanted to see the offender again they could "*find him in zone seven*" (referring to the zone of the informal settlement in which he lived).

After the rapes, most of the victims (n=8) were left at the scene by the offender, however victim seven took the opportunity to escape while the offender was "*smoking dagga*" after the rape act. Two victims (one and ten) walked out of the bush with the offender, and then ran away once they noticed a familiar area.

In most of the cases (n=7) DNA samples taken from the victims were positively linked to the offender. In addition, four of the victims (victim one, four, five and ten) stated that they recognised the offender, specifically by his face and a tattoo on his body. Consequently, victims five, seven, eight, nine, ten and eleven were able to recognise the offender and positively identified him in an identification parade.

5.9 OFFENDER H

Offender H's rape series began in 2004 and ended in 2008 after a mass DNA screening in the community identified him as the person responsible for a series of rapes and murders in the area. He was subsequently convicted of eight rapes, of eight victims. Along with the rape offences, he was also convicted for the murder of seven

victims (some of which are included in this rape series). In addition, he was convicted of the rape of an adult; however, the offence was not included in the data collection as it did not fit the research criteria.

5.9.1 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

The offender was a Black/African male, with a grade five school qualification. The offender was married and did not have children. He was unemployed at the time of his arrest, however he previously worked part-time jobs as a brick worker and a farmer. The offender's prior criminal history included charges of housebreaking in 1980, theft in 1982 and two charges of assault with the intention to do grievous bodily harm in 1986.

5.9.2 VICTIM PROFILE

Table 9: Offender H's rape series

No. in Series	Date of Offence	Age	Gender	Population Group	Relation to Offender
1	14/08/2004	10	Female	Black/African	Stranger
2	09/10/2004	9	Female	Black/African	Stranger
3	04/10/2005	6	Female	Black/African	Stranger
4	06 05 2007	6	Female	Black/African	Stranger
5	06/06/2007	4	Female	Black/African	Stranger
6	19/04/2007	6	Female	Black/African	Stranger
7	19/05/2007	4	Female	Black/African	Stranger
8	17/12/2007	10	Female	Black/African	Stranger

Table 9 shows that offender H's rape series started in 2004 and continued until 2007 and spanned slightly over three years. The last known rape offence took place in 2007 during which most of the convicted offences occurred.

The offender targeted eight pre-pubescent females, within his same population group, between the ages of four and ten; his victims' average age was 6.8 years old. Although the offender was a stranger to his victims, victim one recognised him in the community after her rape. Similarly, victim four indicated that after her rape, she saw the offender, speaking with her uncle. Furthermore, victim two reported that she thought the offender's face looked familiar.

5.9.3 BEHAVIOURAL PROFILE

5.9.3.1 PRE-OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

Most of the victims (n=6) across this series were approached and attacked during the afternoon, after 16h00. However, one victim (victim two) was approached around midday, while another victim (victim six) was approached during the morning (around 08h30).

5.9.3.1.1 Location of Approach

All the victims across this series were approached outdoors in residential or recreational areas, around Modimolle, in the Limpopo province. Victims one, two and four specifically noted that they were approached in the Phagameng informal settlement in Modimolle.

5.9.3.1.2 Method of Approach

Victims one, five and eight were alone when they were approached however, the other victims were playing with friends when approached, none of whom were abducted or victimised. The ways in which the offender approached his victims varied across the series. Victim one was lured by the offender when he asked her to assist him to carry boxes; he also told the victim that he knew her mother, father and uncle. Victim two was grabbed by the arm when she tried to run away after the offender told her he wanted to take her to a specific house; the offender offered her ten Rand (R10) not to scream. As they approached the veld area, the offender lifted the victim up and carried her to the attack location.

Victim three was immediately grabbed as she was approached. Victim four was asked to help carry wood, then grabbed by the neck and taken into a veld area. Victim five was told to follow the offender (the reason was not evident in the data), thereafter she was also grabbed by the neck. Victim six was asked for directions (and offered money for her assistance) when she was also physically overpowered, picked up and taken to the attack location.

5.9.3.2 OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

5.9.3.2.1 Location of Attack

All of the victims were raped outdoors in a veld area, in walking distance from the approach sites. Thus, the rapes occurred in the Modimolle/Phagameng area. Victim six and eight specifically stated that the rape took place in Phagameng.

5.9.3.2.2 Method of Attack

Once the offender lured the victims away, he forced them into the bush where he began his attacks. He physically overpowered the victims and used verbal threats and physical violence to control the victims. In particular, the first four victims in the series were told that they would be killed; victim three specifically recalled being told that her "*neck would be cut off*" if she told anyone about the offence. Victim two was punched in the face when she started to cry, she was also hit under her feet with a tree branch and there were also bite marks evident on her body. Victim four had multiple scratches under her feet and on her legs. Victim five's body showed evidence of assault to the face and neck area (evidence of choking), while victim seven's body showed evidence of bruises and scratches on her neck as well as around her waist area.

5.9.3.2.3 Sexual Behaviour

From the available data, victims one, two, three, five and eight were undressed of either just their underwear, when wearing a skirt, or they were undressed of both their trousers and underwear. Conversely, victim eight was undressed fully. Victim one was told to open her legs thereafter the offender put Vaseline between her legs. Most of the victims were penetrated vaginally by the offender's penis (n=5) while victims five and seven were also penetrated anally. Victim eight was penetrated once, anally, by the offender's penis.

5.9.3.2.4 Verbal Behaviour

The offender's verbal behaviour during the offence mainly consisted of the threats to the victims' lives. Additionally, victim two specifically recalled that the offender told her he wanted to "*Fuck her naai[11]*".

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[11] Naai – a South African Afrikaans slang term meaning to have sex.

The verbal behaviour after the offence was only evident in one incident (victim one) whereby the offender asked her if she had "*lots of blood*" and whether or not she could walk. He then told her to tell other people that it was her father who "*did this*". Interestingly, when victim two was found by the first reporting witness, the witness recalled that the victim stated, "*her father did this*". This could be evidence that the offender indoctrinated the victims in order to divert attention away from him.

5.9.3.3 POST-OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

According to the data, victim one's incident lasted approximately 30 minutes, while victim two fell asleep in the bush after her attack and was checked into the hospital at 20h20. She stated that she slept in the veld because of being unable to walk after the incident. After the attack, family and community members found victim five at around 19h00, and victim eight was also found by community members later on the day of her abduction. Conversely, victim seven was only found by community members the following morning after her rape.

All of the first seven victims had DNA on their clothes and/or bodies, which was linked to the offender. There was no DNA found on victim eight albeit she was found naked.

5.10 OFFENDER I

Offender I's rape series, spanning a period of seven months, began in November 2002 and ended in June 2003, after one of the victims recognised him in a taxi and alerted community members. The offender, who operated in the Free State province, was convicted of eleven rapes in this series, which included the rape of nine child victims. The other two victims were not included in this series because their ages did not suit the research criteria.

5.10.1 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

Offender I was a Black/African Southern Sotho speaking male. He was 21 years old when he committed his first known offence and began the rape series when he was 33 years old. His previous criminal offences included thefts in 1990 and 1993, housebreaking in 1991, assault with the intention to do grievous bodily harm in 1994 and 2001 as well as further thefts in 2000, 2002 and 2003.

Offender I was single and had no children of his own at the time of his arrest. Prior to his arrest, the offender had three previous relationships. One of the ex-partners had a

court interdict against him because of the physical aggression he vented against her. He had a grade seven education qualification and was working various part-time jobs during the series. It was not evident whether or not he was employed at the time of his arrest, but the offender admitted that he burgled in order to earn an income.

5.10.2 VICTIM PROFILE

Table 10: Offender I's rape series

No. in Series	Date of Offence	Age	Gender	Population Group	Relation to Offender
1	23/11/2002	16	Female	Black/African	Stranger
2	23/12/2002	15	Female	Black/African	Stranger
3	19/01/2003	15	Female	Black/African	Stranger
4	14/04/2003	17	Female	Black/African	Stranger
5	04/05/2003	14	Female	Black/African	Stranger
6	17/05/2003	18	Female	Black/African	Stranger
7	23/05/2003	14	Female	Black/African	Stranger
8	23/06/2003	18	Female	Black/African	Stranger
9	29/06/2003	15	Female	White	Stranger

Table 10 shows that the offender targeted nine pubescent females in the series, between the ages of 14 and 18 years, with an average victim age of 15.7 years. All of the victims were strangers to the offender, and all except one victim belonged to the same population group as the offender.

5.10.3 BEHAVIOURAL PROFILE

5.10.3.1 PRE-OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

Most of the victims (n=7) in this series were approached during the morning around 11h00 or 12h00, one victim (victim three) was approached earlier around 09h30. Conversely, two victims (victim four and six) were approached around 14h30-14h45.

5.10.3.1.1 Location of Approach

The victims in this series were approached near the town of Sasolburg, in the Free State province. All of the victims were approached outdoors, in a residential area, and most of the victims (n=7), except for victims one and eight, were alone when they were approached, either as they walked home from school or nearby shops, or as they

walked to a friend or relative's house. However, victim one was in the company of her friend when she was approached; the friend stated that she did not trust the offender's misleading story and therefore was not abducted. Victim eight was approached at her own residence, when she and her sister were together at home without adult supervision.

5.10.3.1.2 Method of Approach

The offender approached his victims and engaged in a conversation using various stories, however two themes were evident in the approach stories. The first theme centred around the offer of employment, while the second theme revolved around assistance to fetch a key. In particular, he offered victim one was offered employment but was told that she needed to fetch her identity book.

Victim two was asked to help the offender call a specific person and to follow him in order to be shown the person to which he was referring, while victim three was simply told to follow the offender. The employment-offer theme was also evident in the approach of victim four, who was asked whether she wanted a holiday job, to which she agreed and was then asked to follow the offender.

Victim five was asked to help the offender call his girlfriend at another specific location and when they arrived at a location the offender then stated that the girlfriend was "*not there*". Victim six was called over to assist the offender's sister find a specific house key; she was also asked her name, age, and what grade she was in. Similarly, victim seven was asked to assist the offender find a key from his sister; she was also told to go home.

When victim seven arrived at her house, the offender engaged in conversation with the victim's aunt who said that the victim could go with the offender to help find the key he was looking for. The offender asked victim eight, who was approached at her residence, for permission to use her toilet, once he was finished, he then asked the victim whether she knew a specific person and whether she could help him fetch a "*house key*". Similarly, victim nine was also told to follow the offender in order to fetch a specific "*house key*".

5.10.3.2 OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

5.10.3.2.1 Location of Attack

Once the offender lured the victims away from other people and successfully isolated them, he then forced them into a veld area, where they were raped. Thus, all of the victims were raped outdoors. Three victims specifically recalled "*a wooded area*" nearby, while victim nine recalled being raped near a municipal sewerage site.

5.10.3.2.2 Method of Attack

Once the offender isolated the victims at the attack site, he then forced them to the ground in varying ways, either physically pushing them (victims two, three and five) or by grabbing their necks and pulling them to the ground (victims four, seven and eight). The offender also threatened them with death as a means to force the victims to comply with his instructions. For example, he told victim one to "*choose between death or rape*", while victim four reported that she was told that she would die if she did not follow his instructions.

The method of control used by the offender across the series was physical control along with verbal threats of violence. In particular, five victims were threatened with death if they did not comply. Victim one was physically hit across the face when she told the offender to rather kill her than rape her, while seven of the victims were told they would be stabbed with a knife. Most of the victims (n=7) recalled the offender had a knife on his person during the attack.

5.10.3.2.3 Sexual Behaviour

Across the series, the offender took off the victims' clothes, either just their underwear, or he undressed their bottom half completely. Victim one was undressed of her bra, bottom underwear and trousers, while victim nine was completely undressed by the offender. In most of the incidents the offender dropped his pants to his knees or simply unzipped his pants, whereas victim three recalled that the offender undressed himself fully. All of the victims were penetrated vaginally by the offender's penis.

According to the available data, apart from the penetration, there were no other sexual acts that were committed during the attack. However, victim nine was reportedly pushed up against a wall and kissed by the offender, during which time he fondled her

breasts. The offender warned the victim that if she did not kiss him she "*would be raped again*". The offender did not use any protective measures during the incidents and as a result, victim one fell pregnant after the attack.

5.10.3.2.4 Verbal Behaviour

During the abduction of the victims, the offender used various misleading stories to convince the victims to follow him. During the abduction of victim six, the offender asked her what her name was, when he replied he gave his name as "*Simpiwe*"[12] and told her to "*relax*" because he would not "harm" her.

During the attacks, most of the verbal behaviour exhibited by the offender entailed providing instructions to not make a noise or scream. When some of the victims (n=3) made a noise, by crying or attempting to scream, the offender covered their mouths and once again told them not to make a noise.

After the attacks, the offender commanded the victims to get dressed and to leave the site. Victim one was told that the "*wiseness was up on her that is why Jesus did not save her from him*". The offender told victim four that he knew where she lived and that he would be "*watching her*", while victim six reported that the offender told her to avoid walking with strangers.

5.10.3.3 POST-OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

Victim two was given five Rand (R5) and a tissue to clean herself after the rape. Victim three was accompanied to a nearby taxi rank whereby the victim reported the incident to one of the taxi drivers; the taxi driver then chased the offender away from the taxi rank. After victim four was raped, the offender cleaned himself with her underwear and then followed her out of the veld and accompanied her to a taxi rank where she was given three Rand (R3) for taxi fare. Victim six was also given three Rand (R3) for taxi fare. Victim eight was given five Rand (R5) and told to provide one Rand (R1) to her younger sister. After victim nine was raped, the offender cleaned himself with her underwear and destroyed the foot prints (where the offence took place) with another piece of material (presumably found at the scene).

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[12] Not his real name.

5.11 OFFENDER J

Offender J's rape series, which spanned a period of four years, began in May 1997 and ended in May 2001, after he was apprehended by authorities. The offender was convicted of 38 rapes as well as four attempted rapes, 17 indecent assaults, and various robbery, kidnapping and assault charges. Within the period of the series, the offender raped another female who did not fit the research criteria.

5.11.1 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

The offender was a Black/African male who reportedly spoke various languages including Sotho, Xhosa and isiZulu. He was twice divorced before he was arrested and was living with his third wife at the time of his arrest. He also had three children. The offender was employed as a chef, with a tertiary level college qualification and a successful career within the restaurant industry. The offender began the rape series at the age of 35 years and was apprehended at the age of 40 years. There was no evidence of a criminal history in the data.

Regarding the background data (only evident in this case), a history of abuse in offender J's childhood was evident. The offender claimed that he was sodomised on separate occasions by his stepfather and a previous employer (according to the legislative changes, acts that were previously classified as sodomy would now be covered by rape legislation). The offender reported that his mother was an alcoholic and often forced him to have sexual intercourse with her friends. Post arrest, during the criminal proceedings, the psychological condition of a multiple personality, formerly classified as dissociative identify disorder or multiple personality disorder, was brought up by the offender's defence.

5.11.2 VICTIM PROFILE

Table 11: Offender J's rape series

No. in Series	Date of Offence	Age	Gender	Population Group	Relation to Offender
1 **	30/05/1997	10	Female	Black/African	Stranger
2 *	31/01/1998	11	Female	Black/African	Stranger
3 *	31/01/1998	12	Female	Black/African	Stranger
4	21/02/1998	10	Female	Black/African	Stranger
5	16/08/1998	10	Female	Black/African	Stranger

6	17/10/1998	9	Female	Black/African	Stranger
7	12/11/1998	10	Female	Black/African	Stranger
8	13/02/1999	11	Female	Black/African	Stranger
9	25/03/1999	11	Female	Black/African	Stranger
10	22/12/1999	9	Female	Black/African	Stranger
11	13/02/2000	14	Female	Black/African	Stranger
12 **	11/03/2000	13	Female	Black/African	Stranger
13 **	05/06/2000	11	Female	Black/African	Stranger
14 **	02/07/2000	15	Female	Black/African	Stranger
15	23/08/2000	11	Female	Black/African	Stranger
16	30/08/2000	10	Female	Black/African	Stranger
17	13/09/2000	12	Female	Black/African	Stranger
18	16/09/2000	12	Female	Black/African	Stranger
19	24/09/2000	12	Female	Black/African	Stranger
20	24/10/2000	11	Female	Black/African	Stranger
21	16/11/2000	8	Female	Black/African	Stranger
22 *	14/12/2000	7	Female	Black/African	Stranger
23 *	14/12/2000	10	Female	Black/African	Stranger
24 **	10/01/2001	11	Female	Black/African	Stranger
25	28/01/2001	12	Female	Black/African	Stranger
26	31/01/2001	12	Female	Black/African	Stranger
27 *	13/02/2001	10	Female	Black/African	Stranger
28 *	13/02/2001	7	Female	Black/African	Stranger
29	16/02/2001	10	Female	Black/African	Stranger
30 **	18/02/2001	13	Female	Black/African	Stranger
31	05/03/2001	11	Female	Black/African	Stranger
32	09/03/2001	8	Female	Black/African	Stranger
33	25/03/2001	12	Female	Black/African	Stranger
34 *	10/04/2001	12	Female	Black/African	Stranger
35 *	10/04/2001	9	Female	Black/African	Stranger
36	21/04/2001	14	Female	Black/African	Stranger
37	28/04/2001	12	Female	Black/African	Stranger
38	03/05/2001	11	Female	Black/African	Stranger

*raped in the presence of another rape victim from offender J's rape series.
**raped in the presence of a victim who was sexually assaulted or abducted by offender J.

As illustrated by Table 11, the offender targeted 38 young females, within his same population group, who were between the ages of seven and 15 years when attacked; the average age of the offender's victims was 10.7 years. All of the victims were strangers to the offender. Additionally, all but one of the victims, reported that they did not see the offender before or after the offence. However, victim 15, recalled that she saw the offender twice in the days following the offence, when on one occasion he asked her for directions to a specific location (similarly to how he approached her when he raped her).

The data also alluded to aspects about the offender which may offer insight into his victim preference. Information indicated that he had a sexual preference for girls wearing school uniforms. In most of the cases (n=29), it was clearly evident (according to the victims' reports) that they were dressed in either a school uniform, a skirt or a dress.

5.11.3 BEHAVIOURAL PROFILE

5.11.3.1 PRE-OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

The victims were all approached and abducted during daylight hours. Most of the victims (n=20) were approached after midday, between midday and 18h00, while the rest of the victims were approached between 08h00 and 10h00 in the morning (most often on weekdays before school).

5.11.3.1.1 Location of Approach

All of the victims (except for victim eight) were approached outdoors, in residential areas, across the Alexandra, Ellis Park, Hillbrow and Berea suburbs of the Gauteng province. Victim eight was approached in a commercial area, specifically a shopping centre. The approach locations were all nearby the offender's residential premises, which was located in Yeoville. The approach areas were also in close proximity (approximately ten kilometres) to where the offender worked in Gold Reef City (a casino and entertainment hub), and approximately seven kilometres from the offender's prior employment location, in Rosebank.

Most of the victims (n=24) were alone when they were approached. Most commonly, victims were approached as they walked to or from a nearby shop (n=18). Seven victims were approached on their way home from school while six victims were

approached while they played outside their residence. Victim 25 was approached on her way from church. The offender also approached victims at public transport locations (n=5). In particular, victims seven, 12, 29, and 31 were walking to or from a taxi rank and victim 11 was approached at a bus stop.

5.11.3.1.2 Method of Approach

A common approach method that was used by the offender was to initiate a conversation with the victims and once the victims were lured away, he then grabbed them, immediately overpowering them. Another way to control the victims, once he successfully lured them away from other, was to threaten them with a weapon or physical violence, and then forced them to the attack site.

The most commonly used theme within the stories of the approach (n=19) involved telling the victims he was a policeman and therefore requiring that they follow him. The offender also asked victims (n=13) for directions in order to begin the conversation. Conversely, other victims (n=5) recalled that they were immediately grabbed or threatened and subsequently forced to follow the offender.

The common ruse employed by the offender was to indicate to the victims that he was a police officer. The offender used the deceptive identity story in the majority of the incidents and used it in two ways. Firstly, either as an immediate conversation opener with the victims, or later during the abduction when some victims questioned his motives or indicated that they did not know the specific location or person he asked them to point out.

The methods of control used by the offender during the approach and abduction varied but most of them followed the police officer theme. He pretended to be a person of authority, who, in his words, was "*doing his job*". The presence of an authority figure was enough to immediately force most of the young victims into compliance. Another common method of control (n=15) used by the offender was to threaten the victims with physical violence (specifically that he would shoot the victims). The offender also exposed his firearm or indicated that he had a weapon on his person (n=11).

Five victims appeared to be controlled by the false police officer identity and followed his instructions based on the story alone. The offender made direct threats of death to eight of the victims. In particular two victims recalled the offender said he would "*blow*

their brains out". Additionally, two victims were threatened with arrest while one victim was controlled through physical constraint (he grabbed the victim and took her to the attack location). The researcher noticed that according to the data, the offender also used a combination of the control methods, such as indicating he was a police officer, who would "*shoot*" or "*kill*" the victim if they did not comply with his instructions.

5.11.3.2 OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

5.11.3.2.1 Location of Attack

The offender most commonly used residential areas to rape his victims. The majority of the victims (n=34) were raped in outdoor locations, while four were raped indoors. Victim three was raped twice, first outdoors and for a second time at an indoor location. Victim six was raped indoors, in an abandoned warehouse, with no windows or roof cover, while victim 18 was raped in a temporary shelter at a building site. Victim 26 was raped inside an abandoned house. Judging by the details regarding the attack locations it could be surmised that the offender was aware of which buildings were abandoned, suggesting a prior knowledge of the environment and pre-meditation.

Although the exact locations of the rape offences were not apparent in the data, it was evident to the researcher that the locations were in close proximity as some of the victims recalled similar landmark locations. For example, 10 victims reported that they were raped near "*an abandoned house*", while four victims similarly stated that they were raped "*near houses*" or on building sites. Given the age of the victims (able to identify and describe locations) and the likely similar appearance of "*abandoned*" houses to building sites, it is possible that each of the attack locations were the same or could have been in close proximity.

Other attack locations that were described by the victims included school premises (three victims), commercial areas near factories or office buildings (three victims), recreational areas including parks, recreational centres or near a drive-in location (five victims). Two victims reported that that they were raped in close proximity of a "*lake*" or a "*river*". Eleven victims were raped in unknown bush or wooded areas with no landmarks that they could identify.

5.11.3.2.2 Method of Attack

Once the offender successfully lured the victims to the attack site, he most commonly initiated the rapes after he told the victims to lay down on their backs. Conversely, some victims (n=6) were raped while standing up, after the offender pushed them against a wall (three victims) or against a tree or rock (three victims). The victims who were raped twice, were first raped while lying on their backs and then for a second time while standing in an upright position.

The offender consistently placed an item or material down on the ground before he raped the victims; most commonly a cardboard box or newspapers (n=11), a blanket or carpet (n=6), or clothing items (n=2). Most of these victims recalled that some of the material items were already at the attack site upon their arrival, whereas others recalled that they picked up the respective items while on route to the location.

5.11.3.2.3 Sexual Behaviour

Most of the victims were told to take off all or some of their clothes. Six of the victims were undressed by the offender; five of whom were undressed fully. The offender most commonly unzipped his pants or only dropped his pants and underwear to his knees. Two of the victims, who were undressed fully, reported that the offender removed all of his clothes during the offences while one victim recalled that the offender removed the bottom half of his clothes fully.

All of the victims were penetrated by penile vaginal penetration. Before the penetration, six victims were told to "*play with*" or "*touch*" the offender's penis with their hands and five victims were told to put the offender's penis in their mouths before they were penetrated vaginally. Two victims were raped anally, after being penetrated vaginally, while three victims were told to "*play*" with the offender's penis after the penetration. Victim three stated that the offender put something in her mouth before the vaginal penetration but reportedly could not distinguish whether it was a penis or the offender's tongue.

In total eight victims were penetrated vaginally and/or anally more than once during the same offence. Three of the victims were raped multiple times at the same location, while five victims were moved to a separate location, nearby, for the second rape. Other sexual behaviours that were evident during the offences included kissing the

victims (n=5) and forcing the victims to kiss or touch his chest (n=2). The offender fondled seven of the victims' breasts before or during the penetration, while two victims were rubbed on their breasts after they were raped. Victim five's breasts were fondled during and post-penetration and she was asked if her breasts "*were sore*".

5.11.3.2.4 Verbal Behaviour

Throughout the series, the offender consistently told the child who was abducted along with the rape victim of a particular offence, to close their eyes. The instruction to close their eyes was commonly followed with a threat to the rape victim should the other child look at them. Towards the end of the series, the offender told the victims (n=5) to close their eyes, this was specifically recalled by victims 25, 27, 28, 34, 37. While the offender penetrated victim 27 he told the victim that he "*would be finished soon*". He also told her that her father would punish her if she told anyone. Victims 27 and 28 were told that the offender's name was "*Vusi*"[13].

The offender told victim four to tell him when he was hurting her. The offender asked victim five whether her breasts were sore while he penetrated her, he also told her that he would not "*impregnate*" her. Victim eight was asked whether she wanted to "*live or die*", similarly victim 36 was told to choose between rape or death, while victim nine was told the offender would "*aim a bullet and shoot*" her. Victim 15 was told to have "*sex*" with him and to "*open her legs wide*".

Other instructions given by the offender included telling victim ten to "*kiss*" his "*titties*" while he penetrated her, victim 18 was told to undress the offender who then stated "*ek is nie jou pa nie*" [I am not your father]. Victim 23 was told to "*move like him*", and victim 38 was told to laugh while playing with his penis. Victim 24 was instructed to have sex with the boy who was abducted in the same offence. When the boy told the offender that he did not know how to have sex the offender told him to get dressed and stated that he (the offender) would "*show him*".

Victims 13 and 26 were threatened to have their "*brains/heads blown off*". Victim 14 was told by the offender at some point during the offence that he had "*killed a child in Soweto*", similarly, victim 31 was told to not do anything "*stupid*" because the offender had "*killed before*". Threats of violence were most often used in conjunction with

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[13] Not his real name.

warnings not to tell anyone about the offence (n=12). Four victims were threatened and told not to run away, while three victims were threatened after they resisted the offender's actions. Many of the victims (n=16) across the series were also told not to cry, scream or make a noise.

Some victims recalled how the offender swore at them (usually after the victims tried to resist), he specifically used the term "*moerskont*" at victims 33 and 38, or swore about their parents (victims 17 and 20). Victim 35 was told to stop crying because the offender did not "*want to swear at her*" because he "*was a son of God*". Throughout the attack phase, the offender continued to use the same method of control that he used during the abduction and approach phase of the offence. The offender most commonly used verbal threats of violence and death to maintain the control over the victims. He often used a combination of threats of physical violence (threatened to shoot the victims) followed by threats of death.

He used the threat of shooting the victims and/or the person abducted in the same offence in fourteen of the cases in the series, while death threats (to the victims/and or others) were made in nearly 11 of the offences. Seven victims recalled threats of shooting and threats of death during their ordeal. Three of the victims were physically hit in the face or head when they resisted the offender's actions. Victim one was told she would be thrown into the river while victim 28 was told she would be put into a car with police dogs (a police K-9 car reportedly passed by as the offender approached this victim). The presence of a weapon, or threat thereof, was noted throughout the series, in 18 of the incidents. The offender consistently used a weapon, or threats pertaining to having a weapon, as a control method. This was evident based on statements which indicated that verbal threats were made after he either showed a firearm to the victims or made them feel it in his pocket.

5.11.3.3 POST-OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

After the victims were raped, the offender consistently instructed them to clean themselves or he cleaned them himself, using materials at the attack locations. Nine victims stated that the offender cleaned them himself (wiped their vagina), while the majority of the victims (n=20) were told to clean or wipe themselves. The material used by the offender was most commonly tissue or toilet paper which he removed from his pocket (n=20). Three victims stated that they were given a "*cloth*" to clean with, while

two were told to clean with a blanket at the scene. Two victims were told to clean with a newspaper, one victim was told to use her underwear, whereas another victim was told to clean herself with a piece of foliage. Most victims reported that the offender cleaned himself with the tissue paper he provided before the victims used it.

The offender sometimes offered the victims something after the rape such as taxi fare (n=2), sweets (n=2) or in the case of victim 27, two Rand (R2), when she stated that she had lost it during the attack. However, most commonly (n=7) the offender took money from the victims, mostly grocery money which they were carrying before being abducted. After the rapes, the offender walked some victims back to , or nearby, the abduction scene (n=12), whereas six victims were accompanied to taxi ranks or bus stops. Only seven of the victims were left at the scene or given instructions to leave the scene in a certain direction. Conversely, victim eleven was warned not to take a taxi at the taxi rank and threatened that the offender would be watching her.

5.12 CONCLUSION

This chapter provided the demographic, victim and behavioural profiles of each of the ten offenders within the research sample (phase 1). The characteristics of the modus operandi used by the offenders, specifically pre, during and post offence were delineated. The *pre-offence* section pertained to the time of day the offenders approached and abducted the victims as well as the details regarding the locations and methods used by the offenders. The *offence* section detailed the locations and methods used by the offenders during the attack phase.

The methods and locations of the attack phase differed from the *pre-offence* behaviours. The *offence* section also detailed the sexual and verbal behaviours present throughout the offenders' series. *Post-offence* behaviours were discussed where the information was available. The following chapter will provide an inclusive behavioural profile which incorporates the data from the expert interviews (phase 2) into a general discussion on male serial child rapists in South Africa against the background of the current chapter.

6. ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEWS (PHASE 2) AND SYNTHESIS OF RESULTS OF PHASE ONE AND PHASE TWO OF THE RESEARCH

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Overall, the primary data was valuable and essential to the study because a few behavioural aspects that were not explored during the first phase of the study were discussed and subsequently recorded. Accordingly, the interview guide developed by the researcher ensured that primary data could be gathered and supplemented to the content analysis data. By investigating serial child rape using different forms of data, the researcher explored the phenomenon in a broad manner (Neuman, 2011:164). The methodology employed by the researcher ensured that the phenomenon was explored and discussed in a meaningful and informative manner.

Following the time-consuming data gathering and processing of the content analysis, the second phase of the study began. The semi-structured interviews were conducted and recorded with a mobile phone recording function. All of the experts in the study provided full consent to be recorded by the researcher. The recorded interviews, raw data, were subsequently transcribed by the researcher (Rule & John, 2011:77). Despite the time-consuming nature of the interview transcriptions, the process was valuable because the researcher was able to make side notes of themes that emerged from mental cognition. After the transcription process, themes and codes were created as they applied to hand-coded data (Creswell, 2014:197).

The content analysis of the interview data allowed trends within the interview data to be observed and subsequently described (Kumar, 2011:20). The information was interpreted and described as it correlated to the biographic and behavioural profile information obtained from the case file analysis. The triangulation was ultimately a useful endeavour as primary data was not obtained within the first phase of the study.

This section discusses the semi-structured interview data against the backdrop of the first phase data. It must be stressed that no exact offender profile was evident. While some consistencies and commonalties were present across the data, each offence entailed unique contextual characteristics which could not be generalised. This synthesised information will be used to develop a general demographic and behavioural profile of the male serial child rapist in South Africa. The section also

includes a general victim profile, derived from the victim data of each of the offenders' series.

Verbatim quotes are indicated in quotation marks and italic font (This is done to differentiate direct quotes used in literature which are indicated by quotation marks only). The overall profile information is discussed in the following order: victim profile, offender profile and offender modus operandi. The modus operandi information is structured according to the following sections: approach phase, attack phase, sexual behaviour and verbal behaviour. The time of offences, locations used, violence and methods of control are also discussed in the modus operandi section.

The research findings will also be compared with evidence and literature from other relevant studies. There is a dearth of research exclusively focussing on the serial rape of children, especially in South Africa, therefore De Wet's research (2008) on South African serial rapists and Woodhams and Labuschagne's descriptive study (2012) on serial rape in South Africa are mainly used for comparison. The discussion aims to expand the limited knowledge base pertaining to serial rape in South Africa.

6.2 EXPERTS CONSULTED

All of the experts who participated in the semi-structured interviews provided full consent to participate and be identified in the current research study. The experts who were consulted and interviewed are identified in Table 12 below:

Table 12: Experts consulted for interviews

Name	Profession	Experience in field	Experience regarding serial child rape
Lt. Col. De Lange	Senior Investigator at IPS	11 years	11 years
Dr Amelia Kleijn	Social Worker	13 years	Over 13 years
Dr Hayden Knibbs	Clinical Psychologist – Former Lt.Col. at SAPS, former IPS Psychologist	6 years	6 years
Prof Gérard Labuschagne	Clinical Psychologist Former Brigadier and head of IPS (SAPS)	18 years	Over 14 years
Captain Elmarie Myburgh	Senior Investigator and Captain at IPS	19 years	Over 19 years
Dr Shaheeda Omar	Social Worker and Head of Teddy Bear Clinic	30 years	16 years
Prof Jonathon Scholtz	Clinical Psychologist	25 years	A few cases spreading over several years
Dr Eugene Viljoen	Clinical Psychologist and registered Sexologist	26 years	3 years

The researcher concluded the interviewing in phase two after data saturation was reached. Furthermore, the researcher is of the opinion that because the identified experts were highly qualified, experienced and some of them previously worked on the cases in the present sample, additional expert input was not necessary.

6.3 VICTIM PROFILE

There was a total of 117 victims who were attacked and raped across the sample of ten offenders in the current study. This implies that an average of 11.7 victims were raped per offender. It appears that the offenders, who targeted stranger children exclusively raped more children in their series on average compared to those who raped children known to them. Specifically, seven offenders who raped stranger victims exclusively, raped 15.4 victims per series, while the three offenders who raped children who were known to them raped an average of 2.7 victims across their series.

Dr Knibbs states that the number of known victims in a series for a serial child rapist could range from five to 15, while Captain Myburgh states that in her experience serial child rapists' series can range from anything between eight and 30 victims. However, Captain Myburgh estimates an average of 12-14 victims are raped per offender series. Figure 1 depicts the number of victims, per offender across the offender sample of the study.

Regarding the victim-offender relationship, the overall results showed that the majority of the victims within the sample (n=108) were raped by a stranger, while eight victims were raped by someone they knew or someone they were related to. In one of the cases, the nature of the relationship between the victim and offender was not evident (given that the victim formed part of a large series whereby all the other victims were strangers, it can be assumed that the offender was also a stranger to her).

The evidence from the current study contradicts some literature, and some public knowledge, that states children are most likely raped or sexually victimised by someone known to them (SAPS, 2016). Instead the evidence supports the popular view that strangers commit sexual assaults (Abrahams et al., 2014:1648). Similarly, literature shows that the regressed and exploitative type paedophiles particularly prefer to target stranger victims (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:478; Holmes & Holmes, 2009:180-182)

Figure 1: Number of rape victims per offender series
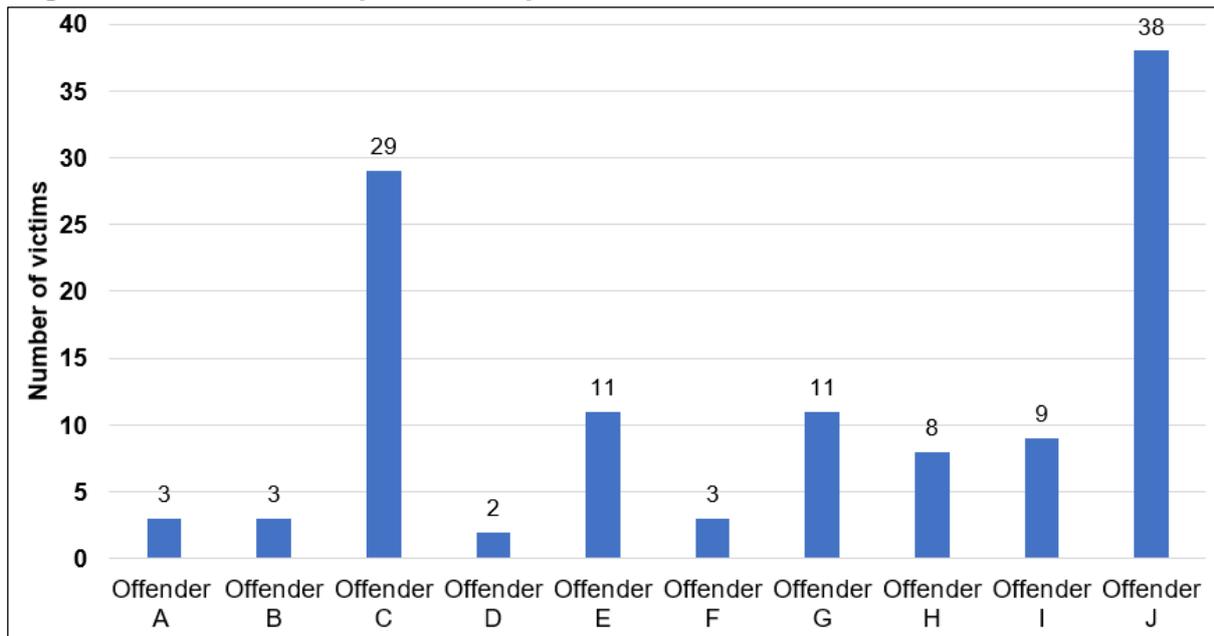
Research and expertise also shows that South African serial rapists (inclusive of those who solely target children) will most likely target strangers (Bezuidenhout & Klopper, 2011:233; De Wet, 2008:8; Park et al., 2008:228; Van der Watt et al., 2014:63). Therefore, it can be deduced that serial child rapists in South Africa are similar to serial rapists who mostly target adults. Furthermore, the evidence supports De Wet's (2008:163) findings that stranger rape in South Africa can be seen as potentially serial in nature. In De Wet's study (2008:160), most of the serial rapists in the sample targeted stranger victims. Likewise, most victims in Woodhams and Labuschagne's (2012:564) study were strangers to the offenders. It appears that serial rapists in South Africa tend to target stranger victims more so than victims known to them.

The conclusions that more stranger victims were known to authorities could possibly be explained, in part, by the absence of grooming behaviour. As described in literature, it is common for sexual encounters between children and offenders, who have groomed their relationship, to remain hidden. One of the key factors in establishing a relationship with the child is to ensure compliancy and maintain secrecy (Craven et al., 2006:295). Dr Knibbs substantiates that the "*grooming behaviour in itself lowers the chance of reporting*" because the child is "*easier to control*" once the groomed relationship has been established. Dr Kleijn provided examples from her professional experience of how sexual offenders manipulate the naivety of young victims, which further perpetuates the issue of secrecy. For example, when a young child of five years

old is threatened that if they tell "*mommy and daddy what uncle was doing*" then "*mommy would die, and daddy would go to jail*". She explains that young children do not have the ability to distinguish between "*fact and fantasy*" and are thus forced into secrecy out of fear.

Despite the evidence, the massive under-reporting of rape cannot be underestimated, and the total numbers discussed in the current study and other literature only demonstrate what is reported. Compounding the issue of the under-reporting of sexual crimes, Prof Labuschagne points out there are sometimes reporting delays regarding the rape of children because of the sensitivity of the matter. He is also of the opinion that in any rape series, there will be victims that are not known to the authorities. Dr Kleijn substantiates the previous statement and highlights the fact that a serial child rapist can potentially victimise "*hundreds*" of children before authorities catch them, or before their behaviour will subside if not caught.

Figure 2: Population groups in victim sample
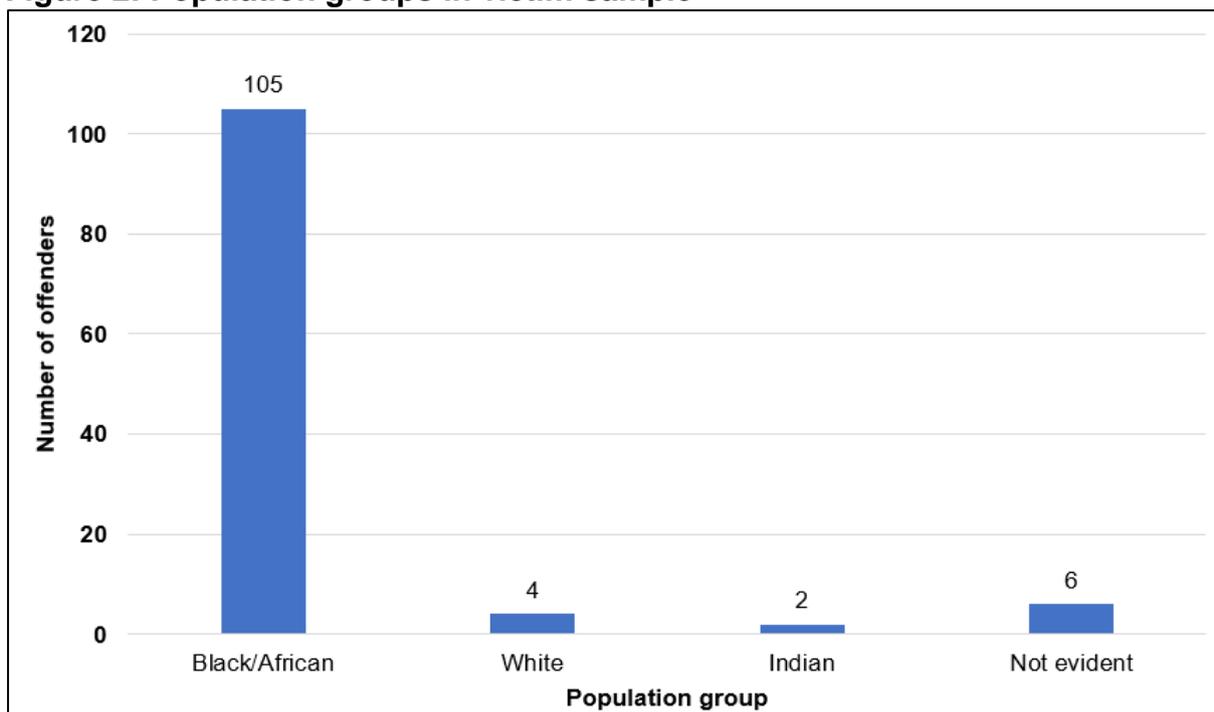
Regarding the victims' demographics, most of the victims (n=102) in the sample were female, while 15 were male. As depicted in Figure 2, the vast majority of victims (n=105) were Black/African, while four victims were White and two victims were Indian. The population group information was not evident for six of the victims. The findings regarding victim age and population group are congruent with literature, which

explains that young Black/African girls are especially vulnerable to being raped in South Africa (Potgieter & De Wet, 2010:2). Captain Myburgh, Dr Knibbs and Lt. Col. De Lange specifically state that the male serial child rapists in South Africa mostly target pre-pubescent children, particularly "primary-school-going" girls. While rape statistics and evidence in South Africa show that Black/African adult women are overly represented (De Wet, 2008:160), given the average age of the victims in the current study (10.18 years old), the victims in the current study are probably vulnerable to future rape and sexual victimisation when they are older (Seedat et al., 2009:1015).

The lower number of male victims in the study correlates with the general experience of the experts in various fields such as Social Work and Investigative Psychology. Dr Knibbs specifically points out that male victims of rape are generally rarer. However, he adds that 'children shaming' should be considered when reviewing the results. Children shaming occurs in schools whereby male child victims of rape are often teased and called homosexuals. Behaviours such as shaming and teasing, further compound the problem of victimisation, and are more likely to result in the under-reporting of male child rape. These behaviours may also aid in the explanation of under-reporting of sexual assault and rape of males in the country.

The young age at which children are targeted by sexual predators is a serious cause for concern. Many young girls are especially vulnerable to being victimised in South Africa. The average age of the victims, across all the series, in the current study was 10.18 years old. According to Prof Labuschagne, the general age of children who are raped by serial child rapists ranges from eight to 13 years old, while Lt. Col. De Lange states that children between the ages of four and 12 years are mostly targeted by the serial child rapists.

Similarly, evidence from the Woodhams and Labuschagne's (2012) study shows one fifth of their victim pool was under the age of 16 years old. Alarming evidence from Jewkes et al. (2010:26) showed that one in 20 of the men in the research sample disclosed that they raped a child under the age of 15 years. Lt. Col. De Lange indicates that the young age of victims offers a greater opportunity for the offender to successfully kidnap and rape the victims because children of an older age are generally more informed and will be less likely to follow strangers. He reiterates that

children victims of an older age are not fewer but may simply be less vulnerable than younger children.

Nevertheless, when considering the general age of victims targeted by serial child rapists, Prof Labuschagne states that chronological age is not relevant. Rather, what is more significant is what he refers to as "*visual age*"; when the serial rapist targets a specific child, they do so according to what is attractive to them, not necessarily the child's age. Similarly, Dr Knibbs indicates that a preferred victim will depend on the suspect's specific preferences, which he states are "definitely present" in serial child rapists. For example, Dr Knibbs highlights that male victims of rape are fewer and therefore when serial rapists targets males only, it does show some form of victim preference. Prof Scholtz agrees that a certain victim preference will be evident according to each offender's targeted victim. He further provides the psychoanalytic procedure called "repetition compulsion" as an example of why offenders will most likely "stick to a certain age group". The repetition compulsion is played out because the offender is externalising an intrapsychic fixation that needs to be resolved. The other experts agree that a victim preference is evident in child victims of serial child rapists, however it is less likely based on age and more likely based on visual appearance.

In the offender sample of the current study, some instances of victim preference were evident to the researcher. For example: offender A raped Black/African females between the ages of five and eight years; offender C raped 29 females, most of whom were Black/African girls, between the ages of seven and 14 years (with an average victim age of 10.76 years old); offender E raped 11 Black/African females between the ages of two and seven (with an average victim age of 5 years); offender G raped 11 Black/African males aged between ten and 15 years (with an average victim age of 12.36 years); offender H raped Black/African females between the ages of four and ten (with an average victim age of 6.88 years); offender I raped nine females, eight of whom were Black/African, between the ages of 14 and 18 (with an average victim age of 15.77 years) and offender J raped 38 Black/African females between the ages of seven and fifteen (with an average victim age of 10.87 years).

Offender J's victim preference was alluded to in media reports that were included in the case files during the content analysis. The various media articles highlighted that

the offender reportedly preferred young girls wearing school uniforms; eight of the offenders' victims were dressed in a school uniform when he approached them. The data also showed that a further 20 of the victims stated that they were wearing a dress or skirt when they were raped (the researcher was not able to determine whether the attire in these cases was school uniform – the possibility, however cannot be excluded).

Nevertheless, Dr Knibbs states that before concluding that a certain offender exhibits a victim preference, the context of the incident and overall modus operandi must be considered, specifically including the possible access to other children. He states that if a context provides access to other children, for example children walking home from school, and the offender consistently chooses a specific type of child, then it could be an indication of victim preference. The researcher assumes that a few of the offenders in the sample had access to other children, in particular, offenders C, D, E, F, G, H, I and J. Therefore, most of the offenders in the sample had access to other children, mostly off the street in the areas in which they operated.

In addition, taking into account the average age of the victims regarding each offender series, some offenders targeted pre-pubescent children, while others targeted children of an older age, thus pubescent children. Most of the offenders mostly targeted pre-pubescent children and therefore are more suited to be classified as paedophiles (American Psychiatric Association, 2013; Gavin, 2014;155; Rufo, 2012:241), whereas offender I raped victims who were on average 15.77 years of age, and thus could be classified as a hebephile (Bailey et al., 2016:977; Gavin, 2014:155). In addition to the age factor, seven of the offenders (the majority) targeted only females in their series, suggesting that their attraction could be described as heterosexual paedophilia.

Conversely, two offenders targeted victims of both sexes in their series and one offender targeted only male victims; these offenders could be classified as bisexual and homosexual paedophiles, respectively (Bailey et al., 2016;977; Sadock & Sadock, 2007:708). It is also important to consider the suspect's background when determining victim preferences. Lt. Col. De Lange highlights an example whereby an offender, who was initially serving a prison sentence for the rape of an adult female, was released and then began to target child victims.

Over and above the results presented above, "victim vulnerability" is another key factor when discussing the victimisation of these children. Children are especially vulnerable to being victimised. In this regard Captain Myburgh and Dr Knibbs reiterate that children are easier to control, which makes them easy targets. However, children in South Africa, in comparison to other countries, are more vulnerable to victimisation for a number of complicated and complex reasons; one in particular is the socio-economic context in which the majority of South Africans live. Most of the experts agree that children who come from less fortunate economic circumstances are more vulnerable to be preyed upon by sexual offenders. Dr Kleijn specifically refers to the role of the "*so called blessers or sugar daddies*" in South Africa, who manipulate a child's need for survival and provide money and other goods in exchange for sex. While she highlights that the sex in these cases is oftentimes consensual, she alludes to inconsistencies in South African law regarding the ability for children to provide consent to sexual actions. Sex with a partner who cannot consent to the sex act due to psychological and/or intellectual limitations is considered abnormal sexual behaviour (Bezuidenhout, 2018b).

Dr Omar also highlights that society as a whole is "*entrapped in consumables*", whereby materialistic items such as clothes, cellular phones and even school fees can be used by offenders in exchange for "*sexual favours*", in a transactional sex relationship. Smaller rewards (e.g. a beverage, a cigarette or a snack), not indicative of the "sugar daddy" phenomenon, are ideal for rapists to use in coercion efforts. In this regard, Dr Kleijn explains that the massive economic need in many South African communities makes it easy for rapists to manipulate children. Small amounts of money and promises of items such as potato chips and sweets are sometimes enough to secure a child's compliance. While none of the offenders in the current research sample fit the "sugar daddy" profile, many of them did offer small rewards, not more than a few Rand, of a basic food item, such as bunny chow or cold drink.

In addition to the above manipulation through materialistic means, Prof Labuschagne indicates that child rapists in South Africa are likely to use cultural aspects to their advantage. Specifically, the fact that in many Black/African cultures children are taught that it is inappropriate and rude to point an adult to a route should they ask for directions to a specific place; rather the child is supposed to accompany the adult. Prof Labuschagne adds that the offender oftentimes uses this cultural norm in order to lure

the children to where they want them to go. He further highlights that this is in contrast to other cultures where children are taught to not trust strangers.

Dr Knibbs agrees with the cultural distinction made, and states that the access to victims in the South African context is different to that in a European context. It is not uncommon to see children in South Africa walking on the streets, unsupervised and unguarded. In addition, Dr Kleijn highlights that a key factor of child rape victims is their lack of supervision. The common socio-economic context in South Africa depicts parents who are often not present to protect or supervise their children, because of their employment conditions, which often entails that they leave their homes early and return late at night. Children are then left alone, unsupervised and become easy targets.

As explained by the routine activities theory, a victim will likely fall prey to sexual victimisation when guardianship is low (Williams, 2015:38). Many of the experts who were interviewed agree that a potential offender can easily appraise the situation of poor guardianship and capitalise on the opportunity to rape children. Prof Scholtz specifically states that, similar to any other criminal assessing his environment, a serial rapist will take the opportunity if they notice that a child is left unprotected for a long enough period. All of the victims in the sample were either alone or only in the company of other children when they were approached by the offenders.

The lack of adequate adult supervision is consistent with Kleijn's literature review and research (2010) regarding the circumstances under which offenders raped infants. Children in less privileged communities are indeed more vulnerable to sexual victimisations. Dr Viljoen highlights that although less fortunate economic circumstances are a common denominator across serial rape cases it is not to suggest that this crime does not occur in suburbs that are more affluent. He is of the opinion that those who are targeted in the more affluent areas may be more able to disguise the incidents because they have greater access to medical care and legal services. He points out that individuals from more affluent areas will be less trusting of law enforcement and other authorities and may rather "*deal with it*" themselves, keeping the matter behind closed doors.

Prof Scholtz provides further insight into the choice of child victims alluding to the "*non-verbal cues*" that are given off by vulnerable children. He indicates that in his

professional experience, a child serial rapist can identify a vulnerable victim who they would be "*successful with*" as opposed to targeting other children who are "*too strong a resistance*". Prof Scholtz further opined that this "*predatory intelligence*" is present in serial child rapists, most commonly referred to as "*groomers*", as well as those who target children off the street.

Dr Kleijn's opinion is similar, stating that serial child rapists are "*clever*" in how they target vulnerable children. They will be more likely to target and manipulate children who have less open lines of communication with positive role models, such as parents and caregivers, those children with a low self-esteem as well as children who are not well attached to confident individuals. The experts' information ties in with Craven et al. (2006) who found that sexual offenders who target children not only groom the children but also engage in the grooming of the environment and the child's significant others. Craven et al. (2006:292-293) highlight that child sex offenders have an ability to identify vulnerable children, such as those with poor relationships with their parents, those who are being victimised, or those who do not have many friends.

Prof Scholtz also acknowledges the role of the environment and context in the victimology of serial child rapists. He states that the offenders not only pick up on the non-verbal cues given by the child, but also use their "*predatory intelligence*" to assess how well the child is protected, what the time lapse will be if they lure the child away and how much resistance may be given by the child.

Captain Myburgh substantiates that opportunity is a key aspect to consider regarding the victimisation of these children. In South Africa, it is common for young, 'primary-school-going' children to walk to and from school, which presents the opportunity for the rapists to target them. She states that oftentimes the rapists are aware of when the children leave school, and where they will "*hang around*" waiting for anyone who "*fits his little profile*", once again highlighting the victim preference factor.

Overall, it appears that the victims of male serial child rapists in South Africa are young Black/African female girls who are approached by stranger men, while alone, or in the presence of other children, thus not appropriately supervised and guarded. If a rape victim fits this profile, it may be likely that the offender is a serial rapist, who has targeted other girls in a series of rapes in similar contexts.

6.4 OFFENDER PROFILE

The sample of offenders consisted of eight Black/African offenders and two White offenders; similar to De Wet's findings (2009:164) which exposed six Black/African offenders, two White offenders and one Coloured offender. Additionally, the study by Woodhams and Labuschagne (2012:564) found that all but one offender in their sample of 22 cases were from the Black/African population group. In addition, of the non-incarcerated sample of men who disclosed their sexual offences, in a survey, approximately 85% were Black/African (Jewkes et al., 2010:25). The over-representation of Black/African males in the samples reflects the general population demographics in South Africa. According to Statistics South Africa (2017:2) over 80% of males in the country belong to the Black/African population group.

Regarding the general offender profile, offenders begin their child rape series after the age of 30 years old. More specifically, the offenders are, on average, 31.8 years old when they committed their first rape against a child. The average age of the offenders when they committed their last rape was 35.8 years old. The youngest offender in the research sample of the current study was 17 years of age when he committed his first rape, while the oldest offender was 41 years old. Likewise, the sample of 22 offenders in Woodhams and Labuschagne's study were aged between 22 to 42 years old.

De Wet's study (2008:165; Potgieter & De Wet, 2010:3) found that the average age of onset of sexual offending for serial rapists in South Africa was 31 years. South African literature supports these findings which points out that the age of serial rapists generally ranges from between 25 to 35 years of age (Bezuidenhout & Klopper, 2011:233). According to the data in the present study, three of the offenders did not have any prior criminal histories while six offenders did have previous run-ins with the law, before their rape series began. Four of the offenders with prior criminal histories began to commit crime, on average, at the age of 22.5 years.

Despite the later age of onset regarding child rape, across the current study's sample of offenders, Dr Knibbs, Captain Myburgh and Lt. Col De Lange all agree that the desire and behaviours of serial child rapists may actually begin at an earlier age (thus in their early twenties). They state that oftentimes suspects are only brought to the attention of law authorities at a later age. Some evidence, which substantiates the likelihood of earlier offending is reflected in the findings from a survey conducted in a

random South African sample of male citizens, who were not incarcerated. The evidence showed that 27.6% disclosed that they raped someone prior to the survey. The young age of onset for rape perpetration was evidenced by the results, which showed that 73% of the sample indicated they committed rape for the first time before the age of 20 years old. More than half of the men had raped more than one girl or woman who was not a partner (Jewkes et al., 2009:2, 3; Seedat et al., 2009:1013), further highlighting the hidden nature of sexual offences in South Africa.

International literature corroborates the young age of onset for rape perpetration, depicting that most individuals arrested for rape are under the age of 25 years (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:446). Other evidence indicates that rapists who target strangers tend to be young, mostly under the age of 30 years (Holmes & Holmes, 2009:151). The conflicting evidence between South African statistics and international statistics could be evidence of the slow and sometimes ineffective law enforcement system in South Africa, resulting in offenders being apprehended later on in life. The age disparity could also be explained by linkage blindness within law enforcement as well as the significant under-reporting of sexual offences, particularly rape. Linkage blindness and under-reporting contribute to the problems of detection influencing the effective and efficient apprehension of rapists.

Overall, two of the experts who were interviewed highlight that the age of onset for serial child rape offenders generally starts from late twenties. Despite the evidence other experts warn that including age in a profile of offenders is risky because it increases the chances that investigators, who may use offender profiles to narrow down suspect pools, might exclude suspects based on age alone. The varied ages of onset is also substantiated by literature which states that child molesters have varied personal characteristics, criminal histories and motivations for offending (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:475-477), thus the age factor almost becomes irrelevant.

Regarding educational qualifications, as depicted in Figure 3, most of the offenders in the research sample (n=4) completed a grade 12 (matric) education, while two obtained tertiary level qualifications. However, two offenders only obtained a primary school level education. The education history was not available for three offenders; however, it is likely that they had a low-level education. This is supported by the interview data, which reiterates the low-levels of education across most of the

offenders the experts encountered, during their interventions and investigations. The current findings are consistent with other South African research, particularly De Wet's findings (2008:164), which showed that most of the serial rapists in the sample had a low-level of education (between grades one and six).

Figure 3: Highest educational qualification of offenders
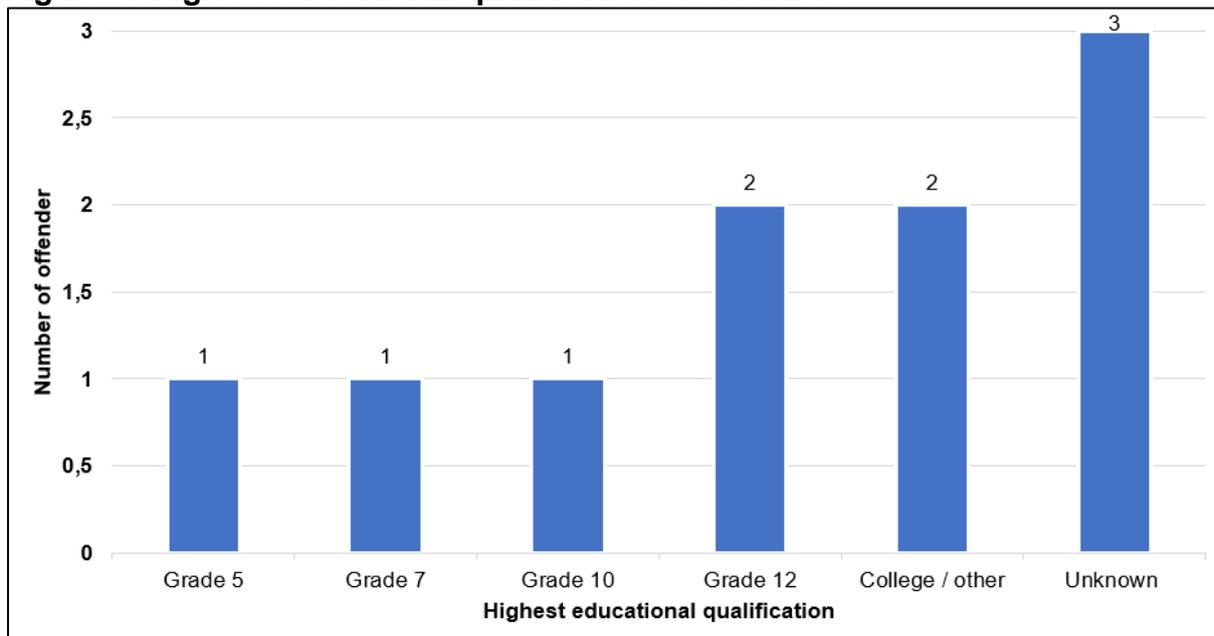
Furthermore, low-levels of education amongst rapists were also evident in the sample from the survey in the Jewkes et al. (2010:25) study. In this study 27% completed grade 12, while only 5% completed further tertiary studies. A noteworthy finding in the Jewkes et al. study, regarding education was that incomplete educational histories were more often associated with rape perpetration than other relevant histories (Jewkes et al., 2010:25). Three of the offenders in the current research sample did not complete school and a number of offenders were unemployed at the time of their arrests. Thus, it is likely that the offenders, whose educational histories were not available, also did not complete school.

Regarding occupation, most of the offenders (n=5) in the sample were unemployed at the time of their arrests for the rape series (see Figure 4). Three of the offenders were business owners at some stage during their lives, while the rest of the offenders (n=2) had histories of temporary or part-time jobs. Literature states that most serial rapists in South Africa have performed menial labour in their past (Bezuidenhout & Klopper, 2011:233). In addition, according to the profile explored by De Wet (2008:167;

2009:165), the most common form of employment, at the time of the offender's first offence, was that of a labourer or unskilled worker (painter, tiler or cleaner).

Figure 4: Employment type of offenders
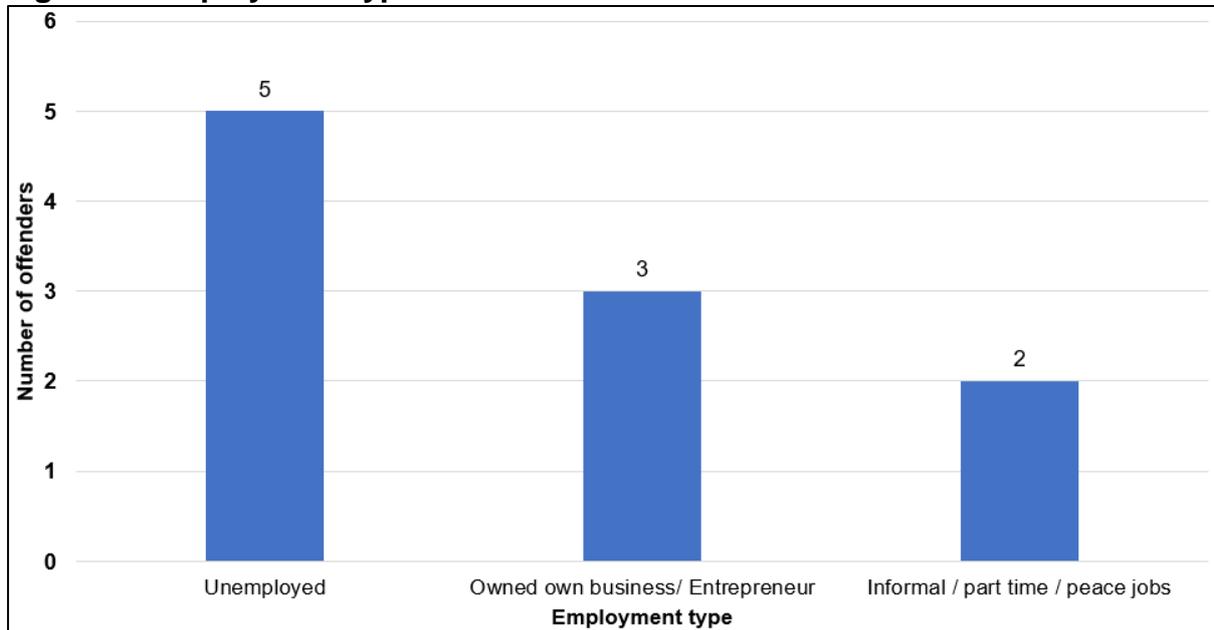
Other noteworthy findings show that in the study of non-incarcerated men in South Africa who disclosed sexual offences, nearly a third of the men were the only income providers for their household. Conversely, a large proportion of the sample had no income, with some reporting to occasionally going hungry due to lack of income (Jewkes et al., 2010:25). Some of the experts in the current study highlighted that male serial child rapists, similar to adult rapists, have low-level educational qualifications and are oftentimes unemployed or have casual, part-time jobs. Prof Labuschagne agrees that because of their poor or absent work commitments, the offenders have more free time available to commit crime. Prof Scholtz further supports that serial rape will often occur in areas where unemployment and poverty are rife.

As depicted in Figure 5, most of the offenders in the research sample (n=6) had known criminal histories. However, prior criminal histories were not evident for four of the offenders, nevertheless, this does not exclude the possibility of prior 'run ins' with the law. Prof Scholtz substantiates that many serial rapists will have had a few 'run ins' with the law. Of the six offenders with prior criminal histories, violent crimes were the most common, including crimes of assault, assault with the intent to cause grievous bodily harm (GBH), attempted rape and rape convictions (See Figure 6).

The most common offences across the offender sample were theft, followed by assault and assault GBH. Only one prior rape offence was evident in the overall profile. The results of the current study differ slightly from the De Wet study (2008:165) whereby four prior rape convictions were noted in the offender profile, robbery was also a frequent conviction in the profile with four convictions evident in the sample. Six of the ten respondents from another South African research sample (infant rapists) had previous convictions, which included theft, assault and housebreaking. Two of the respondents in Kleijn's study had previous convictions for rape (Kleijn, 2010:221-222).

Figure 5: Offenders' prior criminal histories per crime category
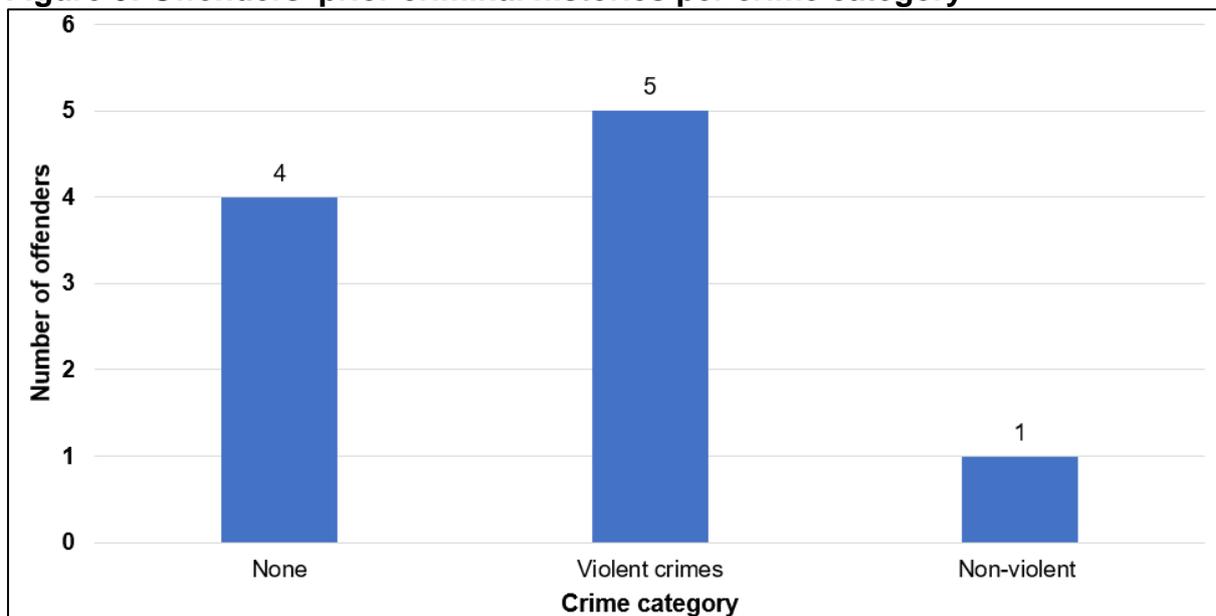
Figure 6: Number of crimes in offenders' histories per crime type
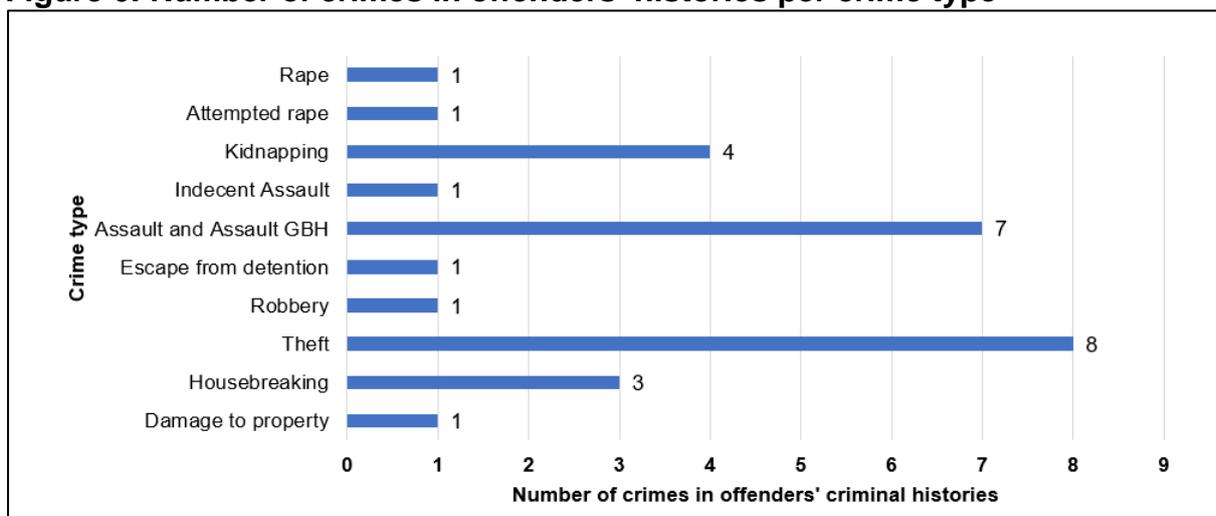
It is assumed that many men convicted of rape have been in conflict with society long before their initial rape offence (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:447; Jewkes et al., 2009:2; Smallbone & Wortley, 2004:183). The evidence from the current study corroborates this sentiment, showing that the average age of the offenders' first known criminal offence was 25.75 years old, around six years before their first known rape offence. Prior criminal records of South African serial rapists are similar to international profiles as 82% of a sample of rapists studied in the USA had a prior criminal record. The offenders in the USA study were mostly convicted for non-sexual crimes such as burglary and robbery (39%) and kidnapping or abduction (29%). These findings are similar to the crime categories of the current study, which showed prior criminal offences of kidnapping, theft and/or robbery before the rape offence.

Hence sexual offenders often commit a variety of crimes beyond sexual offences. In fact, there is evidence to show that adult sexual offenders are more likely to be convicted for non-sexual offences than they are for sexual offences, both before and after a conviction for a sexual offence (Smallbone & Wortley, 2004:183). In De Wet's study (2008;166) 2009:40, 41) race or population group was associated with criminal background differences as Black/African offenders were more likely to have a wider range of criminal offences, whereas White offenders had fewer but more serious criminal offences. In the current research sample, the two White offenders and two of the Black/African offenders did not have former criminal histories. However, of the six offenders who exhibited former criminality, three of the offenders had wider criminal histories including non-violent and non-contact crimes such as housebreaking and theft.

Regarding marital status, an equal number of offenders in the current sample were married and/or had a girlfriend (n=5). The same number (n=5) were single at the time they committed the crimes. Prof Scholtz states that sexual offenders are "*surprisingly connected to a family*", reiterating that sexual offenders and rapists are not "*loners*". Similarly, Lt. Col. De Lange states that in his investigative experience, most serial child rapists are married to a female partner and oftentimes they have children of their own. Four offenders in the sample had children, who were either born before or during the offenders' rape series began. Prof Scholtz further highlights that when some offenders are apprehended, many family and friends are "*shocked*" because the offenders are functioning 'normally' in society. Therefore, contrary to public belief and knowledge,

serial rapists are "*not monsters*" and, as Dr Kleijn states, in fact "*do not fit the stereotype of men in rain coats in dark alleys*". The sexual offenders "*live amongst us*", in schools, playgrounds, shopping malls and scouting groups. Dr Kleijn further clarifies that serial child rapists are found where children are, because that is how they gain access to them.

Beyond the basic offender demographic profile, the psychological characteristics of the offenders were not captured in the study for reasons previously discussed in the methodology chapter. However, some of the experts either practice Clinical Psychology, or have experience in the field due to the nature of their work, and therefore were forthcoming with various psychological features and dynamics. Thus, some psychological variables and aspects are presented in the following section in order to add value to the profile description of male serial child rapists in South Africa.

Based on the DSM criteria for the diagnosis of paedophilic disorder (paedophilia), most of the offenders in the sample (excluding offender I) fit the traditional diagnosis of the disorder. The criteria, which is specifically relevant to the offender sample includes a sexual preference to pre-pubescent children (generally under the age of 13 years). Conversely, offender I's average victim's age was 15 years old, which, according to some research fits the classification of hebephilia, an extension of paedophilia, whereby adults engage in preferred sexual contact with young adolescents (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:470; Bartol & Bartol, 2017:399).

The diagnosis of paedophilia does not mean that an individual will become a rapist, nor does it entail the act of rape (Hall & Hall, 2007:457, 458; Oliva, 2013:6). Many of the interviewed experts agree that if an offender sexually victimises a child, for a period of longer than six months, they would be comfortable to call the offender a paedophile. Dr Knibbs highlights that whether a serial child rapist is indeed sexually attracted to children forms part of the ongoing professional debate and remains a grey area in the field of Psychology. Ultimately, the role of paedophilia in serial child rape is relevant in South Africa, specifically within the legal system.

Characteristics of the types of paedophiles who engage in forced sexual activity, demonstrate numerous similarities to adult rapists. Most notably, they display a high rate of dropping out of school, have problems with alcohol abuse, often have unstable work histories in the unskilled labour milieu and come from low socio-economic status

groups (Pistorius, 2005:298-299). Paedophiles, in general, are more likely than rapists to be older than 30 years of age. Pistorius (2005:298-299) states that many paedophiles have a history of sexual abuse in their own backgrounds, specifically when sexually abused by a stranger as a young boy. On a similar note, Dr Kleijn highlighted the abusive histories of sexual offenders as a crucial concern and key reason for future sexual offending. However, it is important to note that the validity of prior sexual abuse in the backgrounds of rapists also forms an ongoing professional debate.

With particular reference to South African offenders, most of the experts indicated that there is a common distinction between the two types of rapists who target children. One offender profile can be classified as an *opportunist*, someone who often targets stranger children off the street, abducts them, rapes them and then commonly leaves the scene. The other offender profile can be classified as a *groomer*, someone who attempts to establish a relationship with the children over a period, engaging in a wider range of sexual activities. Although, according to the definition of grooming used in the current study (Craven et al., 2006:291-296), it is noted that the opportunistic offenders can also engage in grooming behaviours. For example, when the *opportunist* appraises the environment in order to gain access to the child, they engage in a small amount of environmental grooming. Conversely, the offenders who are described as typical groomers engage in grooming over an extended period and groom the child, their significant adults and the environment.

Captain Myburgh highlights that in her professional experience, these two types of offenders (the *groomer* and the *opportunist*) are evident across many South African cases. Although the two types of child rapists may differ in some regards, both offenders will manipulate their surroundings in order to satisfy their needs. The *opportunist* will manipulate the vulnerability of the unsupervised child on the street (or any other area where children are left unsupervised); the *groomer* will manipulate the vulnerability of the child who seeks friendship, companionship and attention.

Dr Knibbs substantiates the distinction between two types of offenders who target children and indicates that the types of offenders differ based on their modus operandi. He specifically highlights that the modus operandi content differs between the offenders, but the process targeting children often remains the same. He refers to one

profile, which is prominent in his professional experience, the offender who engages in a "*slow sexualising of the relationship with placement in society and in the individuals' life*" culminating in access. In other words, once a potential offender secures access to a targeted child, there will be a slow and systematic sexualising of the relationship, which will likely lead to sexual interactions. Dr Knibbs distinguishes between another modus operandi, in which less grooming behaviours occur, whereby the victim is met quickly, abducted and raped (the *opportunist*). Dr Knibbs substantiates that the latter type of offender is most often a stranger to the child, whereby the *groomer* is more often an acquaintance.

In the current study, in the cases of the three offenders who knew their victims, grooming behaviours were evident in the data. Conversely the other offenders in the research sample, targeted stranger children and mostly approached them off the street. Thus, the evidence of the current study substantiates the experience and opinions expressed by some of the experts. Despite the limited applicability of international profile classification systems in the local context, the different profile typologies are indeed congruent with international literature. Some international evidence broadly distinguishes between two types of sexual offenders, specifically those who groom their intended victim and those who act on impulse (Rufo, 2012:3). According to international child offender patterns, the two broad categories of child molesters and rapists indicate a distinct difference between offenders who do not have a preference for children as sexual partners but target them during a stressful period, (i.e. the *situational child molester*) (Holmes & Holmes, 2009:174-179). The other broad category of offenders who target children, are those who prefer to target children for their sexual satisfaction, (i.e. the *preferential child molester*) (Holmes & Holmes, 2009:174-179). Further elaboration and comparisons with the known profile classifications would not be useful in the present discussion because the current study did not investigate psychological motives of the offenders.

Nonetheless, in addition to the two broad profile distinctions, during some of the interviews, the existence of a third type of serial child rapist, unique to the local context, was discussed. The possible third type of serial child rapist is the "*blesser*". Although no evidence was available from the current research data, which supported the existence of this profile type, media reports indicate that this type of offender is becoming increasingly relevant in South Africa. The "*blesser*" phenomenon has

received increased academic, media and social attention. A *"blesser"*, is someone who manipulates the vulnerability of the poor economic situation that many young girls and women find themselves in (Brouard & Crewe, 2012:48; Longfield et al., 2004:126; Wyrod et al., 2011:1275). They will take advantage of the females' need to survive and satisfy his desires and sexual needs by assuring financial security for the girls and women (Brouard & Crewe, 2012:48).

Thus, it is apparent that in the modus operandi of all three offender types (*opportunist, groomer* and *"blesser"*) the serial rapists offer a form of reward for compliant behaviour. For example, the *opportunist* may offer small rewards such as sweets or food; the *groomer* may offer attention and larger, more valuable, material items such as toys and bicycles; while the "*blesser"* may offer rewards of a higher financial value such as school or tuition fees.

Therefore, the reward for compliant behaviour is context specific. Prof Scholtz considers that depending on the socio-economic situation of the victim and offender, the reward will differ. For those who are more economically deprived, simple rewards that are offered to lure victims into compliancy would be food or sweets, while the more affluent offender would offer larger, more valuable items, such as cellular phones, laptops, while others offer compliments and attention. In the current research sample, most of the offenders (n=7) exhibited purely opportunistic behaviour, targeting their victims off the street. However, three of the offenders, who were known to their victims, exhibited typical grooming behaviours in their series, such as establishing relationships, desensitising the victims to sexual advances and rewarding the victims with attention, gifts, and other items. Although none of the offenders fit the "*blesser"* type profile, future research would be valuable to further distinguish between the three profile types and provide additional evidence regarding their specific behavioural patterns.

When considering the three broad profiles of serial child rapists, Dr Kleijn highlights that there are factors in South Africa, which make children especially vulnerable to sexual offenders. However, there are a few factors, which may actually predispose some groups of children more so than others. For example, she specifies that children with unstable parents or guardians and poor lines of communication may be more vulnerable to groomers who will select the vulnerable child and establish the

relationship by providing attention and gifts. While other children, especially those who are more impoverished, are more vulnerable to the opportunists who may offer something as little as two Rand (R2). She further points out that the more extreme or elaborate version of offering money or gifts to manipulate children is seen in the "blesser" offender phenomenon. She states that in her professional experience, some of the young girls, who are supported by "blessers", may be engaged in sexual relations with multiple men at any given point in time (i.e. one who provides money for food, one who provides money for hair salon treatments and one who provides money to pay school fees).

The "sugar daddy" phenomenon, defined as the practice of exchanging sex for goods, or financial and lifestyle rewards, and forms part of transactional sex or cross-generational sex (Brouard & Crewe, 2012:49: Wyrod et al., 2011:1276). The practise of exchanging goods for sex adds to the growing concern over the spread of HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases because many of these men have unprotected sexual intercourse with numerous young girls during a given period of time (Bingenheimer, 2010:1; Dunkle et al., 2004:1581; Longfield, et al., 2004:125; Stoebenau et al., 186; Wyrod et al., 2011:1275). Many of the experts who were interviewed stressed that these types of offenders should also be considered serial child rapists. The reason for this is that these older men (i.e. the "blessers") repeatedly engage in sexual activities with children, oftentimes under the age of 16 years. Therefore, most of these offenders would also fit the criteria for paedophilia, which presents further evidence of how complex and multifaceted the profiles of sexual offenders may be.

It is important to note that there is no singular profile which encompasses sexual offenders. As illustrated by literature, sexual offenders differ in frequency and type of sexual activity, as well as in many personal attributes such as age, background, personality, religion, race, attitudes, and interpersonal skills (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:436). Similarly, there is no singular profile, which can accurately cover rapists, serial rapists and specifically serial child rapists. Dr Kleijn points out that because there are numerous pathways to sexual offending, it is not possible to put child serial rapists into "*a neat little box*".

Nonetheless, most of the experts indicate that the general demographic profile of serial child rapists, in South Africa, is a Black/African male, with a low-level education and generally unemployed or employed in temporary part-time jobs. The profile elucidated by the experts is congruent with the results presented from the content analysis of the current study. Evidence shows that factors such as poverty, unemployment, overcrowding and low levels of education can aid in the understanding of this type of violence within South Africa. (Kleijn, 2010:9; Richter & Dawes, 2008:86.87). Overall, most of the experts agree that poor socio-economic contexts, impoverished, and highly populated, communities create a breeding ground for sexual offenders. Thus, the poor socio-economic contexts increase child victims' vulnerability.

6.5 OFFENDER MODUS OPERANDI

As defined in the first chapter, modus operandi, within investigative terms, refers to all the actions and procedures that are required for a particular offender to successfully perpetrate a crime; therefore, it becomes a behavioural pattern as an offender gains experience in a particular offence (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:373; Bartol & Bartol, 2017:314; Hazelwood & Warren, 2003:588). Thus, modus operandi is considered a learned behaviour that develops over time (Oliva, 2013:9; Pistorius, 2005:28).

The modus operandi described in the current chapter, refers to the behavioural pattern of the offender and therefore will include how the offender approached and attacked the victim/s, as well as the features of behaviour that were exhibited throughout the attack phase. The *post-offence* behaviours, specifically pertaining to actions after the rape act (*post-offence* behaviour also falls under modus operandi behaviour) are also included in the current chapter.

The following section will delineate a general behavioural profile, which is divided according to *pre-offence* characteristics, *offence* characteristics and *post-offence* characteristic*s*. More specifically, the *pre-offence* characteristics discussed, referring to behaviours before the rape act, include the approach location, approach method and other temporal related data. The *offence* characteristics, referring to the behaviours immediately preceding and during the rape act, include the attack location, attack method, the methods of control used as well as sexual and verbal behaviour; the use of violence is also discussed in the *offence* characteristics section. Finally,

post-offence characteristics refer to any behaviours that are exhibited after the rape act.

6.5.1 PRE-OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

The results indicated that most of the victims in the sample were approached during daylight hours; this is in contrast to SAPS data which highlights that most sexual offences are perpetrated at night (SAPS, 2016:43).

6.5.1.1 LOCATION OF APPROACH

Figure 7: Location of rape series per province
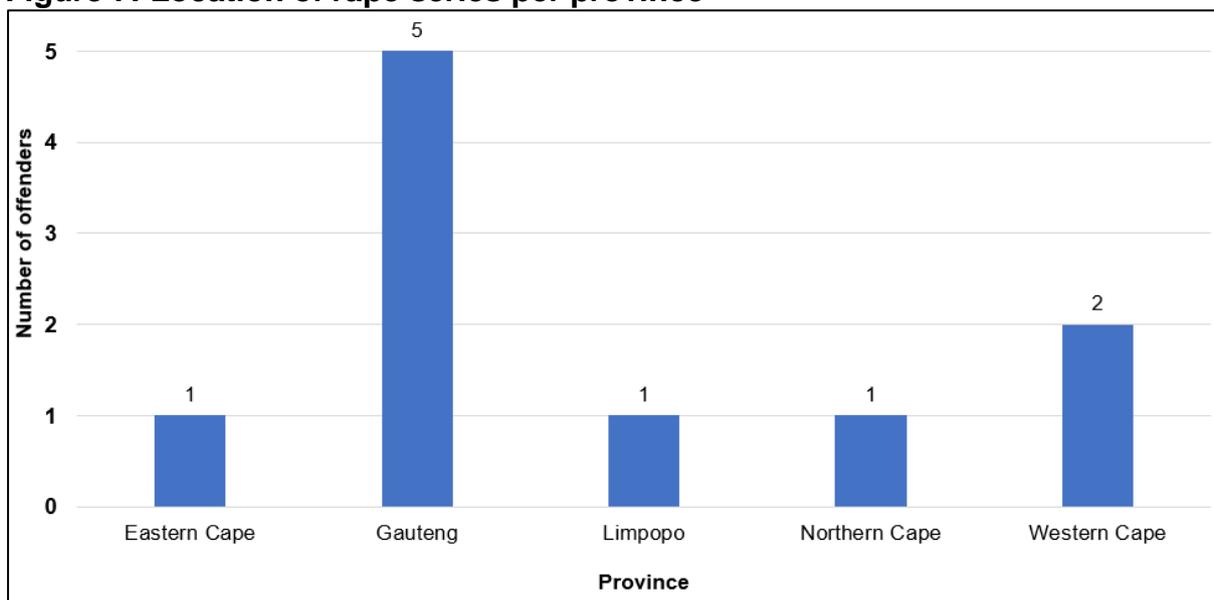
As depicted in Figure 7, most of the offenders (n=5) committed their rape series in the Gauteng Province, whereas two offenders committed their rape offences in the Western Cape Province. This is congruent with SAPS data that shows Gauteng with the highest incidence of rape (SAPS, 2016:43). None of the offenders travelled to different provinces, from where they were residing, in order to commit their offences. In many of the cases, it was evident to the researcher that the offenders operated in, what professionals refer to as, a "comfort zone". In particular, offender E committed all of his rape acts within a 5.5-kilometre radius, while offender J operated within a 10-kilometre radius of his residential location and former employment locations. Literature supports that serial rapists repeatedly use the same geographic space to approach and/or attack their victims, often operating in spaces in which they feel most comfortable (Deslauriers-Varin & Beauregard, 2013:124; De Wet, 2008:70; Lundrigan & Czarnomski, 2006:218; Potgieter & De Wet, 2010:9).

The geographic evidence can be compared with international evidence, which shows that sexual predators exhibit identifiable criminal ranges. In particular, a study conducted in New Zealand found that sexual offenders do not travel far (within 3-kilometres) from their home location. The authors of the New Zealand study concluded that, in line with their reviewed literature, the consistent ranges of criminal offending are indicative of an offender's knowledge and experience of the environment (Lundrigan & Czarnomski, 2006:218, 226, 229). Similarly, a study in Turkey found that a significant portion of crime scenes of sexual offences were between two and five kilometres from the offender's residential location (Tulu & Erden, 2013:6).

The evidence regarding "comfort zone" behaviours indicates that the spatial behaviour of the sexual offenders is often related to the non-criminal routine activities of the offender. The evidence of a "comfort zone" in the current research sample corroborates that serial sex offenders will offend in limited environments, mostly in places that are familiar to them (Deslauriers-Varin & Beauregard, 2014:254; Lundrigan & Czarnomski, 2006:218). The indications that sex offenders operate in "comfort zones" should be useful to law enforcement during their investigations into identifying serial rape suspects.

Further support of "comfort zones" used by offenders, the offenders in the current research sample commonly targeted children in similar social contexts. Corresponding to De Wet's study (2008:174; 2009:74), whereby the majority of the victims were approached while walking alone, only half of the victims (n=50) in the current study were alone when they were approached. The rest of the victims were either walking with friends or siblings of a similar age when they were approached. An adult did not supervise any of the children. This evidence corroborates that an offender will choose an area and victim as a result of their awareness of being undetected and lack of potential guardianship (Potgieter & De Wet, 2010:9,11); substantiating the applicability of some of the tenets of the routine activities theory (Felson, 2008:71; Roelofse, 2011:354-355).

In addition to the "comfort zones" used by the serial rapists, some offenders also exhibited consistent and similar approach behaviours across their individual series. For example, offenders consistently approached all their victims when they were alone (offender G) or when all of the victims were in the company of other children (offender

C and E). Similarly, most of offender J's victims (n=24) and most of offender I's victims (n=7) were alone when they were approached, conversely most of offender H's victims (n=5) were in the company of friends. This evidence could indicate aspects of the offenders' behavioural patterns, and it could be indicative of the general gathering behaviours of children who are not supervised by adults during the day. Generally, young children will play with friends or walk to and/or from school in groups under the guise that there is safety in numbers. The routine activities approach also prescribes that victims can be victimised while conducting their daily routine activities such as walking to and from school or going to the shops. Consequently, the motivated offender and suitable target converge at a specific time and place (Andresen, 2010:15). Contextual conditions, such as the type of locations used to approach the victims, were also consistently present in the current research sample.

The most common approach location category, which the offenders used, was outdoors, either in residential or recreational areas. This is comparable to SAPS data which revealed that most of the sexual offences during 2015/2016 occurred indoors (SAPS, 2016:42-43). Indeed, all but two of the victims in the current research sample, who were approached by the *opportunist* type offender, were approached outdoors in residential areas (generally in informal settlements) or in recreational parks. The contexts in which victims were approached varied from walking to or from school or the shops, playing outside their residence, walking to or from a friend or relative's house or while walking to or from public transport places.

The context in which the victims were approached are similar to that highlighted in SAPS data which highlights instances that young pupils are raped on their way to or home from school (SAPS, 2016:43). The two victims in the dataset who were not approached outdoors, were approached indoors, one victim in a hostel (in the offender G series), another victim inside a shopping centre (in the offender J series). Judging from this evidence, offenders who fit into the *opportunist* profile type will most often approach victims off the street, in a random manner. Dr Kleijn agrees that the type of serial rapist who suits the opportunistic profile commits the acts with little planning.

The results regarding approach contexts of the current study are similar to the study by Woodhams and Labuschagne (2012:561) which found that South African serial rapists most commonly choose public locations, such as the street, to target and

approach their victims. In addition, the results are comparable to international findings, specifically a study which was conducted in Canada which investigated the consistency of serial sex offenders' use of crime sites (Deslauriers-Varin & Beauregard, 2013:127). The results revealed that the most prevalent encounter site for sex offenders was the neighbourhood area, specifically a residential, outside area that was familiar to both the victim and offender. The second most prevalent encounter area was a commercial area, such as a shopping centre, in a public area, that both the victim and offender were familiar to.

Once again, the current study's results are congruent with literature, also substantiating the application of the routine activities theory to serial rape offences. In particular. the selection of the crime sites appears to reflect the offender's knowledge of an area, likely gained from their own routine activities (Deslauriers-Varin & Beauregard, 2013:124). Although the vast majority of the victims in the current research sample were approached in outdoor public areas, two of the offenders solely used a private residential location, specifically their residences, to approach their victims. This finding is comparable to the study in Canada, which showed that the third most common approach locations were the victims' homes (Deslauriers-Varin & Beauregard, 2013:127). The evidence regarding high-risk areas and contexts for serial rapists to target children can be used in crime prevention strategies.

Notwithstanding the above, Captain Myburgh insists that the approach locations also depend on the type of offender, distinguishing between the *opportunist* rapist and the *groomer* rapist. It is important to highlight that many of the experts refer to the *groomer* type rapist as a paedophile, however without the clinical diagnosis of the disorder, the researcher has refrained from making this distinction. Nonetheless, the approach methods used by the two types of rapists in the current study do differ.

Captain Myburgh indicates that the *groomer* rapist is more likely to spend time with the victim, making them comfortable, oftentimes in his own house or at a predetermined "*safe spot*". This also alludes to the grooming of the environment (Craven et al., 2006; 292-293). Conversely, the *opportunist* will approach the victim in a practical location, where the offender can gain quick access to the victim and rape them. This evidence corroborates that the most commonly used location by serial child

rapists is an outdoor location. Dr Knibbs also substantiates that accessibility of the victims will also determine the modus operandi used by the offender.

The evidence that all of the victims in the current research sample were unsupervised by adults when they were approached by the offenders can in part be explained using the routine activities theory. The routine activities theory explains that offenders will most likely target a victim who is not guarded (Roelofse, 2011:354-355). Thus, the offenders in the current study likely capitalised upon the absence of effective controls (such as diligent parents or guardians). Across the offenders' series, the lack of adequate adult supervision meant that the victims guardianship was lacking, which likely attributed to their victimisation. This lack of supervision is also highlighted in SAPS reports that indicate that neglect by parents or leaving children unattended at home is contributable to the high number of children who are raped (SAPS, 2016: 42-43).

The exploitation of absent guardianship is also acknowledged within the sexual grooming process. Child sex offenders will most likely target vulnerable children who have low or poor supervision, oftentimes because of family circumstances (such as a single-parent household). Evidence in support of poor guardianship increasing the risk associated with child sex offending is found in research conducted by Williams (2015:38). The author highlights that grooming behaviours were found in families whereby the capable guardian was either "relaxed", or non-existent, which then increased the opportunities for the offender to groom the victim.

In the current study, there was limited information regarding victim family backgrounds nonetheless, it was evident that the offenders took advantage of the increased access to the children. This was particularly shown in the data regarding the victims of offender B and D. The grooming behaviours appeared to have occurred outside of the awareness and supervision of the victims' parents and/or guardians. Interestingly, offenders B and D who were self-employed during their rape series, and likely had more access to economic resources, used indoor locations to attack their victims. Similarly, offender J, who was self-employed for a period, used abandoned houses in suburban residential areas in some of his offences (these locations were also recorded as indoor locations).

Investigators and other law enforcement agents should be aware of the most common areas where serial child rapists target children. Children playing or walking to or from school, unsupervised by adults, in residential or recreational areas may likely become the victims of opportunistic serial child rapists. Despite the limited geographic data, the evidence suggests that in the event when children are targeted in specific areas, the offenders have most likely operated within their space of awareness (resultant from their own routine activities).

This information can help narrow down the search areas and suspect pools in investigations. Conversely, if children are raped and sexually victimised at indoor locations, investigators should be cognisant that the behaviour could likely point to offenders who have groomed their victims, which could be indicative of a larger victim pool, who are hidden and unknown to the authorities. This information could assist authorities in directing their investigations to known and acquainted individuals in the children's lives.

6.5.1.2 METHOD OF APPROACH

Firstly, it was clear to the researcher that most of the offenders of the present study used a con approach to initiate contact with their victims. Typically, the con approach applies to the offence whereby the offender will use a ruse, or fabricated story, generally in the form of some type of manipulation of the context or situation, in order to gain the victim's trust (Oliva, 2013:74-75; Hewitt & Beauregard, 2014:63). Similarly, the con approach was found to be the most commonly used method employed by the offenders profiled in De Wet's study (2008:171; 2009:171) and was frequently used by offenders described by Woodhams and Labuschagne (2012:566). De Wet (2008:60), as well as Woodhams and Labuschagne (2012:560), highlight that serial rapists in South Africa use various ploys within the con approach to dupe and target the victim. Consistent with research on serial sex offenders in the UK, USA, Finland and Canada, the con approach is the most commonly used method in South Africa (Woodhams and Labuschagne, 2012:548-549).

The similar approach methods used by serial child rapists and serial rapists who also target adults is evidence that the two groups of offenders have similar behavioural profiles. This is also substantiated by local expert experience, in particular that of Lt. Col. De Lange who indicates that regarding modus operandi one of the only

distinctions between a serial rapist who targets children opposed to one who targets adults, is simply the age of the target. Otherwise, the modus operandi is generally similar to other serial rapists in South Africa. Prof Labuschagne further corroborates the similar behavioural profiles and describes the modus operandi of serial child rapists as a "*junior version of the adult con*". Overall, the majority of the evidence indicates that rapists in South Africa use a fabricated story when approaching victims and manipulate the story in such a way to ensure the victim's compliance and reduce their initial resistance. The theme of the con stories may differ based on the context of the offence.

The most common themes of the con approach in the current sample generally entailed asking the children for directions to a specific place or asking for help or assistance. In comparison in the Woodhams and Labuschagne study (2010:566) it was found that, the most common type of con approach used by offenders entailed the offer of employment. The difference in approach theme was likely because of the victim sample of Woodhams and Labuschagne's study (2010:566), which included adult victims. The other common type of con evident in Woodhams and Labuschagne's results (2010:566), which is similar to that which was evidenced in the current study sample, entailed the offender pretending that he required help from the victim in some way. Specific common themes identified in the current study included asking for directions to a person's house, asking for help or assistance to carry boxes or wood as well as asking for assistance to locate a specific place, person or item.

Regarding the method of approach Dr Knibbs substantiates that fabricated stories used to approach children will most often include asking for directions to a particular person's house and asking the victims whether they know a specific person. When the victims acknowledge awareness of such places or people, they will be asked to follow the offender or physically direct the offender to the location. Once again, this highlights the vulnerability of children, who are taught in some ethnic groups that it is rude to merely point directions to an adult when asked for directions (Woodhams & Labuschagne, 2012:566). Children should always accompany an adult and show them the directions to a location should they know where it is.

Lt Col. De Lange and Captain Myburgh also state that children, especially from Black/African cultures, are taught to always listen to an adult (stranger or not).

Consequently, the social rule embedded in some children increases the likelihood that when an offender tells the children to follow him, they will oblige. In comparison to other countries, Prof Labuschagne points out that the "*traditional pressure to listen to an adult*" found in the Black/African cultures differs from what is taught in the western culture.

In addition to the above, Dr Omar substantiates that the socialisation of children in indigenous cultures in South Africa is a key factor when evaluating how children respond to strangers. Dr Knibbs also indicates that, in the local context, it is not uncommon for people to walk in vast open fields (veld) and spaces; therefore, to persuade a victim to walk through these places to show direction is not unusual or out of the ordinary. Consequently, many children are unaware that they are being lured into a trap. The cultural and contextual factors commonly found in South African society and everyday life creates an opportunity for sexual offenders to manipulate them to their benefit. Contrary to this, the Afrikaans White ethnic group raise their children never to trust strangers or to accompany a stranger when asked to do so (Bezuidenhout, 2018a). This could also inversely be a reason why only a few respondents were White and Afrikaans speaking in the current victim pool.

The con approaches identified by Woodhams and Labuschagne (2012:555) are applicable to the way in which some of the victims were approached in the current sample. A brief description and comparison to each type is provided below:

- *Con-employ*: details the scenarios in which offenders tell the victim that he will help him/her gain employment:
  While this type would be more suited to adult victims, there were examples from the current sample in which the child victims were offered money for their labour to help or assist the offenders by carrying boxes or firewood. The type is applicable to some of the offenders' modus operandi because it entails the offender asking for assistance for which the victim would be rewarded with a small monetary value. Two of the older adolescent victims in the present victim sample, were told to follow the offender for work related reasons.
- *Con-offers help*: the offender uses the con approach whereby he offers assistance or help to the victim:

The *con-offers help* type was not commonly evidenced in the overall offenders' modus operandi in the current study however, an example from offender C's series applies to this type. One victim in the series was told that the offender would help her by purchasing items she was selling.

- *Con-need help*: in this con approach the offender will pretend to need assistance or help:

  The offenders in the current sample most often used *the con-need help* method. Many of the offenders approached the children asking for assistance and asked help to fetch keys, to find a girlfriend, to find a specific place or directions to find a particular person.

- *Con-authority*: the offender uses the con approach whereby he pretends to be an authority figure:

  While it can be argued that all of the offenders in the current research sample used the *con-authority* strategy by manipulating their cultural and social authority as adults, a specific example is evidenced in offender J's approach method where he frequently pretended to be a police officer when he approached many of his victims.

- *Con-bribe*: in this con strategy the victim is bribed to follow the offender:

  The *con-bribe* approach was used oftentimes in conjunction with other approaches. For example, a few offenders asked victims for help or directions and subsequently bribed them with confectioneries (commonly ice cream or sweets) to assure the victims that after their request for assistance or help was fulfilled, they would be rewarded.

It was apparent to the researcher that the offenders in the sample commonly used a similar method of approach throughout their particular series. The evidence could be explained by the fact that when serial offenders discover what behaviours and methods are successful, they will develop a pattern of the effective strategies to ensure future success. Hence, a distinct modus operandi was apparent in each of the series, as the offenders developed a behavioural pattern to successfully perpetrate their crime (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:373; Hazelwood & Warren, 2003:588; Oliva, 2013:9; Pistorius, 2005:28). Thus, the researcher identified clear themes from most of the offenders' particular approach methods and fabricated stories. For example, offender A typically used the story that he had a child and required the victims' assistance to either fetch

the child or go play with the child. Offender I asked four of his victims to help him find a particular house key and offender J pretended to be a police officer in at least 14 of the offences. While the content within the offenders' stories was not identified in each offence in the series, the possibility of more consistency across the series cannot be ruled out.

The current evidence pertaining to the con approach is similar to the findings from the Woodhams and Labuschagne (2012:556) study. In particular, the offenders who targeted child victims almost exclusively used specific requests for help and employed the authority approach. The authors argued that for various cultural reasons, the common types of approaches when targeting Black/African children were especially successful because of the social standards taught within their culture (Woodhams & Labuschagne, 2012:566). In support, a few of the experts who were interviewed in the present sample substantiated that the cultural and societal standards, which are present in the local context, play a significant role in the victims' vulnerability.

Dr Omar highlights the importance of evaluating the themes of the fabricated stories used to lure child victims. She states that, oftentimes, evaluating content used in fake stories of serial rapists is vital to the investigative process. She provided an example of a series of more than 76 victims whereby the offender used the same story in each of the offences. The story specifically required the victims' help to find "*muti*" for the offender's frail and ill mother. Although the offender operated across a few informal settlements, the offences were linked to each other based on the content of each of the stories, as told by the victims themselves. The offender was a stranger to each of the victims, yet, they obliged and followed him in search of the specific plant that he required. Once again, the social and cultural factors are evident in the example, whereby the children most likely followed the offender because it was an accepted reaction within the girls' culture.

Dr Omar further substantiates that the "*respect*" that is already established due to cultural standards is the reason that the victims, in her example, tried to assist the offender. By evaluating the content of each of the false stories, investigators may possibly distinguish between separate rape series. Well recorded victim statements are essential to the investigative process and should be captured and recorded as soon as possible after the rape incidents.

The data clearly showed that many of the child victims across the series followed the offenders and obliged with their requests for help, assistance or to provide directions. Many of the experts point out the cultural factors, which make the children more vulnerable to the manipulation, especially by the opportunistic type of offender. Lt. Col. De Lange, Dr Kleijn, Dr Knibbs and Prof Labuschagne indicated that oftentimes the children are offered money, sometimes as little as one Rand (R1) or two Rand (R2). This meagre amount would be enough for them to follow the offender. Likewise, Prof Labuschagne indicates that in his professional experience common approach methods pertaining to child victims include asking the children for directions or offering employment by promising money for help "*to carry boxes*".

In total, 16 victims from the victim pool were offered money or food to assist the offenders. However, if an offender offered money or rewards, it was evidenced sporadically across the individual series. For example, offender C offered food (bunny chow) to two victims, while a third was offered ice cream; offender E offered two of his victims sweets; offender F offered money and food to two of his victims; offender G promised seven victims money and/or food and offender H offered two victims money. Most of the money and/or rewards were offered to the children during the approach phase, as a means to lure the children away from others.

Dr Viljoen believes that although it is evident that the *opportunist* offenders may offer "*tokens or rewards*" such as food or sweets, the offenders do not necessarily plan to do this. He believes that it is more circumstantial and opportunistic. The researcher confirms the contextual and situational aspects in this regard. The offenders in the current research sample offered rewards such as food or money when the context required it. For example, one child was given two Rand (R2) when she told her offender she lost her money during the attack, while another victim from a separate series told the offender she was hungry, and the offender subsequently bought food for her. In both examples, the offering of the money and food was seemingly circumstantial, similar to what Dr Viljoen expressed.

Secondly, the next most common approach method used by the offenders in the current study, entailed the use of physical force to overpower the victims, similar to the blitz approach. The blitz approach entails that the offender relies on their physical strength to overpower and injure the victim, rendering the victim unable to resist or

fight off the attack (Hewitt & Beauregard, 2014:63; Oliva, 2013:74-75). Typically, the act of physically overpowering victims in the present research, followed the initial con approach strategy. Although it can be argued that all offenders overpower their victims in some way in order to rape them, there were specific cases in which offenders initially approached their victims using a con story, and then overpowered them before they initiated the rape (thus physical force was used during the abduction, before the attack phase). For example, offender E physically grabbed two victims when they did not accept or comply with his fabricated story; similarly, offender G also grabbed one of his victims in this way. Offender H grabbed four of the victims in his series, after they tried to run away when initially approached. Offender J consistently approached his victims using a police officer ruse and then threatened them with a weapon and/or physically overpowering them.

Conversely three of offender G's victims were immediately threatened with a weapon and forced to follow him, thus in these cases, the con approach was not used. In general, in most of the cases across the sample, offenders consistently overpowered victims after they initiated a conversation with them (using one of the described con approaches above). However, in a few cases, behaviours similar to the blitz approach were evident. More specifically, victim ten, in offender G's series was immediately grabbed from behind, blindfolded and pulled into a car. Offender G used the blitz approach after initiating conversations with the victim. Offender H used direct physical force after first approaching victims using a fabricated story, however, his third victim recalled being approached and immediately grabbed away by the offender, thus fitting the typical blitz approach.

Offender J also used con stories to approach his victims, however, five victims in his series stated that they were immediately grabbed during the approach and forced to follow the offender to the pre-planned sites. Generally, the immediate physical overpowering during the approach or abduction phase is not common in the male serial child rapist behavioural profile. Rather, the use of force and physical prowess is circumstantial (e.g. when the victim attempts to escape). The immediate physical overpowering of a child victim is rare. It may be riskier to immediately overpower and pick up a child off the street - consequently offenders will use the con approach to lure the child away into isolation before initiating their physical attack.

Similarly, Prof Labuschagne substantiates that after the con approach, the second most common approach used by male serial child rapists is grabbing the child and dragging them into the bush, consistent with the blitz approach. However, the findings in the current sample show that the offenders did not often exclusively use the blitz approach but rather incorporated physical attacks after they initiated a conversation with the victims.

When evaluating the approaches used by the offenders across their individual series, certain offenders consistently used certain approach methods, whereas other offenders used a combination of methods. Offender A approached his victims in a way similar to the surprise approach (Hewitt & Beauregard, 2014:63; Olivia, 2013:74-75). Although he did not hide out in a secluded location, he likely used his knowledge that the victims were alone and vulnerable, maximising on the opportunity (De Wet, 2008:60). It is also possible that once offender A's victims were isolated in his residence, he surprised them in his bedroom and forced them to undress for the rape assault.

Conversely, offender C approached his victims by using fabricated stories, in line with the con approach, with varying content, themed around asking for help and asking for directions. Offender E also made use of a con approach, with the content mostly including asking for directions and asking help to carry boxes. Additionally, offender F also made use of the con approach throughout his entire series, with content including asking for help or assistance to find his car, or to help carry certain items. Furthermore, offender I also approached his victims by using fabricated stories. Conversely, offender G, H and J used varying approach methods, which included con stories and methods similar to the blitz approach. On the other hand, offenders B and D exhibited more grooming behaviours and therefore did not fit into the approaches discussed above.

Generally, the overall evidence indicates that a male serial child rapist in South Africa will approach his victims using a fake story by asking for assistance, with varying themes. It is important to note that the content of the false stories will be consistent throughout his series.

6.5.2 OFFENCE CHARACTERISTICS

6.5.2.1 LOCATION OF ATTACK

Regarding the rapes pertaining to the offenders in the dataset who fit the *opportunist* profile, most of their victims were attacked at outdoors locations, commonly in a veld, separate from the initial approach site. Many of the victims in the sample described that the offenders attacked them after walking some distance away from the initial approach sites. The researcher noted that the offenders oftentimes continued with their fabricated stories used during the approach and waited to attack the victims when they arrived at a suitable location. Literature explains that sexual offenders often use the con approach to initiate their sexual offences and then once the offender has successfully engaged the victim in some sort of con and believes that the victim is in a position to be overpowered, they will attack (De Wet, 2008:33; Hewitt & Beauregard, 2014:63; Olivia, 2013:74-75).

On the other hand, the offenders who were known to their victims, mostly the *groomer* offenders, used their residences or places of employment to isolate and target the children. For example, offender A raped all of his victims at his residence, offender B also raped all of his victims at his residence (which was also used for occupational purposes) and offender D attacked his victims at vocational related locations. Additionally, offender J, who suited the *opportunist* offender profile, raped his victims at outdoor locations, nearby to his former work and residential addresses. The use of known areas is supported by theory, which explains that serial sex offenders will offend in environments that are familiar to them, most likely as a result of their daily non-routine activities (Deslauriers-Varin & Beauregard, 2014:254; Lundrigan & Czarnomski, 2006:218).

Overall the male serial child rapist in South Africa will most commonly attack and rape children outdoors in an open veld area, however, if the offender is known to the victim, the rapes will most likely occur at a location known to the offender (i.e. employment or residential location).

6.5.2.2 METHOD OF ATTACK

Regarding the *groomer* type offenders, offender B and D did not exhibit violence or threatening behaviour towards their victims. Instead, these offenders manipulated their relationship with the victims in order to control them, testing the boundaries of the

sexualised relationship. Both of the offenders isolated the victims after they successfully groomed the children. For example, offender D told his victims that what they were doing was part of their relationship, while offender B admittedly showed naked pictures of other children to his rape victims. All of the victims across offender B and D's series were told to undress, and they stated that they willingly obliged.

The victims likely obliged the offender and undressed themselves because of their increased sexualised relationship. The two examples of grooming match the description of the psychological grooming process. Psychological grooming is used to increase the sexualisation of the relationship (Craven et al., 2006:295). In addition to the psychological grooming, it was apparent that physical grooming was used by offender D. The victims stated that the offender sometimes rubbed his genitals against their backs during tennis practice. Neither offender B or D were physically violent with their victims, excluding the rape act itself. Rapists who are in general not violent with their victims can be classified as *power-reassurance rapists* according to the most commonly cited typologies (Holmes & Holmes, 2009:153; Rossmo, 2000:38).

Both offenders A and B displayed pornography to their victims, presumably to physically groom their victims for the sex act (Craven et al., 2006:293). However, contrary to other groomers, who did not exhibit physical violence, offender A initiated his attacks using more physical force and violence. All the victims in offender A's series were immediately overpowered and threatened with violence. The situation and context under which offender A's victims were raped provides an example of how the modus operandi of offenders can vary based on the accessibility of children. The victims were known to the offender and were sent to his residence by relatives. He likely took advantage of his accessibility and the opportunity to rape the children, therefore, in contrast to the typical *groomer* offenders (B and D) he did not establish a typical sexualised relationship with his victims.

The other offenders across the dataset, the *opportunist* offenders, initiated their attacks by luring their victims away. The offenders most commonly overpowered their victims, forcing them to undress (either by themselves or undressing them himself), and raped them. Although violent behaviours were not commonly evident across the sample, when violence was used, the offender consistently used it. For example, offender C frequently used violence during the rape acts, throttling, biting and

physically restraining the victims. Additionally, offender E was also consistently violent and became more violent throughout his series, killing his last victim.

6.5.2.3 SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR

The forms and frequency of penetration evident across the offenders' series are highlighted in Table 13, below. The forms of penetration all meet the criteria for the adapted definition of rape in South Africa.

Table 13: Penetration forms across offender's series

	A	B*	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
Vaginal Penile	3		29	2	11	1		5	9	38	98
Anal Penile	2		2		2	1	11	3			21
Vaginal Digit		1									1
Anal Digit		1									1
Oral Sex on Offender		1		1			2			5	9
Oral Sex on Victim		1	1								2
Other						1**					1

*One of offender B's victims was raped by means of oral sex, however the exact direction of the penetration was not evident.
** Offender F inserted a stick into the anus of one of his victims.

The most common form of rape across the series was vaginal penile penetration (n=99). Some of the victims who were raped vaginally, were also raped anally; this occurred in eight of the offences (specifically two victims in offender A's series, two victims in offender C's series, two victims in offender E's series and two victims in offender H's series). Offender G only penetrated his victims anally (it is noted that all of his victims were male). The serial rapists in the dataset most commonly penetrated their victims using their penis. Other forms of penetration were relatively rare and only evident in a few series. Offender B did not penetrate any of his victims with his penis but used other parts of his body to rape his victims. In addition, he, uncommonly, confessed to all of the acts, and explained that he was sexually experimenting with the children for the purposes of pornographic photography.

Anal penetration was the second most common form of rape, while oral sex (which is also covered by rape legislation) was the third most common. The results differ slightly to De Wet's study (2008:190; 2009:185) which evidenced that oral sex was the second most common form of penetration and only three victims were anally penetrated. Nevertheless, vaginal penile penetration was also the most common form of rape in

his sample. The results are also consistent with those from Woodhams and Labuschagne's study (2012:566). The latter authors highlight that the evidence is congruent with existing studies. It is noted that the offender who solely targeted male children (increasing the number of anal rapes in the sample) may skew the findings from the current sample dataset. To further substantiate the findings, Prof Labuschagne indicates that regarding sexual behaviour, the male serial child rapist will do similar things to children as that of a serial rapist who solely targets adults. For the most part, the experts agree that vaginal penile penetration is the most common form of sexual behaviour that is exhibited in serial child rape. Although, as pointed out by Prof Labuschagne and Captain Myburgh, oral sex mostly in the form of the offender forcing the victim to perform the oral sex, does sometimes occur. The uncommon nature of anal and oral penetration across South African serial rapists is comparable to other international findings, which report higher rates of other penetration (Woodhams & Labuschagne, 2012:266).

Notwithstanding the above, additional forms of sexual acts, and the frequency thereof, that were present across the offences from the current study, are outlined in Table 14 below. Regarding the sexual acts, masturbation refers to incidents whereby the offender forced the victims to masturbate them. Forced touching refers to incidents whereby the offender forced the victim to touch parts of his body other than his penis. The use of pornography refers to incidents whereby the victims recalled they were shown pornographic images or films before they were raped. Fondling refers to incidents whereby offenders touched other erogenous parts of the victims' bodies (e.g. the buttocks or breasts). Other sexual acts were evident in the data pertaining to the *groomer* offenders, however only the acts for which the offenders were convicted for are included in the current data.

Table 14: Additional forms of sexual acts

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
Show Pornography	2										2**
Kissing			3	1			2		1	5	12
Fondling		1							1	9	11
Masturbation		1	1							6	8
Forced Touching							1			2	3
Use of Lubrication			18	1				1			20
Other							1*				1

* Offender G forced one of his victims to kiss another child who was abducted with the victim.
** The evidence in offender B's series indicated that victims were forced to view images of naked children, however, the offender was not convicted of any charges related to this, therefore the information was not included in the dataset.

The expert interviews provide more detail on the sexual acts performed in serial child rape series. In particular, Dr Knibbs indicates that in his professional experience other forms of sexual behaviour (other than penetration) are exhibited in both the *groomer* and *opportunist* types of offenders. The behaviours he identifies range from kissing, touching intimate areas and forcing victims to touch each other. He also points out that there might be instances of compelled rape. In the dataset, there was only one incident of attempted compelled rape, whereby offender J tried to force a girl and boy, who were abducted together, to have sex with each other.

Furthermore, Captain Myburgh states that sometimes fondling of a female child's breasts or forced touching of genitals are some of the other sexual acts performed by male serial child rapists. In addition, Prof Labuschagne indicates that kissing behaviours, which form part of a pseudo-intimacy pattern, are not very common in male serial child rapists. According to Dr Kleijn, a paedophile will exhibit more cuddling or inappropriate touching behaviour in their modus operandi. She distinguishes between the *opportunist* and the paedophile; the paedophile fitting the researcher's classification of a *groomer*. She, along with other experts, highlights oral sex as a secondary act to the penile penetration.

Prof Scholtz refers to the other sexual acts as evidence of a fixation in the offender. For example, if the offender fondles the developing breasts of female victims, or if the male offender masturbates young male victims, the behaviours are evidence of a specific fixation with that specific development phase. However, he states that with the younger victims the additional sexual acts are not as common; the offender will

generally rape and "*be done with the victim".* In the current victim dataset, only 25 victims were raped more than once by the perpetrator. For the most part, the male serial child rapist will indeed just rape and then leave the victim.

Regarding the use of lubrication, Prof Labuschagne highlights that this behaviour is not common and therefore would be used as a linkage factor when engaging in linkage analysis of cases. In offender C's series, the majority of the victims (n=18) recalled that the offender applied a particular substance to them before penetration. Although the substances varied, the act of applying lubrication was clearly identified by the victims in this series. This information indicates that investigators can still use behaviours such as the use and application of a substance as a factor to link serial rape cases of children.

6.5.2.4 VERBAL BEHAVIOUR

The following aspects of verbal behaviour are described as they pertain to the attack phase and therefore exclude the verbal behaviours employed during the approach phase. Although specific verbal comments and behaviours were not evident throughout each of the offences across each series, most of the victims who recalled verbal behaviours indicated that the offenders threatened them or instructed them to perform certain acts.

Therefore, the offenders across the dataset communicated with the victims during the attack phase in order to provide instructions and to ensure that the victims complied with their demands. As such, it can be stated that the offenders most often used verbal behaviours to extend their control of the situations. Although there were some clear cases of aggressive and threatening verbal behaviours, instances of complimentary and conversational behaviours were also present.

Lt. Col. De Lange indicates that the verbal behaviour of male serial child rapists is most often exhibited as a means of control in order to threaten the victims into compliance, and thus follows more threatening and aggressive tones. He specifically refers to death threats that are commonly made to the child victims, as well as instructions to keep quiet. Additionally, Prof Scholtz agrees that the verbal behaviour during the attack phase revolves around instructions that are given to the victim as well as verbal threats of harm to the victim or their loved ones.

The experts' evidence is similar to the current findings, whereby offenders told their victims not to scream or cry. In addition, a few of the offenders threatened the victims not to tell anyone about the rape. Sometimes the content of the verbal interactions between the offenders and victims was similar in a few of the cases within each series. For example, a few of the victims in offender G's series recalled that he asked them for "*one round*" [meaning one sexual encounter], while offender J indicated to some of his victims that he killed before. By assessing the content and aspects of the verbal behaviours of the rapists, investigators may be able to link cases to a serial offender.

6.5.3 POST-OFFENCE CHARATERISTICS

Sometimes, male serial child rapists will engage in patterned verbal behaviour after the rape offences. Many of the experts highlighted that in the event the offender does not immediately leave the scene after the rape, some conversation may occur. Sometimes the offenders will walk with the child or direct the child back home or to a place they were familiar with. Thus, *post-offence* behaviour is characteristically patterned around the provision of directions away from the attack scene. Captain Myburgh refers to the behaviour of walking victims away or directing victims away from the attack location as "*pseudo-concern*". Prof Labuschagne substantiates that despite many defence counsels trying to argue that this behaviour shows concern on the part of the offender, it is rather an extension of the offender's power and control over the victim.

Lt Col. De Lange states that, more commonly, the offender, typically the *opportunist* type offender, will leave the victims at the attack scene. Child victims are then commonly found by passing community members who may notice that the child is lost and sometimes even covered in blood. Prof Labuschagne and Dr Knibbs specifically point out that while less interaction after the rape is common, sometimes verbal threats are made to force the child not to tell anyone about the rape. Bribery behaviours are also common after the rape where the victim may be offered money or other rewards to prevent disclosure. Many of the experts agree that when the offender offers money or other rewards to the victims after the rape, it is mostly done in an attempt to reduce their own guilt.

In comparison to the *opportunist* offender who commonly targets, abducts, rapes and then leaves their victims, Dr Knibbs highlights that the *groomer* offender will provide

reassurance to the victim through the nature of the established relationship. The nature of the grooming behaviour is to enable the offences to occur in secret and thus the verbal interactions of these offenders will likely seek to extend further control over the victim in order to continue the sexual acts. Dr Kleijn substantiates the differences found in the verbal behaviour of the *groomers* opposed to those who just "*grab the victims*" (the *opportunist* type). She reiterates that the nature and process of grooming will call for the offender to attempt to reduce the negative impact of the rape, by trying to "*soften the act*". Hence, Dr Kleijn states that the victims of the groomer rapists are most likely to stay silent after the act.

In addition, Dr Omar substantiates the difference between the two profile types and states that oftentimes victims of a stranger (*opportunist*) rapist will most likely come forward to authorities. Conversely, Dr Omar states that a *groomer* has a lot "*more to lose*" and will behave in a way to minimise the chance that the victim will report the act, which will enable successive encounters. Conversely, she states that the *opportunist* rapist is not interested in any kind of relationship with the victim and therefore after the rape will "*move on*" as they have been satisfied.

Considering the findings in the current study; the De Wet study; the Woodhams and Labuschagne study one can deduce that the overall profile of a male serial child rapist in South Africa is a Black/African male, who is generally unemployed or engaged in menial or manual labour, with a low-level or incomplete schooling background. The offender, who can be commonly described as an *opportunist*, therefore has more 'free time' to target potential rape victims and lure them off the street. These child rapists most commonly target strangers. Serial child rapists commonly operate in "comfort zones" and do not travel far away from spaces they are familiar in.

The most vulnerable victim to a serial child rapist is a pre-pubescent Black/African female, who is inadequately supervised. The offender will approach the victim using a fabricated story, in a con approach method. Once a victim is lured away, the offender will most often rape the child and leave the scene. The *opportunist* rapist will most often rape the female victim by means of vaginal penile penetration and does not commonly exhibit other sexual acts.

Another profile of serial child rapists in South Africa is that of the *groomer,* who commonly targets children known to them. The *groomer* will exhibit fewer victims in

their series, but the victims will most likely be known to the offender. The *groomer* is typically a male, who has a more stable employment history, with higher levels of education. *Groomers* will have more sustained access to children (because of their position in society) and will therefore take time to establish and sexualise a relationship with their victims.

6.6 CONCLUSION

In the above discussion, an integrated general behavioural profile was provided, which included the dataset of the ten offenders' series that formed part of the collective case study of the current study. To explore the behavioural profile of male serial child rapists in South Africa, the basic victim profile was discussed in order to highlight the vulnerabilities of these victims. The general victim profile was detailed according to the 117 victims across the ten series in the current dataset. In addition, the basic demographic characteristics and modus operandi information pertaining to the offenders were discussed. In order to generate a basic behavioural profile of male serial child rapists, various patterns of behaviour that were evident during the phases of the incidents were highlighted.

In addition, interview data obtained during a second phase of data gathering was included into the discussion in order to provide primary data and explore the behavioural profile of the male serial child rapist in South Africa. In the next and final chapter, the achievements of the aim and objectives of the study are discussed. The chapter also delineates the challenges and values of the study and provides avenues for future studies. A few important recommendations for investigators and researchers are also yielded.

7. ACHIEVEMENT OF OBJECTIVES, VALUE OF THE STUDY, LIMITATIONS, CHALLENGES, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 7 concludes the current study. The extent to which the aim and objectives were achieved is described. The aim of the study was to explore and determine a behavioural profile of male serial child rapists in South Africa. In order to achieve the aim, five research objectives were identified to explore the phenomenon of serial child rape. The chapter also examines the limitations, challenges and value of the study and concludes with a few recommendations and overall conclusions that may be useful for future researchers and investigators.

7.2 ACHIEVEMENT OF OBJECTIVES

The overall aim of the current study was to explore the behavioural profile of male serial child rapists in South Africa. In order to achieve the aim, the researcher set out five objectives to explore the phenomenon of serial child rape. The **first objective** was to explore the body of existing knowledge regarding male serial child rapists. The objective was satisfactorily achieved with an extensive literature search. The available and relevant references were included in the literature review (Chapter 2). However, a dearth of research specifically pertaining to child victims of rape in South Africa was identified as a key challenge in this objective. To address this challenge, broader, relevant and contemporary research evidence pertaining to rape behaviour in general was included in the literature review, which also included a limited amount of international evidence. A concern is that international evidence pertaining to male serial child rapists is also lacking. It is also not aligned to the South African milieu. The researcher concedes that the conceptual overlap and use of interchangeable general terms regarding rape in general hampers the effective identification of research specifically pertaining to serial child rapists.

The **second objective** was to determine the individual offender profiles of male serial child rapists within a series under investigation. This objective was successfully achieved by making use of the information obtained in section A (phase 1) of a serial child rapist checklist, developed by the researcher. In Chapter 5 of the current study, the various offender profiles from the available data in the case files were described. By conducting a pilot study with the checklist, before the data collection commenced,

the researcher was able to determine what type of data was present in each of the case files. Subsequently, the researcher briefly revised the checklist to ensure that as many similar variables across each of the case files were recorded. Despite the inconsistently presented information in each case docket, the extensive literature review, and consultation with knowledgeable professionals ensured that the checklist was utilised to its maximum potential.

As stipulated by the **third objective**, the general modus operandi of male serial child rapists within a series under investigation was detailed in Chapter 6. The general modus operandi of male serial child rapists was discussed by providing a general behavioural profile of the group of offenders in the dataset against the backdrop of the data presented in Chapter 6. This information is substantiated and comprehensively detailed with the inclusion of primary data gleaned from expert interviews. Where relevant comparisons to other local evidence and literature are made in order to add to the general baseline knowledge of serial child rapists in South Africa. This process revealed that the behavioural profile of serial child rapists does not significantly differ from that of rapists who mostly target adults. However, two distinct profile types of serial child rapists were evident in both phases of the current study. These profile types are regarded as the *opportunist* and the *groomer.* The two types of serial child rapists presented distinct behavioural profiles, which were mostly differentiated by locations of the rapes, the number of victims per series and the methods used to approach and attack the victims.

The **fourth objective** was to determine whether male serial child rapists exhibited behavioural consistency regarding their modus operandi. This objective was partially achieved. As a result of limited and inconsistent information available across the police case files, a few of the behavioural features that apply to modus operandi were not evident in each case. However, behavioural consistency was evident in some aspects of modus operandi for some of the offenders. The unique aspect of consistency was described under each offender's series description. Nonetheless some valuable data regarding behavioural consistency in a series was shared.

The **last objective**, to determine the view of experts regarding the behaviour of male serial child rapists, was successfully and comprehensively achieved by interviewing various experts in the fields of Investigative Psychology, Cognitive Psychology and

Social Work. The experts who were consulted are perhaps the most experienced authorities in this particular field of study. The nature of the semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher to probe the experts on the topic of male serial child rape in South Africa, in order to obtain information that could not be otherwise extracted from other forms of data. Furthermore, this form of data collection allowed the researcher to engage with professionals who have directly worked on numerous serial child rape cases.

Throughout the discussion, comparisons of the current findings were made with other South African studies. The overall results suggest that the behavioural profiles of serial rapists who target children exclusively do not differ from those who target adults. The finding is valuable to investigators because known behavioural aspects pertaining to serial rapists in South Africa can be used across rape investigations, no matter the age of the victims. Literature pertaining to the modus operandi of international offenders may prove useful in the local context if the contextual variables are considered with caution against the unique challenges in South Africa.

Therefore, each of the objectives above ensured that the aim of the study, to explore and determine a behavioural profile of male serial child rapists in South Africa, was successfully achieved.

7.3 VALUE OF THE STUDY

Due to the dearth of empirical research and literature specifically pertaining to the serial rape of children, the current research adds significant value to rape literature in South Africa. The study also highlighted that specific modus operandi behaviours, which are investigated in rape cases of adult victims can be investigated in a similar way when dealing with serial offenders who target children exclusively. This information should strengthen an investigator's abilities when investigating child rape cases.

Furthermore, the researcher was able to gather primary data from selected local experts who are most probably the most experienced experts in South Africa, particularly regarding serial child rape cases and interventions. In addition, the inclusion of primary data allowed the researcher to provide an inclusive discussion on the phenomenon of male serial child rape in South Africa. Therefore, by interviewing

the experienced experts, rich and valuable information pertaining to offender variables that were not intentionally investigated in the study was gathered. The additional behavioural features of serial child rapists, such as psychological variables and offender backgrounds can be valuable in future studies.

A few of the noteworthy research findings indicated that certain theoretical aspects and international typologies based on international research could be applied to the local context. In particular, a specific pattern of behaviour was evident across the offender's individual series. Some aspects of the offenders' behavioural pattern, such as approach and attack locations, reflected an awareness and comfort in particular areas. The data indicated that the offenders committed crime in areas known to them, as a result of their daily, or former, routine activities and existing environmental knowledge. Similarly, the manner in which the offenders approached their victims reflected a degree of consistency and substantiated that offenders will pattern their behaviour based on successful methods. This evidence supported tenants of the crime pattern theory which stipulates that crimes are patternable against a specific environmental background (Andresen, 2010:26-27; Deslauriers-Varin & Beauregard, 2013:124).

A few of the approach methods, widely cited in international serial sex offence literature were applicable to the local context. In particular, many of the offenders approached their victims in ways that fit the descriptions of well-known con and blitz approach methods (Oliva, 2013:74-75; Hewitt & Beauregard, 2014:63). In particular, most of the offenders in the current research sample used varying types of the con approach in order to lure the child victims to the attack locations. The con approach is the most common method of approach identified in other South African research (De Wet et al., 2010:40; Woodhams & Labuschagne, 2012:555). It was apparent to the researcher that common themes of the fabricated stories were evident in each individual series, whether the offender used a ruse of a police officer or asked children for assistance, the content in the stories was similar in most of their offences.

The data and general discussion corroborated that many international and local serial sexual offenders do indeed pattern themselves behaviourally (Andresen, 2010:26-27). They often use similar approach methods, locations and behaviours across their series; substantiating some typologies and theoretical explanations developed in other

countries. However, congruent with many experts' warnings, a distinct profile of offenders did not emerge from the current research findings. In addition, the findings of international studies regarding age, education, criminal and marital histories of serial sex offenders are not similar to local research findings. Possibly, the results substantiate that profile typologies, especially those that are developed in other countries, which are based on demographic and psychological variables, are only partially applicable to the local context.

7.4 LIMITATIONS AND CHALLENGES

The study was limited in nature because the results were not intended for applied research, although the researcher is of the opinion that the important baseline information provides food for thought and important avenues for further research. The researcher was motivated to select the current research topic from similar South African studies and is of the opinion that encouraging local research on this controversial and sensitive topic is vital. Scientific research in any form is an important step in any attempt to understand the complexity of behaviour, especially behaviour that is sexually deviant and criminal. Usually these crimes are sensationalised and feature in the media, therefore solid research debunks many widespread assumptions and myths.

Another challenge identified in the current study was that the police case dockets, which were scrutinised in the collective case study analysis, were not intended for social research purposes and as a result, the information was not consistently presented across each case file. The inconsistent availability of variables and data across the case files reduced the researcher's ability to capture reliable information. Furthermore, given the young age of many of the victims and the nature of the traumatic experiences, important behavioural information was oftentimes missing from the victims' statements in the case dockets. This could potentially be explained by the insufficient amount of detail captured in victim statements or that the victims were too young to recall precise details of the offences. In addition, it could be attributed to different investigation techniques by police officers and perhaps inexperience by some detectives.

A few of the documents in the case files, such as victim statements, may not have been captured verbatim. To elucidate further, if an investigator or first-reporting officer

records a victim's statement whereby the victim explained the use of a lubrication substance, the reporting officer or investigator may inherently use their own assumptions and subjective knowledge when completing the statements. For example, "*the offender used Labello*" when the victim may have only stated "*lip balm*" or "*lip ice*" (Labello and Lip Ice are two brands of lip balm in South Africa; citizens often use the terms interchangeably). Accurate, clear and timely recorded victim statements are crucial to the investigative process and may enable efficient and effective case linkage. By assessing the content of the verbal behaviours exhibited by offenders, investigators handling numerous rape cases can potentially link cases together.

During the content analysis, data was usually retrieved from the first witness and secondary witness accounts present in the case files. In most of the cases, a limited amount of detail was recorded and thus, a reduced amount of information was available. This limitation also reduced the ability to apply more scientifically sophisticated research measures to the study (e.g. statistical methods such as data mining), thus, substantiating the use of qualitative measures.

In addition to the above, the researcher single-handedly interpreted the data that was accessible in the police case dockets. Although all efforts were taken to limit researcher bias, the nature of the study is inherently and feasibly susceptible to researcher bias. Additionally, the information was interpreted according to the researcher's partiality on this social problem and therefore may be open to other interpretations, which may result in alternative conclusions. Nevertheless, the researcher attempted to offset this limitation by gathering primary data from experts with vast experience in working with the offenders and victims of male serial child rape.

A key challenge with the study was accessing case files, which met all of the research criteria. Some case files kept at the IPS pertained to ongoing investigations at the time of the data collection, and therefore could not be included in the dataset. Furthermore, the researcher did not include offenders in the research sample who were initially found guilty of their offences but then successfully appealed their cases (e.g. some cases were appealed successfully because of poor evidence and technical points). This reduced the available sample from which to derive valuable information. Nonetheless, the researcher intended for the key expert information during phase two of the research to further offset this limitation.

Therefore, an important advantage of the research methodology employed by the researcher was that primary data from expert interviews could be used to triangulate and substantiate various findings from the collective case study analysis. This enabled the researcher to strengthen the study by adding rich qualitative information that could be gathered though probing experts during the interviews. The researcher maintains that this advantage of the study increases the overall value of the information and the results. Furthermore, the methodology that was employed increases the strength of the study by providing a comprehensive discussion of the current knowledge regarding the serial rape of children. Thus, the expert and professional information is added to the current research knowledge base in South Africa.

Due to the scope of the study, the researcher did not explore motivational indicators and offender psychological variables. Although, various aspects, including verbal behaviour, can be used to superficially compare the offenders with international rapist typologies (such as the MTC:R3 or Groth typology discussed in Chapter 2), the findings highlight certain unique aspects in the South African milieu which are not covered in these typologies. The researcher determined that the information in the case files did not provide sufficient evidence of the verbal behaviour or any other form of motivational indicators to enable a comprehensive comparison to the typologies.

Despite literature providing numerous possible motivations for rape, experts warn that, despite their own experience and knowledge, they are unable to answer why serial rapists commit the offences that they do. Once again, this is supported by the opinion of many behavioural and social researchers that no singular profile regarding sex offenders exists. Nonetheless, future researchers who want to explore the motivational aspects of serial sex offenders may look to ground their research in psychological theories, making use of the offender typologies to make comparisons and draw conclusions from these alternative sources of information. Therefore, this limitation should be considered a crucial departure point for additional local research.

7.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

Future research should continue to focus on the behavioural patterns that exist within serial sex offenders in South Africa. Furthermore, the victimisation of defenceless children should be researched in order to highlight the unique vulnerabilities, which play a role in the profile of children who are victimised by serial sex offenders.

Additionally, researchers should look to distinguish between the various offenders' modus operandi in order to further conceptualise and elucidate the distinct typologies that are applicable to the local context. Similarly, research regarding the "blesser" phenomenon, specifically in the contexts of transactional sex relationships in South Africa, may provide valuable insight into this distinct group of offenders. A study of this ilk should however be tackled with a great level of tact and sensitivity.

The results of the present study further substantiated some public knowledge and research which indicates that serial rapists in South Africa will target children who are alone, or unaccompanied by adults, outdoors, in residential areas. The information should be used in crime prevention strategies and awareness campaigns, stressing the importance of adequate adult supervision.

Despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of the victims in the dataset were targeted by strangers off the street, some of the evidence pointed to the hidden nature of sexual grooming by acquaintances. Cases in which children are raped as a result of a groomed sexual relationship may make up for a large proportion of the underreported rapes that occur against children. Future research may also investigate the specific strategies and processes employed by these offenders. In particular, studies should determine the use of various grooming strategies identified in the luring communication theory and other grooming frameworks.

The importance of appropriate guardianship extends beyond the physical presence and supervision of adults. Positive role models and guardians in children's lives will also reduce their vulnerability to sexual offenders who target and manipulate children's need for attention. Perhaps socialising techniques in certain ethnic groups, regarding teaching children to trust adults and to follow them when requested to do so, need to be investigated. From this study, it became evident that this socialisation technique caused some children to fall prey to unscrupulous adult predators.

Two distinct behavioural profiles of serial child rapists emerged in the current study, the *opportunists* and the *groomers*. Firstly, strangers, who will manipulate the victims in opportunistic and sometimes predatory ways, rape children. Secondly, people who are known and trusted rape children. Through establishing sexualised relationships with the children, the perpetrators manipulate and threaten the children into

compliance, compounding the problem surrounding the underreporting of sexually violent crimes in South Africa.

It is also important to highlight that although general aspects of behaviour can be identified and discussed, there is no precise, singular profile which fits all serial rapists. Nonetheless, certain common variables are apparent and should be acknowledged. In particular, serial child rapists will target children who they consider easy targets. Children who are easy targets are usually not supervised by adults and therefore left to their own defences, which are no match to the opportunistic and manipulative offenders who are intellectually and physically more influential than them. Children are also susceptible to serial rapists who psychologically and physically groom them for their sexual advancements.

7.6 CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Simply put, children are raped with impunity on a daily basis. While vulnerable children are present across all sectors of society, young Black/African females in poor, impoverished socio-economic circumstances are at an especially high risk of being targeted. Serial child rapists interact and function in normal society in sometimes unassuming ways. These offenders are amongst us, performing their own routine activities, which often intersect with the routine activities of others.

There is no singular profile of serial child rapists in South Africa, nor is there a distinct behavioural pattern to accommodate each aspect of behaviour. In this regard, Bartol and Bartol (2017:406) insist that the classification and diagnosis of child sex offenders are complicated because of the high degree of variability amongst these sexual predators. However, from the research data in the current study and similar peer studies one can deduce that Black/African males, with low levels of education and histories of various criminal offences represent the majority of this category of rape offenders in South Africa.

This chapter presented the overall aim and objectives of the study, concluding that the aim of the study, to explore the behavioural profile of male serial child rapists in South Africa, was successfully achieved. The chapter also briefly outlined the value of the study and included the challenges and limitations of the study. The chapter also provided some recommendations for future research. The recommendations for

additional studies should stimulate the growth of literature and evidence that specifically applies to the local context.

On a final note, the study is especially valuable to the South African context because the data was derived from local contexts and local experts. Thus, the conclusions and findings of the study are directly applicable to South African cases. Furthermore, by providing locally based research findings, the evidence of the current study adds to the scant evidence regarding serial child rape. Moreover, the topic of serial child rape is a sensitive yet pertinent and current issue in society. This societal problem needs to be addressed and tackled by researchers, social scientists, practitioners, the legal fraternity, campaigners and lawmakers. Any scientific study, that seeks to explore the behaviour and contexts regarding serial child rape is a valuable endeavour.

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LEGISLATION

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ANNEXURE A: SERIAL CHILD RAPIST CHECKLIST

Section A: Offender's biographic details

1. Date of birth:

   _____

2. Offender's age at the time of the first known offence:

   _____

3. Offender's age at the time of the last known offence:

   _____

4. Population group:

   _____

5. Language:

   _____

6. Educational qualification (highest grade/qualification completed):

   _____

7. Current marital status:

   _____

8. Marital status during time of offences:

   _____

9. Partner history (any information regarding partners – type of partners /duration of relationships) :

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

10. Work history (occupation/high or low-income type/permanent or non-permanent/long or short duration of employment):

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

11. Criminal history:
    11.1 Prior arrests (include type of offence – sexual/non-sexual):

    _____

    _____

_____
_____

11.2 Prior convictions (before rape series):
_____
_____
_____
_____

11.3 Incarceration /sentences served:
_____
_____
_____
_____

12. History of mental diagnosis (e.g.: paedophilia) – if available (pre/post arrest):
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

12.1 Criminal responsibility (if available):
_____

13. History of victimisation (sexual, verbal, physical abuse) – include by when and by whom:
_____
_____
_____
_____

Section B: Victim details (Section B-D to be completed per victim in the offender's series)

1. Age at time of the offence:
_____

2. Gender:
_____

3. Population group:
_____

4. Relationship to the offender (if stranger, was the offender seen before the offence, explain circumstances):

_____

      4.1 Was offender seen after the offence by victim and or witnesses (explain circumstances):

_____

_____

Section C: Pre-offence and offence behaviour (modus operandi)

1. Number of offence in offender's series (e.g. 1 of 5):

_____

2. Date of offence:

_____

3. Day of offence (day of the week):

_____

4. Time of offence:

_____

5. Duration of offence:

_____

6. Use of legal/illegal substances before or during offence (alcohol/drugs):

_____

7. What preceded the offence (evidence of possible trigger?):

_____

_____

8. Geographic information:
    8.1 Province of offence:

      _____

    8.2 Name of nearest city, town or landmark of offence (include both approach & attack locations):
      Approach:_____
      Attack:_____

    8.3 Approach location/meeting zone (indoors or outdoors /residential, school, commercial or open field):

      _____

      _____

8.4 Attack location/rape zone (indoors or outdoors/ residential, school, commercial or open field):

_____

_____

8.5 Approximate distance between approach location / meeting zone and attack location/rape zone (if separate):

_____

_____

8.6 Distance between offender's home location and both meeting and rape zones:

_____

8.7 Distance between the offender's work location and both meeting and rape zones:

_____

9. Was the victim alone when approached (if not, who was with the victim and did they then become rape victims)?

_____

_____

9.1 If person with victim was victimised (other than rape), what type of victimisation occurred?

_____

_____

_____

10. Did the offender operate alone (was there an accomplice during any stage of the offence- if so, how did they participate in the offence)?

_____

_____

_____

11. Mode of transport the offender used to get to and from the crime locations (approach location/meeting zone & attack location/rape zone):

_____

_____

12. Why did the offender approach the victim (if available – why did the offender choose the specific victim/what attracted offender to the victim)?

_____

_____

_____

13. Did the offender pursue the victim before the offence (if available – did the offender observe the victim everyday/part of routine)?

_____

_____

_____

14. Aspects of offender behaviour towards the victim before the incident:

_____

_____

15. How did the offender approach the victim (e.g.: con story)?

_____

_____

_____

_____

16. How did the offender initiate the attack/offence (e.g.: blitz attack)?

_____

_____

_____

_____

17. Did the offender prepare the victim and or himself for the rape (e.g.: prepare the body by using lubrication, tying up victim, displaying pornography or verbally indicating he would rape the victim)?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

18. Method of control during the offence (verbal, physical, weapon, threat of violence, threaten to kill victim):

_____

_____

_____

19. Did the offender threaten the child not to tell anyone or go to the police?

_____

20. Was violence used during the offence? (if so, describe):

_____

_____

21. Did the offender undress the victim/force victim to undress:

_____

22. Did the offender undress himself (naked/semi-naked):

_____

23. Did the offender groom the child and/or environment before the offence (if so, where and how)?

_____

_____

_____

_____

24. Did the offender touch any of the child's erogenous body parts? (if yes, describe):

_____

_____

25. Did the offender force the child to touch any of his erogenous body part? (if yes, describe):

_____

_____

26. Type of penetration during the rape offence (vaginal/anal):

_____

24.1 What was used to penetrate the victim? (penis, bottle, finger):

_____

27. Any other sexual acts performed during offence? (explain):

_____

_____

28. Was victim raped more than once during a single offence/day? (if yes, what was subsequent location of rape):

_____

_____

29. Did the victim resist the offender in any way? (If yes, how):

_____

30. Was the victim forced to stay mute during the offence?

_____

31. Did the victim cry or make a noise during the offence?

_____

32. Was there any evidence of the offender experiencing sexual dysfunction?

_____

33. Were any precautionary measures taken by the offender to prevent identification? (condom, cover face, wipe fingerprints):

_____

_____

34. Did the offender leave any DNA evidence at the scene or on victim? (explain):

_____

_____

35. Were there any witnesses to the offence (if yes, who and what did they witness)?

_____

_____

_____

_____

36. Was there any other verbal interaction during the offence? (describe):

_____

_____

Section D: Post offence behaviour

1. Did the offender clean himself?

_____

2. Did the offender clean the victim or instruct the victim to do so?

_____

3. Did the offender dress himself or the victim?

_____

4. Offender behaviour towards victim after the offence:

_____

_____

5. Was there any post offence violence used? (describe):

_____

_____

6. Was there any verbal interaction after the offence?

_____

_____

_____

7. Did the offender offer/give money or gifts to the victim?

_____

8. Did the offender leave the scene alone? (i.e. left victim at crime scene):

_____

9. Did the offender accompany the victim somewhere after the offence?

_____

_____

10. Did the offender remove anything from the crime scene (souvenir or theft)?

_____

11. Other post offence behaviours:

_____

_____

_____

_____

Section E: Supplementing information

_____

_____

_____

ANNEXURE B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE – EXPERTS

Interviewer: Ms Brittany Hall (researcher)

Date of interview:

Time started:

Time ended:

Explained consent letter and obtained full consent: yes/no

1. Name (if consented):
2. Profession:
3. Title:
4. Experience in field:
5. Experience on topic of serial child rape:
6. What is your opinion or knowledge on the difference between a serial offender versus a single rape offender?
7. Are serial offenders in South Africa unique to those in other countries?
8. How many victims would you say a serial child rapist usually rapes in their series?
9. In your opinion or experience what is the most common profile of a serial rapist in South Africa?
10. Do serial child rapists differ to serial rapists who target a wider range of adult victims?
11. What information can you provide regarding victimisation – what is the most common type of victim? And do these offenders prefer to stick to a victim type?
12. Why do we see that some incidents entail the rape of two victims while other times only a singular victim or when abducting two children why only rape one?
13. Do these offenders pursue their victims before the rape offence?
14. In your opinion or experience when and why do serial child rapists begin their series of offences?
15. What is your experience or knowledge of the background of these offenders?
16. Does the mental diagnosis of Paedophilia play a significant role in these offences in South Africa?
17. What other motivations would an offender have to commit these offences other than Paedophilia?
18. What role does pornography play in this type of offending?
19. How prominent is grooming in this type of offence?
20. According to you, what serves as the main driving force behind this behaviour?

21. Is there a trigger that occurs before these offenders begin their series and before each subsequent offence?

22. In your experience do these offenders often use drugs or alcohol during their rape offences?

23. What do these offenders usually do to prepare their victim/themselves?

24. What are the common type of control methods these offenders use during the rape incidents?

25. Do you know of any other sexual acts that are usually performed during these incidents?

26. In your opinion, what is the significance of instructing the victim to clean/wipe after a rape incident (DNA precaution)?

27. What type of verbal interaction is common during /after the rape offences?

28. Is it common for these offenders to offer gifts/money after the rape incidents? Why would they do this?

29. Is it common for these offenders to leave their victims at the crime scenes?

30. Do you believe that this type of offence is on the rise?

31. Do you sense that this type of offence is occurring more frequently than it is reported?

32. How are these offenders usually apprehended?

33. In your experience do these offenders increase their offending over time?

34. If the offenders do not get caught do they eventually discontinue their behaviour?

35. In your opinion, can these offenders be rehabilitated?

36. Is there anything that you feel sticks out as important regarding the modus operandi of these offenders? (do they prefer a time of day, a specific location?).

37. In your experience, would you regard these offenders as violent or non-violent? (specifically referring to the use of violence during the rape).

38. Is there anything that may have been omitted in this interview which you deem important for the current study?

39. Can you recommend anyone in your field or another field that would have more or additional information regarding serial child rapists, and be willing to be interviewed?

Thank you

ANNEXURE C: INFORMED CONSENT – EXPERT INTERVIEWS

Ref: Ms Brittany Hall
Cell: 072 537 8014
Email: britt-18@hotmail.com
October 2016

Dear _____

Researcher: Brittany Hall

Informed consent by research participant:

1. Title of the study: Exploring the behavioural profile of male serial child rapists in South Africa.

2. Purpose of the study: The current study is being undertaken for the fulfilment of a Master's Degree in Criminology at the University of Pretoria. The purpose of the study is to explore and determine the behavioural profile of male serial child rapists. The envisaged study will explore aspects of offender profiles and their modus operandi.

3. Procedures: The current study will be undertaken in two phases. Phase one will entail a collective case study of documents within police case dockets. The second phase of the study (to which this consent refers) will entail a semi-structured interview based on data recorded during the first phase of the research. The questions will be open-ended to encourage an open dialogue and a free flow of information.

4. Risk and discomfort: The researcher does not foresee any risk pertaining to the experts participating in the research. The dissemination of the information will not pose any risk to the participants.

5. Benefits: The experts participating in the interviews will not receive any incentives or rewards.

6. Participant's rights: The participating experts may end the interviews or withdraw from the research process at any time without any repercussions.

7. Confidentiality: Confidentiality pertains to the manner in which the participants' information is used and the protection of his/her identity. Identifying information will only be forthcoming based on acknowledgement and signing of this consent letter. Should the research participant

request confidentiality the researcher will ensure that no identifying information is used in the research. Therefore, no names or identifying detail will be revealed. The researcher will use a numerical value to refer to the respondent (e.g. respondent 1 posits that …).

8. Ethical clearance: This research has been approved by the Post Graduate Committee and the Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Pretoria (Letters of approval attached for your perusal).

9. Questions and concerns: Should any concerns or questions arise, the researcher and or her supervisor could be contacted at the phone numbers or e-mail addresses hereafter.

If you have any questions about the study, please contact me or my supervisor.

Researcher: Ms B. Hall   **Supervisor:** Professor C Bezuidenhout
Brittany.hall@up.ac.za   cb@up.ac.za
072 537 8014   012 420 3320

I voluntarily consent to participate in this study. I understand what the study is about, how and why it is being done. I am aware that the data will be stored for fifteen years at the University of Pretoria for archival purposes only. I will receive a signed copy of this consent form.

Please tick appropriate box

☐ I agree to be identified by name and profession when referring to interview data

☐ I prefer not to be identified in the research report.
    I would prefer that a numerical numbering system be used when referring to my opinion and interview data (e.g. respondent 1)

Thank you for your co-operation and time.

……………………   ………………...
Signature of Research Participant   Date

………………………
Signature of Researcher

ANNEXURE D: APPROVAL FORENSIC SERVICES

South African Police Service ⚜ South African Police Service

Private Bag X322 Fax No:	012 421-0410

Your reference: 3/34/2

My reference:

Enquiries: Lt Col HMR Mampane

Tel: (012) 421-0440

THE DIVISIONAL COMMISSIONER

FORENSIC SERVICES

PRETORIA

0001

The Head
STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT

RE: RESEARCH REQUEST: EXPLORING THE BEHAVIORAL PROFILE OF MALE SERIAL CHILD RAPISTS IN SOUTH AFRICA: MA CRIMINOLOGY: UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA: B HALL

1.	Your communiqué with reference 3/34/2 dated 10 November 2015 bears reference.

2.	The request and proposal for research had been studied and this office recommends that it be approved on the following conditions:

2.1	The study should be limited to finalized cases only.
2.2	No investigative technique can be revealed in the research.
2.3	The necessary steps to prevent the identity of the victims must be taken.

Kind Regards
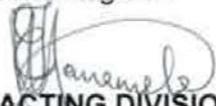
**MAJOR GENERAL
ACTING DIVISIONAL COMMISSIONER: FORENSIC SERVICES
NM MANAMELA**

DATE: 2016-02-01

ANNEXURE E: APPROVAL DETECTIVE SERVICE

South African Police Service ✠ Suid-Afrikaanse Polisiediens

Private Bag **Privaatsak**	**X302 Pretoria**	**Fax No:** **Faks No:**	**012 393 4451**

Your reference/U verwysing:

My reference/My verwysing: **3/34/2**

Enquiries/Navrae: **Maj Gen Botsheleng**

Tel: **012 393 2107**

THE DIVISIONAL COMMISSIONER
DIE AFDELINGSKOMMISSARIS
DETECTIVE SERVICE
SPEURDIENS
PRETORIA
0001

Researcher: Ms B Hall
Department of Social Work and Criminology
University of Pretoria

RE: RESEARCH REQUEST: EXPLORING THE BEHAVIOURAL PROFILE OF MALE SERIAL CHILD RAPISTS IN SOUTH AFRICA: MA CRIMINOLOGY: UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA: RESEARCHER B HALL

Your request to conduct research on exploring the behavioural profile of male serial rapists in South Africa refers.

This office recommends that the research be conducted only if you accept an undertaking that:

- The research will be at your own exclusive cost;

- Provide particulars of the Family Violence, Child Protection and Sexual Offences (FCS) Unit where you wish to conduct the research;

- You will conduct the research without any disruption of the duties of members of the Service and where necessary for the research goals, research procedure or research instruments to disrupt the duties of a member, prior arrangements must be made with the Commander of such a member;

- The information will at all times be treated as strictly confidential.

- That you will undertake not to make the names and details of the victims and perpetrators public; and

- You will provide an annotated copy of the research work to the SAPS.

Kindly take note that permission is only granted and limited to closed dockets and no printout in respect of any case will be provided, and nor will any copies be made to any docket.

Your cooperation on this matter is appreciated.

: MAJOR GENERAL
P.P. RAMATSOELE
DIVISIONAL COMMISSIONER: DETECTIVE SERVICE

Date: 2015 -11- 3 0

ANNEXURE F: APPROVAL STRATEGY, RESEARCH MONITORING AND EVALUATION

G.P.-S. 002-0222

SAP 21

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIEDIENS

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE

Privaatsak/Private Bag   X94

Reference Nr Verwysing	3/34/2
Navrae Enquiries	Lt-Col GJ Joubert
Telefoon Telephone	012-393 3118
Faksnommer Fax number	012-393 3178

STRATEGY, RESEARCH MONITORING AND EVALUATION

HEAD OFFICE

PRETORIA

A.   The Divisional Commissioner
      FORENSIC SERVICES   (Att: Brig Labuschagne/ Lt Col Mapane)

B.   The Divisional Commissioner
      DETECTIVE SERVICE   (Att: Lt Col Stassen)

C.   The Head
      CRIME RESEARCH AND STATISTICS   (Att: Col Molema)

RE: RESEARCH REQUEST: EXPLORING THE BEHAVIORAL PROFILE OF MALE SERIAL CHILD RAPISTS IN SOUTH AFRICA; MA CRIMINOLOGY: UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA; RESEARCHER: B HALL

A-C   1.   The research request of Ms Brittany Hall pertaining to the above mentioned topic, refers.

2.   The aim of the research is to explore and determine a behavioural profile of male serial child rapists in South Africa (see proposal attached).

3.   The study will employ a collective case study design. For the first phase of the study, the researcher needs permission to review case dockets, with supporting documentation. The case dockets will be identified with the assistance of the Investigative Psychology Unit. The second phase of the study will entail interviews with experts in the field of Investigative Psychology, Psychology and Social Work.

4.   Due to the sensitivity of the matters being researched, it is important that the identity of victims and perpetrators is protected. The research should be limited to closed dockets only and it is recommended that SAPS members assist the researcher in the collecting of information from the relevant dockets.

5.   The proposal was perused according to National Instruction 1 of 2006 by this office and it is recommended that permission be granted for the research subject to the final approval and further arrangements by the offices of the Divisional Commissioner: Forensic Services and the Divisional Commissioner: Detective Service that the undertaking be obtained from the researcher prior to the commencement of the research that –

RE: RESEARCH REQUEST: EXPLORING THE BEHAVIORAL PROFILE OF MALE SERIAL CHILD RAPISTS IN SOUTH AFRICA; MA CRIMINOLOGY: UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA; RESEARCHER: B HALL

5.1. the research will be at her exclusive cost;

5.2 she will conduct the research without any disruption of the duties of members of the Service and where it is necessary for the research goals, research procedure or research instruments to disrupt the duties of a member, prior arrangements must be made with the commander of such member;

5.3 the information will at all times be treated as strictly confidential,

5.4 that the researcher undertake not to make the names and details of the victims and perpetrators public and

5.5. the researcher will provide an annotated copy of the research work to the Service.

With kind regards,

_____ MAJOR GENERAL
HEAD: STRATEGY, RESEARCH MONITORING AND EVALUATION
M MENZIWA

Date: 2015/10/04

(Page 3)

YOUR ATTENTION IS BROUGHT TO THE THIRD-LAST BULLET OF THE ATTACHED LEGAL OPINION: "NO PRINTOUT IN RESPECT OF ANY CASE WILL BE PROVIDED TO THE RESEARCHER, NOR WILL ANY COPIES BE MADE OF ANY DOCKET"