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South African serial rapists: The offenders, their victims and their offences.

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Abstract

Serial rapists have the propensity to cause harm to a significant number of victims meaning that they are of concern to the police as well as to treatment providers. Despite the serious nature of their offending, there are surprisingly few studies that provide information regarding their characteristics, the types of victim they target, or the nature of the sexual offences they commit, and those studies that do exist are varied in their findings. This study provides a descriptive analysis of serial rape in South Africa. One hundred and nineteen sexual offences committed by 22 serial rapists were sampled. Information regarding the victims, the offenders and the crimes they had committed were extracted from police files. The characteristics of victims and offenders are reported, as well as the frequencies for 114 different crime scene behaviours. When compared to samples of serial sex offenders from other countries, differences emerged in victim characteristics and crime scene behaviours, including how the victims were targeted, the sexual behaviours engaged in, and the incidence of physical violence. The implications of these observed differences for practice are discussed.

Keywords: repeat sex offender, survivor, sexual assault, rape, sexual violence.

South African serial rapists: The offenders, their victims and their offences.

A serial rapist is someone who has committed two or more rapes against different victims on separate occasions (Graney & Arrigo, 2002). This definition corresponds with international research programmes on sexual and non-sexual forms of serial offending (e.g., Beauregard, Rossmo & Proulx, 2007; Grubin, Kelly, & Brunsdon, 2001; Park, Schlesinger, Pinizzotto, & Davis, 2008; Santtila, Junkkila, & Sandnabba, 2005; Tonkin, Grant, & Bond, 2008) and the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (2008) definition of serial murder. Whilst a body of research has been conducted on offenders who commit multiple sexual crimes, research on recidivists will not necessarily generalise to serial rapists since by definition someone who repeatedly sexually assaults the same victim would be classified as a recidivist but not a serial offender (Woodhams, Hollin, & Bull, 2008).

Serial rapists are of concern to many professionals because they have the potential to cause harm to multiple victims and will by the nature of their offending be responsible for a larger proportion of crimes. The principles of intelligence-led policing – to focus the police's limited resources on prolific offenders (Innes, Fielding & Cope, 2005) – makes them a policing priority since if they can be detected and successfully prosecuted, the crime rate should decrease. Two practices exist which, in theory, can assist the police in detecting serial rapists, particularly those that target strangers – crime linkage and offender profiling. Crime linkage is a psychological practice whereby crimes suspected of having been committed by the same serial offender are identified based on shared and distinctive crime scene behaviour. Offender profiling, a form of "behavioural investigative advice (Alison, Goodwill, Almond, van den Heuvel & Winter, 2010), involves inferring the likely offender characteristics from their crime scene behaviour. Underpinning both these practices are the assumptions of behavioural consistency and inter-individual behavioural variation (Alison, Bennell, Mokros & Ormerod, 2002; Bennell & Canter, 2002). Inter-individual variation requires a degree of

distinctiveness in the crime scene behaviour of offenders: if rapists all committed their crimes in the same way you would not be able to distinguish the crimes of one rapist from his peers. For this reason, high frequency crime scene behaviours are less useful for crime linkage and offender profiling (Canter, Bennell, Alison & Reddy, 2003; Salfati & Bateman, 2005).

Research on crime linkage and offender profiling is often conducted on samples specific to one country. The principle of inter-individual behavioural variation may be problematic if one wishes to generalise the findings of research conducted in one country to another because in doing so we assume that the frequency with which crime scene behaviours are displayed remains relatively stable across cultures. Crime scene behaviours that are distinctive in one country would therefore need to be distinctive in the other countries.

Similarly, risk assessment tools aim to distinguish accurately those offenders at risk of re-offending from those not at risk. The cross-cultural application of such tools also assumes that the features used to identify recidivists (which can include crime scene behaviours and victim characteristics [e.g., see Rapid Risk Assessment for Sexual Offence Recidivism, Hanson, 1997; Risk for Sexual Violence Protocol, Hart, Kropp & Laws, 2003; Sexual Violence Risk-20, Boer, Hart, Kropp & Webster, 1997; Static-99, Hanson & Thornton, 2000]) are as distinctive in the country/countries in which the tool was developed as in those where it is used in practice³. Whether the characteristics of serial rape and serial rapists are similar across different countries allowing for generalisation is therefore a question relevant to the work of police professionals and treatment providers.

Beauregard and colleagues' (e.g., Beauregard & Leclerc, 2007; Beauregard, et al. 2007) application of environmental criminology theory to sex offending suggests that this assumption could be problematic. They have critiqued much of the research on sexual offending for its exclusive focus on internal psychological processes which led the offender

³ We note here that the developers of these tools and the researchers of crime linkage and offender profiling often explicitly draw our attention to the populations with which their findings were developed.

to commit the offence and have argued that it is important to also consider situational factors (e.g., victim reaction, situational context and the environment) and how they influence the behaviour displayed by a sex offender (Beauregard & Leclerc, 2007). Theory from environmental criminology, such as routine activity theory and rational choice theory, has been proposed as being useful in this respect. For example, the immediate physical environment (e.g., the degree of natural surveillance in the offence locality) can affect the choices made by a sex offender in terms of the lengths to which they have to go to control the victim and avoid interruption (Leclerc, Wortley, & Smallbone, 2011). The social environment and the routine activities of potential victims can affect their accessibility (Beauregard et al., 2007). If one adopts a broad definition of situational factors this could also include the social and economic environment in which crimes are committed. The economic environment can affect the financial means available to the offender to commit his crimes and the time available to him. Also, several theories of sexual offending behaviour highlight the role of cultural values and norms which may be internalised by the offender and thus guide his behaviour (see Beech & Ward, 2004; Martin, Taft & Resnick, 2007; Ward & Beech, 2006, for reviews). It would follow that cultural and economic differences between countries could therefore influence the decision-making of sex offenders which could alter the distinctiveness of some crime scene behaviours and thus their relative effectiveness when relied on for some forensic psychological practices. Only a handful of studies have examined the offending behaviour of serial rapists to be able to provide insight into this issue. This paper reviews our existing knowledge of serial sex offenders and their offences before presenting novel findings regarding serial rape in South Africa.

Existing Research on Serial Sex Offenders

Studies of serial sex offending have been conducted in Canada, Finland, the United Kingdom and the United States. For the sake of brevity, the characteristics of the offenders

and the victims are summarised in Table 1 and the offending behaviours can be seen in Table 2. All of these studies sampled male sex offenders, the vast majority of whom had raped female victims. The age of the offenders ranged from teenagers to adults, with Woodhams, et al.'s (2008) sample comprising entirely of juveniles. Excluding Woodhams et al.'s sample, the average age of the offenders was 29-31 years. Similarly, the victims' ages ranged from teenage to adult years with a typical victim being aged in their thirties. The vast majority of victims were strangers to the offenders. The series length for most offenders was two offences, however, some offenders had lengthy series.

****Insert Table 1 and 2 approx here****

Regarding sexual offence behaviour, different types of behaviour have been reported in each study with Santtila et al. (2005) providing the most comprehensive list. As can be seen from Table 2, there is some overlap in the behaviours recorded in each study, but where there is overlap, the frequencies of what appear to be a similar behaviour can vary quite considerably between studies. As an illustration, the percentage of rapes where a weapon was displayed by the offender was 58% in Park et al.'s (2008) United States study, but only 19% with Santtila et al.'s (2005) Finnish sample.

The variations between the studies in the rates of offence behaviour could result from differences in study methodology or samples: the type of victim-offender relationships represented in the samples, the age of the offenders (e.g., juveniles compared to adults), the age and gender of the victims, and the source of the information (e.g., the offenders themselves compared to police files). To illustrate, if we take the examples of violence and weapon use during sexual offences, stranger rapes have been found to be more violent than acquaintance rapes (Koss, Dinero, Seibel, & Cox, 1988), and juvenile sex offenders have been found to more often use force and a weapon compared to adult sex offenders (Grubin & Gunn, 1990; Miranda & Corcoran, 2000). The use of violence and weapons in sexual

offences also has been found to vary depending on victim age and gender, but the results are inconsistent (Davis & Leitenberg, 1987; Kaufman, Hilliker, & Daleiden, 1996; Muram, Hostetler, Jones, & Speck, 1995; Pino & Meier, 1999; Woodhams, Gillett, & Grant, 2007). However, variations between studies conducted in different countries could also reflect cultural differences in rapist behaviour or in the environment in which rape takes place.

Rape in South Africa

Sexual assault is a significant social problem in South Africa. In 2008/9, 71,500 indecent assaults and rapes were reported to the South African Police Service (SAPS) (2009) compared to 40,800 rapes, indecent assaults, and sexual activity with children in England and Wales for the same time period (Home Office, 2009). The incidence rate was 146.9 per 100,000 of the population (SAPS, 2009). Using the mid-year population statistics for 2008 for England and Wales (Office for National Statistics, 2010), the incidence rate for England and Wales is much lower, at 74.92 per 100,000 of the population. Jewkes et al. (2006) found that 16% of young South African men living in rural areas reported raping a non-partner or participating in a gang rape and, of this 16%, more than one-third had raped two or more different victims. This suggests that a substantial number of serial rapists could be operating in South Africa at any one time.

As well as the incidence rate for sexual assault differing between South Africa and other countries of the world, the characteristics of sexual assaults differ. In terms of victim-offender relationship, the incidence of stranger rape is much higher in South Africa, approximately 80% (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002), compared to 14% in England and Wales (Feist, Ashe, Lawrence, McPhee, & Wilson, 2007). Whilst weapon use during sexual assault is rare in England and Wales (Home Office, 2009), weapons are involved in 40-50% of rapes in South Africa, typically being a knife or a firearm (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Vetten & Haffejee, 2005). As explained by Wood (2005), townships and rural areas in South Africa

are “flooded” with illegal weapons making them more available to offenders than in other countries.

These differences in statistics for sexual assault in general suggest we might expect to see much a much higher proportion of South African serial rapes facilitated by the presence of a weapon compared to figures reported in Table 2. A study contrasting rape homicides with homicides in general in South Africa (Abrahams, et al., 2008) noted the higher incidence of biting, asphyxiation and strangulation in rape homicides. We might also expect to see such behaviours in South African serial sexual assaults.

The Current Study

In summary, serial rapists have the potential to harm a significant number of victims, yet, relatively little research has been conducted on these individuals and their crimes and no previous study has investigated the nature of serial rape in South Africa. This is despite statistics indicating that in South Africa there could be quite a number of serial rapists operating at any one time (Jewkes et al., 2006). As has been explained, it is plausible that differences will be evident between the characteristics of a South African sample and those reported in existing studies of serial sex offenders from other countries due to situational influences (in their broader sense). Such differences could impact the effectiveness of some forensic psychological practices due to causing variation in relative distinctiveness. This study therefore sought to provide a descriptive analysis of serial rape in South Africa in terms of the incidents, the victims, and the offenders and contrast these findings with what’s been found in other countries.

Method

Sample

One hundred and nineteen sexual offences committed by 22 male serial rapists⁴ were identified by the Investigative Psychology Unit (IPU) of SAPS. The crimes of these individuals had been reported to the Police by the victims and they had been attributed to the 22 offenders by DNA evidence or following a conviction. This represents an opportunistic sample of crime series reported to the Police that were analysed by the first author during a two-week period of fieldwork in August 2010. The sample is not therefore a complete sample of all serial rapists known to the South African Police Service.

Most of the incidents (97%) were defined as a rape, according to the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act (2007), with three cases being attempted rapes and one being an indecent assault. For most of the incidents (89%) the offender had been apprehended and/or convicted, however for 14 this was not the case and they remained unsolved.

Procedure

The police files regarding each series were provided to the first author for the purposes of this research. In the secure environment of the IPU, information regarding the victims' characteristics (gender, age and racial classification), the perpetrators', types of victim-perpetrator relationship, the lengths of the series, the crime scene behaviour and the circumstances of the incidents were extracted from the files. The victim's account of the incident was present for all cases and served as the primary source of information, however, other documents were also consulted if they were present in the file, including laboratory reports and witness statements. Most of the victims' accounts were in English, however, in some cases, they were in Afrikaans. Where this was the case, the second author translated the statement into English for the first author.

⁴ Whilst a distinction is made between offenders who assault adults/peers and those who assault children in therapeutic settings, the police collectively refer to all offenders who commit rape as rapists. It should be noted that offenders in our sample assaulted both children and adults.

The types of offence behaviour displayed by the South African serial rapists were recorded by coding each sexual offence against a checklist of offender behaviours in a binary fashion. Prior to the study commencing, existing checklists for rapist behaviour (Bennell, Jones, & Melnyk, 2009; Bennell, Gauthier, Gauthier, Melnyk, & Musolino, 2010; Canter, et al., 2003; Canter & Heritage, 1990; Mokros & Alison, 2002; Porter & Alison, 2004; Salfati & Taylor, 2007; Santtila et al., 2005; Woodhams, 2008) were consulted, as well as an unpublished checklist which had been developed for different purposes on a sample of South African rapes (De Wet, 2008). These different checklists were amalgamated to form an overall checklist which was applied to the new dataset. Where new offender behaviours were reported by the victims in the South African sample that had not previously formed part of the amalgamated checklist, a new entry was created in the checklist and all incidents coded against it. The inter-rater reliability of this coding was assessed with 10% of the sample which was chosen at random and dual coded. The kappa statistic was 0.70 which indicates a 'good' and 'substantial' level of reliability (Cicchetti, 1994; Landis & Koch, 1997).

Results

Victim characteristics

The 119 sexual offences were committed against 123 victims, the majority of whom were female (94%). For two incidents in the sample more than one victim had been sexually assaulted by the perpetrator on the same occasion. The victim's age was known for 117 of the cases and the mean age was 23 years ($SD = 10.84$; Range = 9 – 85). As can be seen from Figure 1, most victims were teenagers or were in their early twenties and 22% of victims were aged less than 16 years old. All male victims were aged less than 16 years. The racial classifications used by the South African Police Service, as per Government census, are Black, Coloured, White, and Asian/Indian. The vast majority of victims in our sample were

classified as Black (88%), followed by White (8%), Coloured (2%) and one victim was classified as Asian/Indian. The racial classification of the victim was not known in two cases.

****Insert Figure 1 approx here****

Perpetrator characteristics

The age of the offender at the time of the incident was not known for 21 cases (constituting the offending of four individuals⁵). For those where it was known⁶, their age at the time of the incident ranged from 22 – 42 years ($M = 28.99$, $SD = 5.54$). In terms of their age for the first known sexual offence in each series, the offenders' ages also ranged from 22 - 42 years ($M = 27.97$, $SD = 6.30$). The offenders' ethnicities were recorded in the police files for all cases. Twenty-one offenders were classified as Black and one as Coloured. Excluding the two cases for which the victims' racial classifications were not known, for 85% of incidents, the offender and victim were of the same racial classification. The difference in offender and victim age was calculated where this was known. This ranged from the offender being 28 years younger than the victim to the offender being 30 years older than the victim.

Sexual offence characteristics

Series length ranged from 2 to 65 incidents with the mode being 3. The time period spanned by each crime series ranged from 10 days to 3606 days. Seventeen of the serial rapists consistently chose victims who were strangers to them, with two assaulting only casual acquaintances. However, five offenders demonstrated some cross-over in terms of type of victim-offender relationship and assaulted strangers and victims who were known to them. These included family members as well as casual acquaintances (see Table 3). Cross-over was also observed in terms of victim age. A victim was classified as a child if they were aged less than 16 years and as an adult if aged 16 years or older. When using these cut-offs,

⁵ This information was not recorded in the police files or it was the case that the offender had not been apprehended and the victim's estimated age was not in the file.

⁶ The age of the offender is estimated by the victims in those cases where the suspect has not been apprehended.

10 offenders consistently assaulted adult victims and three consistently assaulted child victims, however nine offenders targeted both adults and children. No evidence was found for cross-over in terms of victim gender.

****Insert Table 3 approx here****

The crime scene behaviours displayed by the offenders and their accompanying definitions can be seen in Table 4. For the two crimes where more than one victim was assaulted, one victim was chosen at random to represent the incident. These frequencies are therefore based on the 119 incidents rather than the 123 victims.

****Insert Table 4 approx here****

Type of approach

For the majority of incidents (81%), the offender approached the victim during daylight. Most incidents took place on a weekday (77%) rather than a weekend. It was common (72%) for the victim to be alone when approached. More often the offenders were on foot (82%) but for a small minority of incidents (8%) they were in a vehicle. The crimes in which a vehicle was used were committed by two offenders who, in all incidents bar one from one series, were consistent in their use of a vehicle. One offender approached a victim on a bicycle. Only in a few incidents (5%) was the victim stalked prior to being approached by the offender and in only one sexual offence did the offender hide himself from his victim.

In approximately one quarter of the incidents (28%) the offender used a 'surprise approach', whereby the victim was physically controlled by the offender from the start, for example, by grabbing the victim from behind. Previously, the literature has labelled an approach whereby the offender tricks, cons or hides his true intentions from the victim a 'con-approach' (Dale, Davies, & Wei, 1997). However, there are various ways in which a victim can be duped by the offender. In the current study, this variation was recognised and six different con-approaches were identified. Three types of con were only used with female

victims: 1) five incidents involved the offender engaging the female victim in conversation or proposing to them, 2) fifty-seven involved the offender conning the victim with a false employment opportunity, and 3) in three sexual offences the offender pretended to offer the victim help or assistance. With regard to the first strategy, proposing in South African township culture consists of a male person proposing his love for a female which in effect is akin to asking a person out on a date or to be his girlfriend. It is not uncommon for men to approach a female stranger in this fashion to whom he is attracted. The remaining three types of con were used with the male victims: 1) in 11 cases, the offender pretended that he needed help from the male victim, 2) in three cases he pretended to be an authority figure, and 3) in four cases he offered the male victim a bribe to accompany him. The type of approach could not be ascertained for one incident. The use of the bribe con and the authority figure con were exclusive to children aged less than 16 years. Similarly, the offender requesting help from the victim was commonly used with child victims. As would be expected, the employment con was more commonly used with adult victims. One series, comprising seven sexual offences, was characterised by what was termed an extended con. In this series the offender repeatedly interacted with his victims over several days before taking them to a secluded location. Such behaviour can include making repeated telephone contact with the victim over a period of days or repeatedly meeting with the victim in person. Theft of property from the victim was common (55% of cases) and sometimes occurred prior to the sexual assault. In three cases (3%), the offender took something that would identify the victim.

Choice of locations

Most victims (83%) were approached in a public location (e.g., in the street) and, similarly, most were sexually assaulted in a public location (79%), such as an open field, commonly referred to as a 'veld'. Seventeen per cent of victims were assaulted in a private

location (most commonly a private residence) and 6% in a vehicle. Seven per cent of victims were contained in an enclosed space by the offender during the assault, for example, in a car or room, and in 11% of the incidents the offender intruded into the victim's residence or place of work. In only one case did the offender force his way into the victim's house. More often he entered the house under false pretences, or whilst the victim was asleep or otherwise distracted.

The sexual assault

Prior to sexually assaulting the victim, in 14 cases (spread across different series) the victim was given something to lie on by the offender. With regards to removing the victim's clothing, offenders used one of three methods. In 57% of incidents, the offender demanded the victim remove his/her own clothes, however this strategy was not always successful. In other sexual offences, the offender undressed the victim himself (54%). For some this was a preferred form of interaction whereas for others it was in response to failed demands for the victim to undress him/herself. A small minority of offenders (6%) ripped or cut the victim's clothing.

Penile vaginal penetration occurred or was attempted in 88% of the incidents with the offender engaging in penile anal penetration (or an attempt) in the minority of incidents (9%). Most occurrences of anal rape were clustered within two series. More than half of the occurrences of anal rape were perpetrated against male victims. A small minority of the sexual offences involved the victim being forced to fellate the offender (6%). In ten offences the offender kissed the victim and in three the offender acted in a physically intimate way by holding the victim's hand or cuddling them.

Nearly one-fifth (19%) of offenders raped their victim to ejaculation and subsequently raped the victim again (labelled 'multiple rape'). This was particularly predominant in one series but occurred within other series also. Forty-seven percent of the sexual offences

resulted in ejaculation of the offender with only two incidents of erectile dysfunction, and the suspect masturbating himself. Whilst we tried to record whether victims reported the offender having an erection, it was uncommon to find an explicit reference to this in the victim's accounts, therefore the frequency for this variable (7%) is likely to be an underestimate.

Some sexual behaviours previously recorded with other samples were present but rare. Digital vaginal penetration was rarely reported (2%), as was the offender forcing the victim to masturbate him (3%). In only one incident was the victim shown pornography, touched on the breast area, or required to look at the offender during the sexual assault. In one sexual offence the offender simulated intercourse with the victim. A novel form of sexual behaviour was observed in three rapes which was labelled a 'tiered rape'. This refers to the rape of a victim whilst he/she is positioned lying on top of a witness. This behaviour was observed in three of the incidents, which formed a complete series.

Use of aggression

As well as recording the different forms of aggression used by offenders, the intention of the aggression was also inferred. With regard to physical aggression, researchers have distinguished aggression sufficient to gain compliance from the victim and facilitate the rape, from aggression which appears unrelated to control (Häkkinen, Lindof, & Santtila, 2004; Smith, 2000). 'Instrumental violence' referred to physical aggression used to control the victim to facilitate the perpetration of the sexual offence and included dragging the victim, restraining the victim and engaging in physical acts of violence in response to victim resistance. Sixty-nine per cent of the sexual offences involved the use of instrumental violence. In contrast, 'gratuitous violence' (or expressive violence, as other authors have termed it, Prentky, Burgess, & Carter, 1986) describes acts of violence beyond what is necessary to control the victim (Davies, 1992). Such acts were less common but still

occurred in approximately one-fifth (18%) of offences. Victims were not the only targets of violence: in three offences, a witness was the recipient of violence.

With regards to specific acts of aggression and violence, binding and gagging victims occurred in just seven and six per cent of incidents, respectively. These behaviours tended to cluster within individual rape series. The most common acts of physical violence were strangulation (13%) and slapping (13%), followed by punching (11%), kicking or stamping on the victim (7%), bludgeoning (3%) and pulling the victim's hair (2%). Violent acts that only occurred in one incident in the sample were cutting the victim, shooting at the victim, biting, whipping, pelting the victim with objects, and throwing a liquid in the victim's face.

A weapon was only recorded as present in a sexual offence if the victim saw it. If an offender threatened that he had a weapon in his possession but it was not seen this was instead coded as a verbal threat. The offender was seen to be in possession of a weapon by 57% of victims. In 55% of offences a weapon was brought to the scene by the offender and in 8% of offences an item at the scene was used as a weapon. The weapons used in order of frequency were knives (40%), firearms (18%), a rock (5%), a bottle (2%), the victim's handbag (2%), and a slingshot (2%). Weapons that were used in just one offence were a length of wire (used as a whip), an ornament, and a stick.

Precautionary behaviours

Blindfolding of the victim was rare (3%) and in only seven incidents (most of which formed a series) did the offender attempt to disguise his identity from the victim. More common (13%) was the offender instructing the victim not to look at him or the offender restraining the victim in such a way as to protect his identity. The use of a condom or the offender cleaning the victim or himself after the sexual offence has been construed to represent a precautionary behaviour, engaged in to prevent future apprehension (Grubin et al., 2001). Whilst condom use was rare (6%), with three of seven incidents being attributable to

one offender, engaging in cleaning behaviours following ejaculation was more common (15%). Few offenders asked the victim questions that would assist his escape (2%) and just 6% lied to the victim to protect their identity, typically giving the victim a false name. A significant minority of offenders (14%) warned the victim not to report the offence prior to departing the scene. Ten per cent of the sexual offences involved the offender instructing the victim to stay put until he had departed.

In contrast, some offenders engaged in behaviours that could increase the likelihood of their detection. In 21% of the incidents the offender spent an unnecessary amount of time with the victim post-sexual assault. Whilst this behaviour spanned different series, it was particularly characteristic of two series. In a small number of incidents (4%) the offender returned the victim to their home or to an area with which they were familiar. In seven sexual offences the offender implied that he would like to arrange further contact with the victim, although it was not possible to establish whether there was genuine intent to do so.

Verbal behaviours

How the offender related to the victim was recorded at a more general level, as well as the use of specific verbal behaviours. In 16% of the sexual offences the offender engaged with the victim, in 11% he was inquisitive and in 98% he was instructional and impersonal. These overlapping percentages illustrate that some offenders altered their interactional style during the offence. In more than three-quarters of the sexual offences (77%) the offender made direct threats to harm/kill the victim (or witnesses) if he/she were not compliant. A small minority of offenders (6%) implied a threat in a more indirect manner.

Other verbal behaviours displayed by the offenders included complimenting the victim (5%), making sexual comments towards the victim (18%) or self disclosures (19%), demeaning the victim (9%) and being verbally aggressive (8%, e.g., directing profanities at the victim). These behaviours were spread across a number of series. Seven per cent of

victims reported that the offender told them lies with the inferred intention of upsetting them. In all but one of these incidents this behaviour was displayed by the same offender. In a small number of incidents (6%) the offender engaged in some form of confrontation or argument with the victim. It was uncommon for the offenders to express remorse for their behaviour (2%) in terms of apologising or expressing guilt. In four incidents the offenders minimised, excused or justified their actions.

Reactions to victim behaviour

Offenders were persistent in their efforts to rape or sexually assault their victims. No offenders were deterred from committing the sexual assault as a result of victims' efforts. This is reflected in the classifications of the vast majority of the sexual offences in this sample as rapes. In 13% of the offences when the victim ran away from the offender he/she was pursued. In twenty incidents when the victim expressed concern or suspicion about the offender or the context in which he/she found him/herself the offender responded by reassuring the victim as to his intentions so that he might continue with the ruse. There was, however, some evidence of offenders accommodating the requests of victims (8%), with regards to them negotiating with the victim or allowing an action on the victim's part.

Departing the scene

The closure stage of a rape is where the offender must quit the company of the victim (Dale, et al., 1997). Prior to departing there were several behaviours that the offenders engaged in, such as ordering the victim to stay put, telling them not to report the offence, trying to arrange to see them again, or apologising. The frequencies of these behaviours have already been reported. Most offenders (66%) went on to depart the scene in a calm manner, however a minority (9%) departed hastily. Approximately half of the offenders (57%) chose to release the victim prior to departing the scene themselves, however some left the victim bound or contained in some manner. Some incidents were prematurely ended due to the

offender being disturbed by a third party. When releasing the victim some offenders gave the victim money for a taxi home (encompassed with the variable 'gives gift', which occurred in 8% of the sample).

Discussion

Victim and offender characteristics

The offenders sampled in this study were of a similar age to those reported in previous international studies (Beauregard et al., 2007; Park et al., 2008; Santtila et al., 2005). In keeping with existing research and as would be expected from Jewkes and Abraham's (2002) South African findings, most of the victims assaulted were strangers. Often victims were teenagers or young adults, although a fifth would be classed as children (aged less than 16 years). Despite the similarities in offender age, our findings depart from those reported by other researchers in terms of victim age (Grubin, et al., 2001; Park et al., 2008; Santtila et al., 2005) - the victims in our sample were younger. This finding might in part be explained by the composition of South Africa's population; nearly one-third of the population is aged under 15 years old (Statistics South Africa, 2011). Further, our findings are not dissimilar to other studies of rape in South Africa which note the young age of the victims (Sikweyiya & Jewkes, 2009).

The vast majority of the rapes in our sample involved a Black male offender assaulting a Black victim and all but one offender were of Black ethnicity. These figures are higher than the population statistics for South Africa where 79% of both males and females are classified as Black (Statistics South Africa, 2011). These findings diverge from previous research of rape in South Africa which has reported an overrepresentation of Coloured men disclosing rape perpetration (Jewkes et al., 2009). In contrast, only one of the 22 rapists in our sample was classified as Coloured, whereas the figure for South Africa's population is 9%

(Statistics South Africa, 2011). It is possible that this difference in finding is an artefact of the select nature of our sample but this would need to be confirmed with a larger sample.

One-quarter of offenders showed variation across their series in the type of relationship they shared with their victims. Similarly, with their sample of community-dwelling men in South Africa, Jewkes et al. (2006) found that 20% of men reported raping partners as well as non-partners. Both consistency and change across series were seen in terms of the age of victim targeted. In our sample, ten offenders consistently selected adults, three targeted children and for nine offenders they assaulted both adults and children. Often where offenders crossed over from child to adult victims they were selecting female victims in their teens (below 16 years) and women in their early twenties (for four of nine offenders). A similar pattern of alternation between adult women and teenage girls was reported by Guay, Proulx, Cusson and Ouimet (2001) who also sampled men who sexually assaulted women unfamiliar to them. In contrast, for some offenders the age ranges of their victims were considerable; for example, the victims' ages in one series spanned 70 years. Despite variation in relationship and age, most rapists in the current sample were consistent in the gender of victim they selected, which also reflects past findings with similar samples (Guay et al., 2001).

This variation observed in our study in terms of the degree of stability in victim choice is not surprising and reflects the mixture of findings reported in existing studies of sex offenders (e.g., Abel, Becker, Cunningham-Rathner, Mittelman, & Rouleau, 1988; Beaugard & Leclerc, 2007; Beaugard et al., 2007; Cann, Friendship, & Gozna, 2007; Delauriers-Varin & Beaugard, 2010; Sjöstedt, Långström, Sturidsson, & Grann, 2004). In terms of explaining why some offenders show stability in victim selection whilst others do not, the relative importance of a victim's physical characteristics within the offender's fantasy, as well as whether the sexual offence was opportunistic or carefully rehearsed and

planned, are likely to be important determinates of stability (Beauregard & Leclerc, 2007; Gee & Belofastov, 2007; Hazelwood & Warren, 2000). Interviews with serial sex offenders have found at least some of the offender's decision making to be driven by the physical appearance of the victim (Beauregard et al., 2007).

Sexual offence behaviour

As has been the case with existing studies, most series were relatively short with a few extensive series, one of which spanned 10 years. This is similar to Santtila et al. (2005) who reported two series spanning eight years in Finland.

The use of a vehicle during a sexual offence was much less common in the South African sample than has been recorded for samples from the United States and Finland. Instead, the offenders tended to approach victims on foot. Similar findings have been reported regarding group rape in South Africa (Wood, 2005) with women walking along quiet roads being approached by groups of men also on foot. Statistics from 2002 of the number of vehicles per 1000 of the population clearly show the disparities between the figures for South Africa (152) and those for Finland (488), Canada (581), Great Britain (515) and the United States (812) (Dargay, Gately, & Sommer, 2007). That fewer vehicles were used in the rape series reported in our South African sample compared to existing studies is not surprising.

Regarding the way in which victims were approached, similar to Santtila et al. (2005) and Woodhams et al. (2008), the vast majority of the offenders in the current study used some form of con. Different types of con were observed in our sample: the most common were the offender pretending to the victim that he could secure them employment or pretending he needed the victim to help him in some way. The reliance on the con-approach of offering employment likely reflects its success as a strategy considering the high rate of unemployment in South Africa where one-quarter of the population is unemployed (2nd

quarter 2010, Statistics South Africa, 2010). Poverty has been linked to other sexual practices in South Africa, such as engaging in transactional sex (Dunkle, et al., 2007), which itself is highly correlated with physical and sexual violence. As noted by Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell and Dunkle (2009) and Jewkes and Abrahams (2002), poverty in South Africa continues to be a risk factor for sexual victimisation.

For cultural reasons, the con of requesting assistance from a young victim is also likely to be successful in South Africa, hence its frequent use. Black children are taught that it is rude to point an adult in the direction of a place that the adult seeks, the child is supposed to take the adult to the place where he/she seeks to go. Such cultural expectations have also been reported by young male victims of rape who initially accompanied the older male perpetrator due to cultural expectations that older people should be respected and assisted by the young (Sikweyiya & Jewkes, 2009).

In contrast to Santtila et al.'s (2005) Finnish sample, most victims were approached during daylight, on a weekday and whilst in a public place, and most were also raped in a public location. It is plausible that this divergence from existing research can, at least in part, be explained by the reliance of offenders in our sample on the employment-con approach.

In line with existing studies, attempted or completed vaginal rape was common. Anal penetration and forced fellatio was rarer in this South African sample than reported in other studies (Park et al., 2008; Santtila et al., 2005). Kissing also occurred less frequently in this sample compared to those from Finland (Santtila et al., 2005) and the United States (Park et al., 2008). This may reflect a general lack of emotional intimacy in the consensual sexual partnerships of men reporting rape in South Africa (Jewkes et al., 2006). Instead, sex is reported to be about 'doing' masculinity, whereby power and control are exerted over women in the home *and* in the community (Jewkes et al., 2006). Some sexual acts found in other countries did not occur at all with this South African sample, for example, cunnilingus which

occurred in 5% of the rapes reported in Finland (Santtila et al., 2005). This might be explained by sex being perceived by some men in South Africa as non-reciprocal (Wood, 2005).

Offenders in this South African sample more often used violence, whether for instrumental or expressive reasons, than has been recorded in samples from other countries (Beauregard & Leclerc, 2007; Park et al., 2008; Santtila et al., 2005; Woodhams et al., 2008). This may reflect some cultural attitudes towards the use of violence towards women whereby “controlling female behaviour through coercion and violence remains common within sexual relationships” and patriarchal views that “men can and should play a disciplining role” (Wood, 2005, p. 312). Other South African studies have found that men who have engaged in rape are more likely to report being physically violent towards a partner (Jewkes et al., 2009). That strangulation was one of the most frequent acts of violence reflects Abrahams et al.’s (2008) findings of its use in rape homicides in South Africa. The frequency of victims being bitten by offenders was, however, less than we had expected based on Abraham et al.’s research. The percentages of incidents in which the victim was bound or gagged in the current sample were much smaller than those reported in existing studies (Park et al., 2008; Santtila et al., 2005) possibly because a number of the rapes occurred in isolated locations where there is not the need to physically constrain the victim’s movements.

The frequency of offenders displaying a weapon to the victim in our sample was comparable with Park et al.’s (2008) study of serial rapists from the United States. Firearms play a significant role in gender-based violence in South Africa and are often used in rape and sexual assault (Abrahams, Jewkes & Mathews, 2010; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Vetten & Haffejee, 2005). This was also the case with this sample where firearms and knives were the most typical weapons used by offenders.

It was more common in our South African sample for the offenders to threaten the victim with death or physical harm than has been recorded in studies from other countries. An ethnographic study of sexual relations between young men and women in South Africa revealed that men openly report using verbal coercion and threats to try and “encourage” women to have sex with them (Wood, Lambert & Jewkes, 2007). This may therefore reflect broader cultural practices operating in South Africa compared to other countries.

In terms of precautionary behaviours, it was uncommon for the South African rapists to take steps to disguise their identity from victims. This again might, in part, reflect the offenders’ use of various types of con-approach whereby the success of the con would be jeopardised if he were to conceal his identity. Condom use was infrequent, as has been found with samples of serial sex offenders from other countries (Santtila et al., 2005; Woodhams et al., 2008). South African men who have reported engaging in rape to researchers also report less frequent condom use and engaging in other forms of risky sexual behaviour (Jewkes et al., 2009).

The frequency of some forms of verbal behaviour by serial rapists varies considerably between studies from different countries. For example, evidence of being inquisitive is very limited in Santtila et al.’s (2005) Finnish sample but much more apparent in Park et al.’s (2008) sample from the United States. With our sample, the frequency of inquisitive verbal behaviours fell between these two extremes. A similar number of sexual offences compared to Santtila et al.’s (2005) sample of rapes involved the offender giving the victim instructions not to report the offence. The number of offences in which the offender complimented the victim or made sexual comments was very similar to those reported in Park et al. (2008). It was less common for the South African serial rapists to express remorse to the victim compared to the frequency of apologies made by offenders in Finnish and United States samples (Park et al., 2008; Santtila et al., 2005). This may partly be explained by some

attitudes towards women and their sexuality operating in South Africa. As explained by Wood (2005), there is a general rhetoric denoting women as “resources” and “sexual objects” and women’s bodies as available for “sexual consumption”. For example, Wood et al. (2007) report young men referring to their primary sexual partner as a “5-60” – a type of Mercedes-Benz car. Taking sex by force is also perceived by some as “payment” for drinks that have been purchased (Wood, 2005; Wood et al., 2007).

Decision-making

Without interviewing the offenders who committed the sexual offences we sampled we can only speculate as to the decision-making underlying their offending. However, by examining the circumstances in which serial sex offending takes place in South Africa it appears that at least some of the rapists here are engaging in rational decision-making (Proulx et al., 1995, as cited in Beauregard & Leclerc, 2007). The stability in the characteristics of victims selected by some of our offenders suggests they hold erotic value for them.

Alternatively, some offenders appear to be considering the vulnerabilities of their victims and exploiting their need for employment. By recognising and exploiting this vulnerability they are able to con the victim to a secluded location (e.g., a veld) where there is an absence of capable guardians who could intervene (as per Cohen and Felson’s [1979] routine activity theory). We have also speculated that broader subcultures may influence the sexual offence behaviour of South African serial rapists. For example, we have suggested that rhetoric and societal attitudes condoning the use of coercion to gain sex from women, as well as perceptions of women’s bodies as being available for sexual consumption, may explain the higher incidence of violence within this sample and the lack of apologies. Similarly, perceptions of what is perceived by some to be “typical” sexual practice may account for the lower rates of “reciprocal sexual behaviours” (e.g., cunnilingus) compared to other countries such as Finland. It is likely that the widespread availability of illegal weapons in South Africa

compared to the availability of weapons in other countries, such as the United Kingdom, would explain the greater frequency of weapon use in this sample. Some rapists appear to be exploiting widespread cultural norms to gain access to their victims, such as using the ploy of needing help from unfamiliar children. The broader socio-economic conditions were also put forward as an explanation for the offenders in this sample tending to travel on foot to commit rape rather than in a vehicle.

In summary, as suggested by Beauregard and Leclerc (2007), it is likely that both personal and situational factors influenced the offending behaviour of the serial rapists we sampled. In reflecting on our descriptive analysis of these offenders' crime scene behaviour, we have suggested that broader, cultural factors may play a role and proposed that variation in cultural attitudes and practices, and the socio-economic climate could affect the relative distinctiveness of specific crime scene behaviours exhibited by rapists in different countries. Future research could extend this further and like Beauregard and colleagues (see Beauregard & Leclerc, 2007) investigate how the different factors that have been identified *interact* with one another in forming the decisions made by serial rapists in South Africa.

Limitations

This study has some limitations that need to be considered when interpreting the findings. The sample size ($N = 22$ series), whilst equivalent to, and in some cases larger than, other studies of serial sex offenders ($N = 22$ series, Park et al., 2008; $N = 16$ series, Santtila et al., 2005; $N = 7$, Woodhams et al., 2008), is still small and thus the findings will need replication with a larger sample. The details of the offenders' behaviours were taken from victims' accounts. That victim accounts can contain omissions and distortions has been noted elsewhere (Alison, Snook, & Stein, 2001). Indeed, the quality of victim statements taken by the SAPS has received recent criticism (Sigsworth, Vetten, Jewkes, & Christofides, in press). For some behaviours in particular, for example the offender having an erect penis, their

occurrence was not always explicitly noted in the victim's statement although it was likely they did occur due to the nature of the offence. In South Africa, an incident is not classified as a rape without a form of sexual penetration occurring requiring a degree of erectness. In the case of ejaculation, this does not have to occur for a crime to be classified as a rape and therefore it is not essential for the behaviour to be recorded in a victim statement. Due to such recording practices, it is probable that for some crime scene behaviours the figures reported in this manuscript will be an underestimate.

Conclusions

With these limitations in mind, it is concluded that whilst there are some similarities between the characteristics and crime scene behaviour of serial sex offenders across countries, some differences exist. The circumstances in which victims were targeted and how they were approached were quite different in this South African sample to those reported in existing studies from other countries. Other areas of departure were the relative incidence of physical violence, types of forced sexual behaviour, and some forms of verbal behaviour.

Variation between countries in the relative frequency of crime scene behaviours displayed by serial sex offenders has implications for practice. Investigative techniques, such as crime linkage and offender profiling, rely on serial offenders showing distinctiveness in their crime scene behaviour. Variation between countries in the relative distinctiveness of some crime scene behaviours means that individual behaviours could vary in their effectiveness when conducting crime linkage and offender profiling in different jurisdictions. In terms of the assessment of sex offenders, some of the items on risk assessment tools relate to crime scene behaviours which have been demonstrated in this paper to vary across samples from different countries (e.g., items relating to causing the victim physical harm, such as in the SVR-20; Boer et al., 1997). This highlights the importance of conducting further cross-cultural research in this area.

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Table 1: Summary of the characteristics of serial sex offenders and their victims as reported in existing studies.

Authors	Date	Country	Offender Gender	Offender Age (yrs)	Offender Ethnicity	Victim Gender	Victim Age (yrs)	Victim Ethnicity	Relationships	Series Lengths
Grubin, Kelly and Brunsdon	2001	Great Britain	All male (<i>N</i> = 81)			All female	All adults		Strangers	2 – 19 Mode = 2
		Canada	All male (<i>N</i> = 36)			All female	All adults		Strangers	2 – 6 Mode = 2
Santtila, Junkkila and Sandnabba	2005	Finland	All male (<i>N</i> = 16)	<i>M</i> = 31, Range = 16-40		All female (<i>N</i> = 43)	<i>M</i> = 32, Range = 15-62		Strangers	2 - 8 Mode = 2
Beauregard and Leclerc	2007	Canada	All male (<i>N</i> = 69)	<i>M</i> = 30.7 <i>SD</i> = 9.4	91% White	80% female (<i>n</i> = 291), 20% male (<i>n</i> = 70).			Strangers	2 - 37
Beauregard, Rossmo and Proulx	2007		All male (<i>N</i> = 69)							

Deslauriers- Varin and Beauregard	2010		All male (<i>N</i> = 72)							
Park, Schlesinger, Pinizzotto and Davis	2008	United States	All male (<i>N</i> = 22)	<i>M</i> = 29.1, Range = 14-57	41% Caucasian, 32% African American, 18% Hispanic, 9% Asian	All female (<i>N</i> = 44).	<i>M</i> = 35.5, Range = 13-83	72% Caucasian, 12% African American, 7% Hispanic, 9% Asian	80% strangers, 2% co- workers, 18% acquaintances	2 – 13 Mode = 4
Woodhams, Hollin and Bull	2008	United Kingdom	All male (<i>N</i> = 7)	<i>M</i> = 12 Range = 6-15		50% female (<i>n</i> = 8) 50% male (<i>n</i> = 8)	<i>M</i> = 9 Range = 5-15		44% acquaintance, 66% family member	2 – 3 Mode = 2

Table 2: Summary of the offence behaviours of serial sex offenders, as reported in existing studies.

Authors	Beauregard and colleagues (<i>N</i> = 69 offenders)		Park et al. (2008) (<i>N</i> = 44 offences)		Santtila et al. (2005) (<i>N</i> = 43 offences)		Woodhams, et al. (2008) (<i>N</i> = 16 offences)	
Offence	Planning	65%	Planning	80%				
Behaviours	Direct act on victim	15%	Surprise approach	72%	Surprise	12%		
	Violent approach	25%	Blitz approach	19%				
	Trick/false ID approach	48%	Con approach	12%	Confidence	67%	Con approach	88%
	Car used	35%			On foot	61%		
					Car	21%		
					Intrude	19%		
					Follow	14%		
					Break-in	5%		
							Contained victim	6%
					Motor	5%		
					Bicycle	5%		
	Weapon	39%	Weapon use	58%	Weapon	19%		
					Weapon to scene	12%		
					Weapon from scene	12%		
					Multiple weapon	2%		
					Threats to kill	35%		
	Threat	25%	Threat	60%	Threat physical force	30%	Threat physical violence	63%
					Threat...weapon	23%		
	Unnecessary force used	35%	Multiple violence	41%	Multiple violence	21%		
					Removed clothes	56%		
					Tearing clothes	26%		
					Verbal abuse	16%		
					Insult after	7%		
					Insult during	5%		
	Minimal force (control)	35%	Stabbing	5%	Single violence	7%	Physical violence	13%
			Hitting and kicking	36%	Bite	7%		
			Vaginal penetration	68%	Vagina rear	77%	Penetration	94%
					Vagina rear	12%		
					Finger	2%		
			Anal penetration	25%	Anal	19%		
					Acts...attempts	9%		

		Oral penetration	30%	Fellatio	21%		
				Cunnilingus	5%		
				Ejaculation	37%		
				Ejaculate vagina	14%		
				Ejaculate >1	2%		
				Multiple penetration	35%		
				Masturbate	12%		
		Kissing	16%	Kisses	16%		
				Several sex acts	33%		
				Reveal breasts	21%		
		Compliments	9%				
		Sexual comments	23%	Sexual comments	7%		
		Inducing participation	23%	Victim undressed	33%		
				Victim acts	9%		
				Remove clothes	2%		
		Apologising	11%	Apologetic	7%		
		Extending time	34%				
		Inquisitive	41%	Inquisitive	3%		
				Revealed information	33%		
				Reassures	5%	Reassurance	6%
				Place pad	2%		
				Implies knowing	28%		
Forensic awareness	28%	Forensic awareness	40%	Condom	7%	Condom	6%
Physical restraints	14%	Binding	39%				
		Gagging	74%	Manual gagging	26%		
		Stealing property	54%	Steals unidentifiable	9%		
				Steals identifiable	5%		
				Rummaging	9%		
		Removing semen	53%				
Completed sexual assault	73%	Completed rape	75%				
				Threat no report	19%		
Release location (remote)	4%						
Release location (busy)	9%						

Note: The behaviours are arranged horizontally where similar behaviours could be identified across studies, however, this does not imply the behaviours in each study were equivalent.

Table 3: The length of series and the type of victim targeted.

Series Number	Number of Strangers	Number of Casual Acquaintances	Number of Family Members	Length of Series (<i>N</i> of incidents)	Total Number of Victims
1	2	0	0	2	2
2	3	0	0	3	3
3	0	2	0	2	2
4	0	3	0	3	3
5	6	1	0	7	7
6	2	0	0	2	2
7	2	0	0	2	2
8	2	0	0	2	2
9	28	1	0	29	29
10	9	0	0	9	9
11	7	0	0	7	7
12	3	1	0	3	4
13	2	0	1	3	3
14	7	0	0	7	7
15	5	0	1	6	6
16	6	0	0	6	6
17	6	0	0	6	6
18	3	0	0	3	3
19	3	0	0	3	3
20	5	0	0	5	5
21	7	0	0	4	7
22	5	0	0	5	5

Note: Series 9 constituted 65 offences, however, details regarding the victims and the offences were only available for 29.

Table 4: The occurrence of offending behaviours within offences and within offenders' series.

Behaviour	Definition	% of offences (N=119)	Number of offenders (N=22)
Hours of light	Victim was approached during hours of light.	81%	20
Weekday	Victim was approached Monday-Friday	77%	21
Lone Victim	Victim was alone when approached by the offender	72%	20
On Foot	Offender approached the victim on-foot	82%	20
Car	Offender used a car during the approach or the offence (this does not include using a taxi as the vehicle must be in the possession of the offender).	8%	2
Bicycle	Offender used a bicycle during the approach or the offence.	1%	1
Stalked	Offender stalked the victim prior to the approach (for example, he observed the victim earlier in the day or on a previous occasion).	5%	3
Hides	Offender hid from the victim	1%	1
Surprise	Offender used a surprise approach	28%	13
Con-engages	Offender used a con-approach, engaging the victim in a conversation or proposing to him/her.	4%	3
Con-employ	Offender used a con-approach whereby he told the victim he could help him/her gain employment.	48%	7

Con-offers help	Offender used a con-approach whereby he offered to help or assist the victim.	3%	3
Con-authority	Offender used a con-approach whereby he pretended to be an authority figure	3%	2
Con-need help	Offender used a con-approach which involved him pretending that he was need of help.	15%	8
Con-bribe	Offender used a con-approach whereby he bribed the victim to come with him.	4%	2
Urinates	Offender urinated or pretended to urinate.	4%	3
Extended con	The use of a con-approach which extended over many hours or days.	6%	1
Property stolen	Offender stole property from the victim.	55%	18
Identifies victim	Offender took something which would identify the victim.	3%	1
Public approach	The victim was approached in a location where members of the public could be present (e.g., on the street).	83%	20
Private approach	The victim was approached in a location where members of the public could not be present (e.g., a private residence).	15%	7
Public assault	The victim was assaulted in a location where members of the public could be present (e.g., park).	79%	21
Private assault	The victim was assaulted in a location where members of the public could not be present (e.g., private residence).	17%	9
Vehicle assault	The victim was assaulted in a private vehicle.	6%	2
Contained	The victim was contained within an enclosed space by the offender (e.g., by locking doors, blocking an	7%	4

	exit).		
Forced entrance	Offender forced his way into a location.	1%	1
Intrudes	Offender intruded into a private residence or place of work without the use of force.	11%	4
Consideration	Offender, without prompting, showed some consideration towards the victim's comfort (e.g. by placing an item on the ground for him/her to lie upon).	12%	8
Sexual participation	Offender required participation of the victim in the sexual assault (e.g., by undressing him/herself).	57%	18
Undressed victim	Offender undressed the victim himself.	54%	21
Ripped clothes	Offender tore, ripped or cut the victim's clothes to remove them.	6%	4
Penile vaginal penetration	Offender penetrated the victim's vagina with his penis or attempted this.	88%	21
Penile anal penetration	Offender penetrated the victim's anus with his penis or attempted this.	9%	5
Digital vaginal penetration	Offender penetrated the victim's vagina with his finger.	2%	1
Masturbate offender	Offender forced the victim to masturbate him.	3%	1
Multiple rape	Offender raped the victim more than once in the same manner. Each occurrence must be separated by ejaculation thereby distinguishing between attempted rapes and multiple completed rapes.	19%	10

Fellatio	Victim was forced to fellate the offender.	6%	3
Kissed	Offender kissed the victim.	8%	6
Physical intimacy	Offender behaved in a physically intimate manner by holding the victim's hand, hugging, or cuddling up to him/her.	3%	3
Erection	Offender had an erect penis (this is not assumed but must be stated).	7%	6
Ejaculation	Offender ejaculated.	47%	21
Erectile dysfunction	Offender experienced difficulties gaining or maintaining an erection.	2%	2
Self masturbation	Offender masturbated himself.	2%	1
Pornography	Offender showed the victim pornography.	1%	1
Breast	Offender touched, kissed or sucked victim's breast area.	1%	1
Requires victim look	Offender demanded that the victim look at him during the sexual act.	1%	1
Simulates intercourse	Offender simulated intercourse with the victim.	1%	1
Tiered rape	Offender raped victim whilst he/she is laid on a witness.	3%	1
Instrumental violence	Offender was violent towards the victim to gain compliance or to facilitate sexual assault.	69%	21
Gratuitous violence	Offender used an excessive amount of violence beyond that necessary to control the victim for the	18%	11

	commission of the offence.		
Witness-violence	Offender was violent towards a witness.	3%	1
Binding	Victim is bound up by offender.	8%	4
Gagging	Victim is gagged by offender using a gag or his hand.	6%	6
Strangling	Offender strangled or throttled victim.	13%	9
Slapping	Offender slapped the victim or hit him/her with an open hand.	13%	9
Punching	Offender punched the victim or hit him/her with a closed fist.	11%	7
Kicking/Stamping	Offender kicked or stamped on the victim.	7%	7
Bludgeoning	Offender battered the victim with fists or an object.	3%	4
Hair-pulling	Offender pulled the victim's hair or pulled them by their hair.	2%	2
Cutting	Offender cut the victim, for example, with a knife.	1%	1
Shooting	Offender shot or shot at the victim (whether he misses or not is not relevant).	1%	1
Biting	Offender bit the victim.	1%	1
Whipping	Offender whipped/beat the victim with an object.	1%	1
Pelting	Offender hit victim with items which were thrown at him/her.	1%	1
Liquid-face	Offender threw a substance in the victim's face.	1%	1
Weapon seen	Victim reports they saw the offender in possession of a weapon.	57%	22

Weapon-to scene	Offender brought the weapon to the scene.	55%	22
Weapon-from scene	Offender selected an item from the crime scene.	8%	6
Knife	Offender was in possession of a knife.	40%	18
Firearm	Offender was in possession of a firearm.	18%	10
Rock	Offender was in possession of a rock, brick or large stone that was used as a weapon (to harm or threaten).	5%	4
Bottle	Offender was in possession of a bottle that was used as a weapon (to harm or threaten).	2%	2
Handbag	Offender used handbag as a weapon (to harm or threaten).	2%	2
Slingshot	Offender was in possession of a slingshot (hand-held catapult).	2%	1
Wire	Offender used a length of wire as a weapon.	1%	1
Ornament	Offender used a household ornament as a weapon.	1%	1
Stick	Offender used a length of wood as a weapon.	1%	1
Blindfold	Victim eyes were covered by a blindfold or by the offender's hand.	3%	2
Disguise	Offender disguised his identity by covering his face in some manner (e.g., using a cloth, balaclava).	6%	4
Prevent look	Offender prevented the victim from looking at him through physical or verbal means.	13%	6
Condom	Offender used a condom.	6%	4
Clean	Offender cleaned himself and/or the victim of semen.	15%	8

Precautionary question	Offender asked the victim questions designed to prevent his capture (e.g., whether someone was due to come home).	2%	1
Lie - protect identity	Offender lied to protect his identity (e.g., gave false name).	6%	5
Don't report	Offender instructed the victim not to report the offence.	14%	13
False report	Offender encouraged the victim to go to the police but to give a false story.	2%	1
Stay	Offender ordered the victim to stay where he/she is.	10%	5
Extends time	Offender extended the time spent with the victim after the offence.	21%	11
Returns victim	Offender returned the victim to their home or a location familiar to them.	4%	3
Further contact	Offender suggested he wanted further contact with the victim.	6%	5
Engaging manner	Offender related to the victim in an engaging manner.	16%	5
Inquisitive	Offender was inquisitive towards the victim.	11%	9
Impersonal	Offender related to the victim in an impersonal, instructional manner.	98%	22
Direct threat	Offender threatened the victim that he would harm/kill him/her/another party.	77%	22
Indirect threat	An utterance by the offender included an item of information that could be construed as implying the offender is making a threat to the victim.	6%	6
Demeans	Offender demeaned or mocked the victim.	9%	7
Verbal aggression	Offender directed profanities at the victim.	8%	7

Lie to upset	Offender told a lie to the victim with the inferred intention of causing upset.	7%	2
Confrontation	Offender confronted or argued with the victim.	6%	4
Compliments	Offender complimented the victim.	5%	4
Self-disclosure	Offender disclosed something about himself which was not discerned to be false.	19%	9
Implies knowing	Offender implied knowing the victim.	1%	1
Positive presentation	Offender tried to present himself to the victim in a positive light.	5%	3
Sexual comments	Offender made sexual comments towards the victim.	18%	11
Remorse	Offender expressed guilt or apologised to the victim.	2%	2
Mitigates responsibility	Offender excused, justified or minimised his sexual offending behaviour.	3%	4
React-not deterred	Victim's behaviour did not deter offender from assaulting the victim.	85%	22
Pursues	Offender pursued the victim.	13%	10
Reassures	Offender reassured the victim (e.g., as to his intentions, his/her safety).	17%	9
React- accommodates	Victim's behaviour resulted in the offender accommodating his/her wishes to a degree.	8%	8
Releases victim	Offender chose to release the victim.	57%	16
Calm departure	Offender quit the scene in a calm manner.	66%	18

Rapid departure	Offender quit the scene hastily.	9%	9
Gives gift	Offender gave the victim a gift (e.g., money for a taxi).	8%	7

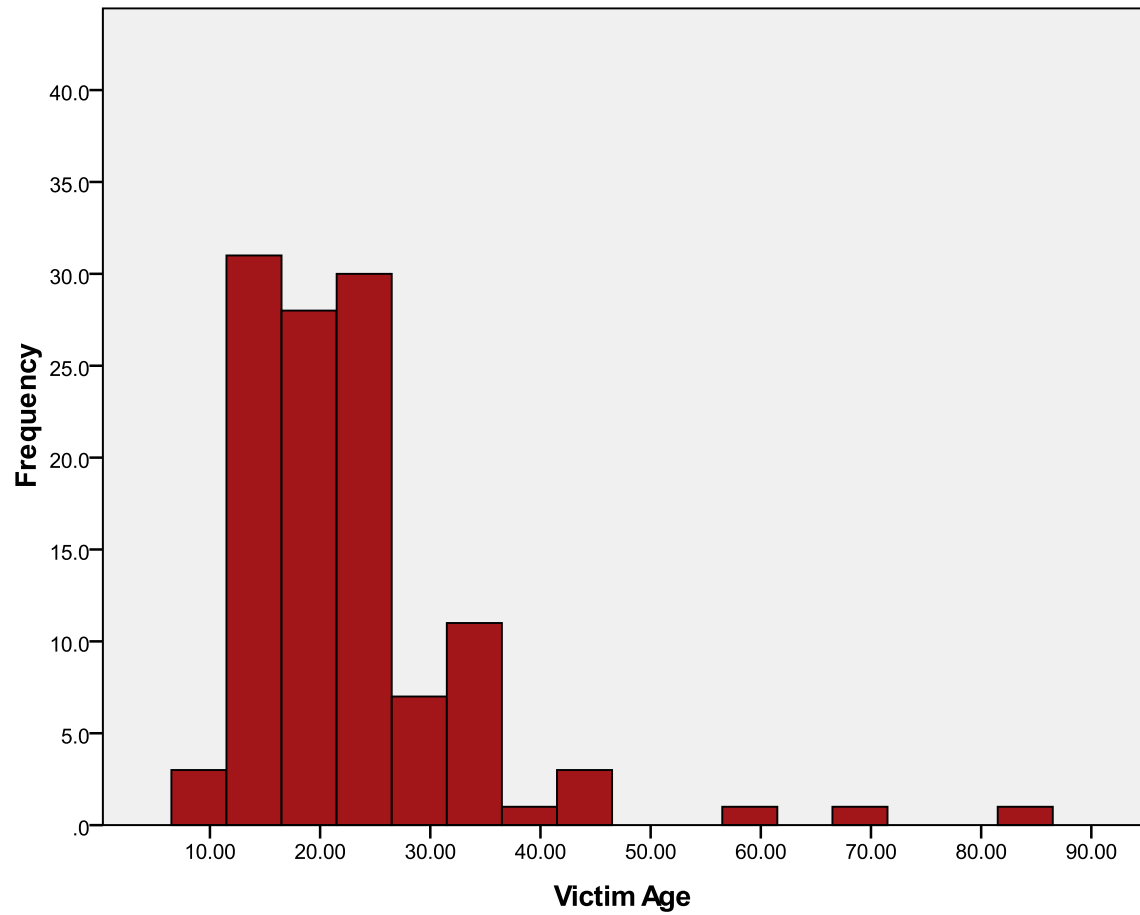


Figure 1: The distribution of victims' ages in years ($N = 123$).