

CHAPTER THREE

THE CRIMINALS AND THE VICTIMS

3. 1 INTRODUCTION

The most common crime - theft in its widest sense - is a crime motivated by human greed, which most of us will regard as a natural human trait (Hall & Martin 1992:151). The motivation behind the crimes against children is more difficult to understand because, again in layman's terms, such crimes seem to be committed by offenders who do not have the natural human instinct to be kind and protective towards children. When one generalises, it can be said that in most cases this deficiency exist in offenders because they themselves have been abused, brutalized or perverted during the course of their lives in their environment (Hall & Martin 1992:152).

A criminological study of crimes against children includes the study of the criminals and the victim. The term child molester or paedophile is, however, usually regarded as a generic term for all individuals who commit crimes against underage children. Therefore, the criminals (offenders or perpetrators), in this case, a father or stranger, and the victim, a daughter, son or unknown child, will be included in a description of criminals and the victims of these crimes. In this chapter, the criminals and their victims will be studied and attention will be given to aspects such as classification, *modus operandi*, characteristic and the possible explanation for the behaviour of the offenders. The characteristics of the victims, risk factors associated with their victimisation and the explanation of their victimisation are given.

The next section will focus on the characteristics and typologies of perpetrators.

3.2 THE PERPETRATORS

3.2.1 Background

This section will focus on perpetrators of rape and indecent assault. A large body of research regarding perpetrators exists, almost all of which refers to the population of identified offenders, or those who have been caught. It has also been suggested that most sexual abuse victims are never identified (Bolen 2001:164). It is therefore safe to assume that the literature regarding offenders is biased and influenced by the small population of offenders who came to the attention of the authorities. As indicated, the researcher is currently not sure whether this literature accurately reflects all offenders or only those who come to the attention of authorities. Secondly, the literature regarding offenders is now voluminous and this section will rather attempt to provide an overview of the prevalence and characteristics of the perpetrators and discuss a possible rationale for their offending behaviour.

Most of the research regarding offenders has mainly referred to sexual abuse as child molesting or paedophiles or incest offenders. Hall and Martin (1992:152) point out that adults who sexually abuse children vary in levels of intelligence and may be from different levels of society and belong to different socio-economic, racial, and religious groups. They also classify offenders into two categories: those who abuse children physically, mentally and through neglect and those who abuse children for sexual gratification, such as paedophiles and incest offenders.

There are various categories of sex offenders who commit crimes against children: the non-violent sex offenders, some who are paedophiles in the true sense of the word. They are people whose sexual impulses are directed more or less exclusively towards immature children. Bolen (2001:165) emphasises that, because the empirical knowledge regarding offenders is based on identified offenders, one of the unanswered questions is whether identified offenders accurately represent unidentified offenders.

3.2.2 Characteristics

After a discussion of the various definitions of child sex offenders, there are also other general research findings that are applicable in terms of their characteristics.

Age

When contemplating an image of child sexual offenders, many people picture a stranger or dirty old man. Research that examines the demographic characteristics of child sexual offenders suggests, however, that these stereotypes are rarely accurate. Studies by Miller-Perrin *et al.* (1999:116) show that offenders vary widely in age, although 32 years has been reported as the mean age of perpetrators. They suggest, however, that juvenile perpetrators may be underestimated among the reported cases and constitute a significant segment of the child sexual offenders' population. Finkelhor (Miller-Perrin *et al.* 1999:166), in a self-report survey estimates that one third of all offenders are under 18 and that clinical data from victims suggest a substantial proportion of their offenders are adolescents. Findings by Swanson *et al.* (1996:410) also reveal that, of the 148 child molesters studied in Massachusetts, 71 percent of the offenders were under the age of 35 and at the time of the first known offences, 82 percent were 30 years old. These findings thus tend to debunk the myth that child sexual offenders are dirty old men. The following table reveals the research findings concerning the ages of the perpetrators.

Table 3.1 Age of perpetrators

Perpetrators	Frequency	Percentage
Adult	69	83.13
Child	14	16.87
Total	83	100

Frequency Missing = 13

As indicated in table 3.1, children committed 14 cases of sexual abuse, 16.87 percent, and adults committed 69 cases, 83.13 percent. This table indicates that, based on the analysis of these dockets, adults mainly commit sexual crimes. In 13 cases there is no indication that the perpetrators are adults or children, because of

incomplete police docket. The research registered statistically significant relations between the age of the perpetrators and the crimes accused of.

Table 3.2 Age of the perpetrator versus 'crime accused of'

Age of the perpetrator	Crime accused of		Total
	Rape	Indecent assault	
Adult	57	12	69
	68.67	14.46	83.13
	82.61	17.39	
	89.06	63.16	
Child	7	7	14
	8.43	8.43	16.87
	50.00	50.00	
	10.94	36.84	
Total	64	19	83
	77.11	22.89	100.00

Frequency Missing = 13

Chi-Square 7.0111; DF 1; Prob 0.0081

According to table 3.2, a statistically significant relation exists between the ages of the perpetrators and 'the crime accused of'. In this study, adults committed 12 cases of indecent assault against children and 47 cases of rapes. Adults in this study committed a total of 69 crimes. Meanwhile, children committed 7 cases of rape and 7 cases of indecent assault against children which total to 14 cases in this study.

The findings of this study can partly be explained as follows: adult perpetrators are more likely to threaten, beat and use force on their victims than child perpetrators. For example in her statement, the victim in case 03 says, "...he told me to go to his place and if I scream, he will shoot me and kill me. He further alleged that he had a firearm with him". She also comments, "... as I tried to put on my clothing he beat me with an open hand behind my head". According to the statements of the victims in cases 05, 08, 12, 30, 21,46 and 56, adults made similar threats.

Gender

According to Miller-Perrin *et al.* (1999:117) most sexual offenders are male and a significant majority of the general male population has committed a sexual offence against a child. This assertion has been supported by the studies of Finkelhor and Lewis (1988:64), in which they found that between 4 and 17 percent of the male population acknowledges that they have molested a child. In the same vein, Briere and Runtze (1989:235), indicate in their studies that 21 percent of male students report that they have been sexually attracted to children and 7 percent indicated some likelihood that they will have sex with a child if they can avoid detection and punishment.

Miller-Perrin (1999:117) maintains, however, that female offenders may be more common than research suggests. They point out that the lack of recognition of culturally prescribed definitions of sexual child abuse do not include women and may account for the under reporting of female offenders. Lawson, Saradjian, Schetky and Green (Miller-Perrin *et al.* 1999:117) support this statement. They indicate that female's child sexual crimes may go unnoticed because inappropriate sexual contact may occur within the context of culturally approved routine child care and may simply be labelled as inappropriate affection. It must also be emphasised that studies of female offenders are beginning to emerge, and that these offenders are either accomplices to male offenders, lonely and isolated single parents, adolescent baby sitters, or women who develop romantic relationship with adolescent boys (Miller - Perrin *et al.* 1999:120).

Table 3.3 Gender of the perpetrator

Gender of the perpetrator	Frequency	Percentage
Male	96	100.00
Total	96	100.00

Table 3.3 reflects the gender of the perpetrator. In this study, all the perpetrators are male (96 cases, 100%) although in the literature the researcher finds that there are also female perpetrators of sexual crimes committed against children. The reason

why the gender of the perpetrators in this study are all male can partly be due to the fact that only a limited numbers of data was available for this research.

Table 3.4 Race of the perpetrator

Race of the perpetrator	Frequency	Percent
Black	85	88.54
Coloured	7	7.29
Asians	1	1.04
Others	3	3.13
Total	96	100

Table 3.4 indicates the race of the perpetrators. It is clear that, Blacks are the perpetrators in 85 cases (88.54%), 7 cases (7.29%) have Coloured perpetrators and Asian, 1 case (1.04%). In the literature, perpetrators of sexual crimes against children come from all race groups. In this study, 88.45 percent are blacks, because the empirical study was conducted in black communities.

Marital status

Research by Swanson *et al.* (1996:411) find that many child molesters are married, and that paedophiles may be single or have a “protective marriage” (1996:423). Goldstein (1987:89) reports that paedophiles are mainly single and have never been married. He states that because of their sexual preference for children, they usually have some degree of difficulty in performing sexually with an adult, therefore they typically do not get married. However, some paedophiles do enter into marriages for convenience or cover, for example to gain access to children (Goldstein, 1987:90).

Table 3.5 Marital status of the perpetrators

Marital status of the perpetrator	Frequency	Percentage
Married	5	6.76
Never married	65	87.84
Living together	4	5.41
Total	74	100

Table 3.5 shows the marital status of the perpetrators in this study. In the table, in 65 cases (87.84%) the perpetrators have never been married. In 5 cases (6.76%) the perpetrators are married and in 4 cases (5.41%) they are living together with somebody. In this study, the researcher finds that the vast majority of perpetrators of child sexual crimes never get married. The marital status of the offenders is also linked to the type of crime they are accused of.

Table 3.6 Marital status of the offender versus 'crime accused of'

Marital Status of the offender	Crime accused of		Total
	Rape	Indecent assault	
Married	3	2	5
	4.05	2.70	6.76
	60.00	40.00	
	5.26	11.76	
Never Married	53	12	65
	71.62	16.22	87.84
	81.54	18.46	
	92.98	70.59	
Living together	1	3	4
	1.35	4.05	5.41
	25.00	75.00	
	1.75	17.65	
Total	57	17	74
	77.03	22.97	100.00
Frequency missing = 22			

Chi-Square 7.6855; DF 2; Prob 0.0214

Table 3.6 shows that those who have never been married are more inclined to commit child rapes and indecent assault. In this study, those who have never been married committed 53 cases of rape and only 12 cases of indecent assault. This makes a total of 65 crimes that have been committed by unmarried perpetrators in this study. The findings in this study is consistent with the literature, which reports

that perpetrators of sexual crimes against children are mostly single and have never been married and typically do not get married.

Occupation

Finkelhor (1980:265) indicates that incest offenders represent a large number of unskilled manual workers, and are unemployed, make less money and have inferior work records. Herman (1981:72) reports that policemen, physicians, and college professors, and businessmen who work long hours, are the people who have committed sexual offence against their daughters. Swanson *et al.* (1996:423) say that many paedophiles seek employment or volunteer work that involve children of his sexual preference. They seek employment in places such as schools, day care centres, and churches.

Table 3.7 Occupation of the perpetrators

Occupation of the offender	Frequency	Percentage
Business	2	2.08
Unemployed	13	31.25
Others	64	66.67
Total	79	100

Table 3.7 indicates the occupation of child sexual offenders in this study. In 64 cases (66.67%) the occupations of the offenders are not recorded in the police dockets. In the 15 cases that the occupations of the offenders are known, 13 (31.25%) are unemployed while in 2 cases (2.08%) they are businessmen. Literary studies indicate that a large numbers of offenders are unskilled and are unemployed at the time of the crime.

Criminal records

Most child sex offenders have previously been arrested for molestation or sexual abuse. They may even have arrest records for crimes that do not appear to involve sexual abuse, such as impersonating a police officer, bad checks, or violating labour laws (Goldstein 1987:88). Studies by Maisch and Weinberg indicate that almost all

of the incest offenders have previous arrest records, mainly for personal offences such as disorderly conduct, wife beating, child abuse, but few have been arrested for sex crimes (Katz & Mazur 1979:261).

Intelligence

Weinberg (Katz & Mazur 1979:260) describe 65 percent of his sample of sex offenders as having normal intelligence. Herman (1981:48) found a 9 percent superior intelligence factor amongst his test group. In their studies Ballard, Blair, Devereaux, Valentine, Horton and Johnson (1990:48) find that the level of education of incarcerated incest offenders is statistically lower than those in the community.

Relationship between the perpetrator and the victim

Russell (1983) and Finkelhor *et al.* (1990) in Miller-Perrin (1999:120) conducted a study and Russell reports that 11 percent of victimisation involve experiences with fathers and stepfathers and 45 percent involve strangers. Similarly, Finkelhor *et al.* discover in their survey that the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim are as follows: strangers between 21 percent and 40 percent, friend or acquaintance between 41 percent and 44 percent and family members between 29 percent and 11 percent. They indicate that males are more likely to be abused by a stranger, whereas females are more likely to be abused by a family member. This data thus suggests that perpetrators are usually people whom the child is familiar with in the majority of cases, especially in incest and indecent assault cases.

Table 3.8 Relationship between the perpetrator and the victim

Relationship between the perpetrator and the victim	Frequency	Percentage
Father	3	3.13
Brother	1	1.04
Stranger	30	31.25
Neighbour	39	40.63
Unknown	23	23.96
Total	96	

Table 3.8 reports on the relationship between the perpetrator and the victims of child sexual crimes. In the above table neighbours, apparently known to the victims commit 39 cases (40.63%) of the crimes. In 30 cases (31.25%) strangers commit the crimes and in 23 cases (23.96%), the relationships are not recorded in the dockets. The relationship between the perpetrators and the victims is statistically related to the type of crime that is committed.

Table 3.9 Relationship between the victim and perpetrator versus the crime accused of

Relationship between the Victim And the perpetrator	Crime accused of		Total
	Rape	Indecent assault	
Father	1 1.04 33.33 1.32	2 2.08 66.67 10.00	3 3.13
Brother	1 1.04 100.00 1.32	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	1 1.04
Stranger	27 28.13 90.00 35.53	3 3.13 10.00 15.00	30 31.25
Neighbors	33 34.38 84.62 43.42	6 6.25 15.38 30.00	39 40.36
Unknown	14 14.58 60.87 18.42	9 9.38 39.13 45.00	23 23.96
Total	76 79.17	20 20.83	96 100.00

Chi-Square 11.5896; DF 4; Prob 0.0207

In table 3.9, statistical significance is evident between the relationship between the perpetrators and the victims and the crime accused of. The table indicates that child rapes are committed more by neighbours and strangers than in cases of indecent assaults. There is thus a 90 percent chance that stranger will commit child rape and a 10 percent chance to commit indecent assault. In the case of neighbours, there is an 84.62 percent chance that they will commit child rape and a 15.38 percent possibility that they will commit indecent assault. According to this study, neighbours and strangers are more likely to commit rape and indecent assault against children than fathers and brothers.

This finding is consistent with the literature, which suggests that perpetrators of child sexual crimes are usually persons known to the child.

Poor social skills

The most common characteristic of child sexual offenders is the notion that they have a deficit in their hetero social skills, leading to difficulties in forming appropriate relationships and hence they develop inappropriate sexual relationships with children (Fisher & Howell 1993:123). Finkelhor, Marshall and Eccles (Cossin 2000:168) support Fisher and Howell's statement by maintaining that child sex offenders are socially immature and lack the necessary social skills to initiate and maintain relationships with peers. They then turn to children for sexual gratification because of their social isolation and need for intimacy. A study by Segal and Marshall (1985:61) of the social skills of incarcerated rapists, child molesters, non-sex offenders and a community control group, finds that those offenders with lower socio-economic status are generally less skilled and more anxious than those with higher socio-economic status. They also find that child sex offenders rate themselves as less socially skilled and more anxious in relationships with heterosexual adults and rate lower "...in situation(s), involving positive assertion or accepting praise". Worling`s (1995:286) study of child sex offenders, however, do not support the poor social skill hypothesis, since he finds that both groups are similar with respect to variables of interpersonal functioning and self-protection.

3.2.3 Typologies of perpetrators

Goldstein (1987:74) states that the most commonly used topology for child abuse perpetrators is the one developed by Groth. He classifies child sex offenders into two groups. If their involvement constitutes a persistent pattern (a fixation) they fall into one group, the other group includes offenders for which the offence is a new activity or change (a regression) in their sexual orientation or lifestyle. It is of primary importance to be able to assess whether the offender is of the regressed type or the fixated type (Ingersoll & Patton 1990:15). Groth and Birnbaum, (1978:176) study offenders who were convicted of child sexual assaults and in every case, there is physical contact with the child. Their studies also propose two categories of perpetrators: the fixated and the regressed.

Groth and Birnbaum (1978:176) define a fixated offender "... as a temporary or permanent arrestment of psychological maturation resulting from unresolved formative issues which persist and underlie the organization of subsequent phases of development. A fixated offender has from adolescence been sexually attracted primarily or exclusively to significant younger persons. Sexual involvement with peer-age or older persons, where this has occurred, has been situational in nature and has never replaced the primary sexual attraction to and preference for underage persons".

Ingersoll and Patton (1990:16) describe a fixated offender as an individual who experiences an interruption in emotional development, which causes socio-sexual development to stop at a specific point and then remain fixed. They state that the fixated offender focuses on interpersonal dynamics and tend to seek non-family victims and are usually active with a large number of victims which differs from the regressed offenders.

The regressed offender is defined by Groth and Birnbaum (1978:77) "... as temporary or permanent appearance of primitive behaviour after more mature forms of expression had been attained, regardless of whether the immature behaviour was actually manifested earlier in the individual development. A regressed offender has not exhibited any predominant sexual attraction to significant younger persons during

his sexual development. If any such involvement did occur during adolescence, it was situational or experimental in nature. Instead, this individual's sociosexual interests have focussed on peer-age or adult persons primarily or exclusively".

Ingersoll and Patton (1990:15) define the regressed offenders as individuals who have an emotional regression. They point out that this regression occurs when an individual, who has developed normally up to a given point, reverts to an earlier point of development that is in some way comfortable or more secure than the age-appropriate level. This type of offender tends to be deeply affected by interpersonal dynamics, especially family dynamics. The regressed offender is usually active with a limited number of victims, usually family-like in their relationship to the perpetrator (Ingerson & Patton 1990:15).

In another topology, Dietz (Goldstein 1987:75) divides sex offenders into two broad categories: the situational and the preferential. Dietz explains that the situational sex offenders suffer from no identifiable psychosexual mental disorder, but engage in sex offences as a result of a wide variety of situational factors such as intoxication, social stressors, mood and mental conditions. He points out that such offenders may be reasonably well-adjusted and non-paraphiliacs men who commit first offences while drinking heavily, after being fired, during their wives pregnancies, following a divorce, or depression, a manic or schizophrenic episode. He regards the preferential sex offender as an individual whose preferred or exclusive method of achieving sexual arousal involves unconventional mental imagery or acts and who is regarded by contemporary psychiatry as suffering from a diagnosable psychosexual disorder. Dietz clearly states that most individuals with deviant patterns of sexual arousal do not commit crimes to serve their impulses. He says that a person can have a paraphilia without being a sex offender (Goldstein 1987:75).

Situational child molester

Goldstein (1987:76) describes the situational child molester as sex offenders who do not have a true sexual preference for children, but engages in sex with children for varied and sometimes complex reasons. He states that for such offenders, sexuality with children may range from a once in a lifetime act, to a long-term pattern of

behaviour. He also mentions that these offenders usually have fewer victims who are other vulnerable individuals. Within this topology, Goldstein illuminates four major patterns of offenders' behaviour: regressed, morally indiscriminate, sexually indiscriminate, and the inadequate.

Regressed offender

Goldstein (1987:77) cites Groth's topology and indicates that the regressed offender usually has low self-esteem and poor coping skills, but is a reasonably normal individual who turns to children as sexual substitutes for the preferred sex partner. This offender's main victim criterion seems to be availability, which is why many of these offenders seem to molest their own children. The main method of operation is to coerce the child into having sex.

Morally indiscriminate

According to Goldstein, sexual abuse for these individuals is simply part of a general pattern of abuse in their lives. He describes these offenders as users and abuser of people who abuses their wives, friends, employers and co-workers. They lie, cheat, steal and abuse any time they think they can get away with it. The primary victim criteria of these offenders are vulnerability and opportunity. Their victims are usually strangers, but can also be their own children. The incestuous father or mother may be this morally indiscriminate offender, who frequently collects adult pornography of a sadomasochistic nature and may have some child pornography, especially material that may depict pubescent children (Goldstein 1987:77).

Sexually indiscriminate

Goldstein points out that this offender is willing to try anything sexual and that their basic characteristic is sexual experimentation and they are interested in sex with children, out of boredom. Their criteria for such children are that they are new and different and involve children in existing sexual activities. Their victims may also be their own children and such offenders may offer their children to other adults as part of some group sex, spouse-swapping activities, or even as part of some bizarre or satanic ritual (Goldstein 1987:77).

Inadequate personality

Goldstein (1987:78) indicates that this pattern of offenders include those who suffer from psychiatric or personality disorders, mental retardation, and senility. These offenders may be shy teenagers who have no friends of their own age or eccentric loners who still live with their parents. They seem to be sexually involved with children out of insecurity or curiosity, as they find children to be non-threatening objects with which they can explore their sexual fantasies. Some of these offenders find it difficult to express anger or hostility, which then build up until it explodes, possibly against their child victims. Goldstein states that because of their mental and emotional problems, some of these offenders may rid themselves of their frustration through the cruel and sexual torture of children.

Preferential child molesters

According to Goldstein (1987:79) these individuals have a definite sexual preference for children. Their sexual fantasies and erotic imagery focus on children and they have sex with children because they are attracted to and prefer children. They also possess a wide variety of character traits, but engage in highly predictable sexual behaviour and have the potential to molest a large numbers of victims. Goldstein points out that for these offenders, their problem is not only the quality of their sex drive, but also the quantity of their sex drive. Within this category, Goldstein identifies three major patterns of behaviour: seduction, introverted and sadistic.

Seduction

This pattern describes offenders who engage children in sexual activities by seducing them. These offenders seduce children the same way that men seduce women and women seduce men - with attention, affection, and gifts. They seduce children over a long period of time by gradually lowering their inhibitions. They are involved with multiple victims and operate what is called sex rings, which may include a group of children in the same class at school or in the same neighbourhood. Goldstein (1987:80) describes these individuals as master seducers of children in their ability to identify with them. They know how to listen and talk to

children and select children who are victims of emotional or physical neglect.

Introverted

This pattern describes offenders who have preferences for children but lack the interpersonal skills that are necessary to seduce them. Therefore they engage in non-personal sexual contact with children. Goldstein (1987:80) states that these individuals are more likely to hang around playgrounds and others areas where children congregate and watch them or engage them in brief sexual encounters. They may expose themselves to children or make obscene phone calls to children and they are likely to molest their own children from the time they are infants.

Sadistic

This pattern describes offenders who have sexual preferences for children but who, in order to be aroused or gratified, must inflict pain or suffering on their child victims (Goldstein 1987:80). They lure children away or force them to gain access to their victims and are more likely to abduct and even murder their victims.

Finkelhor (Bolen 2001:171) explores a different type of model, which focusses on the four preconditions that exists in child molesters that were hypothesised to proceed the rape and indecent assault of children. The preconditions are that the potential offenders have to be (a) motivated (b) overcome internal inhibition (c) overcome external impediments and (d) undermine or overcome the child's resistance. According to Bolen (2001:171), the motivation in Finkelhor's models are emotional congruence between the child and the adult, sexual arousal to children and blockages such as limited social skills that interfere with appropriate adult relationships. Finkelhor assumes that individuals will abuse only when these preconditions are present. It is important to note that this model is of importance because it considers motivating factors prevalent in any sexual child abuse case and has led to the widely recognised importance of disinhibitors.

Within this same model, Hall and Hirschman (Bolen 2001:172) develop what they call 'the quadripartite model', in which they categorise offenders according to their primary motivation to commit the crimes. They hypothesise that sexual offenders,

including rapists and child molesters, can be grouped into four groups based upon their motivation for the abuse. Their motivations are as follows:

Offenders motivated by physiological factors

Hall and Hirschman maintain that these offenders primarily seek sexual gratification, although they may or may not exhibit high levels of sexual arousal towards the targeted age group. According to them, there is a tendency for sexual arousal to become associated with aggressive behaviour; with that aggressive behaviour itself comes sexual arousing. Violence is likely to occur among offenders in which this pairing: aggression and sexual arousal, occurs. Hall and Hirschman maintain that these types of offenders are likely to have multiple victims.

Cognitive factors

Hall and Hirschman (1992) state that this motivator may be present in most sexual abuse situations because the offenders often appraise threats and benefits to determine whether the risk is worth the encounter. They indicate that in this group the offender is motivated by cognitive distortions, such as perceiving some type of justification for offending, and they lack sexual or general impulsivity.

Affective state

This group of offenders tends to exhibit affective dyscontrol, their affect states, like depression, becomes so powerful that they overcome other inhibitions to abuse. For this group, sexual aggression tends to be opportunistic, unplanned, violent and predatory. Affect disinhibitors such as alcohol or stress are more determinants of offenders in this category (Hall & Hirschman 1992).

Personality factors

These offenders are those with chronic impairments that affect many functional domains, including intellectual impairment, family conflicts, poor social skills, chronic substance abuse, dyscontrol, and general antisocial activities.

Hall and Hirschman recognise that multiple motivations may exist for a given offender. The primary motivational theme determines the categories to which an offender belongs. Bolen (2001:172) supports this model for its multi-causal approach. She, however, states that it has not yet been tested empirically, and that it does not recognise environmental issues such as the socio-cultural context of sexual abuse. Knight and Prentky (1990) criticises this model because it combines child molesters and rapists, although they often overlap, research does not support a single theory for both types of offenders.

Other more sophisticated typologies of offenders are that of Knight, Canter and Prentky (Bolen 2001:172). They use the inductive and the deductive processes to develop a classification system for sexual offenders. Knight, Canter and Prentky's (1990:27) topology attempts to find naturally homogeneous groups on the basis of offenders similarities and differences regarding a specific set of attributes and to find a consistent theory - driven organising structure underlying the characteristic of offenders of sexual child abuse. According to Bolen (2001:72) their topology is multidimensional and hierarchical which suggests that multiple characteristics need to be considered, and that characteristics may overlap between groups.

The next section analyses the quantitative data regarding the motive of the crimes and the number of perpetrators that are involved in the empirical study, that is represented in the form of a frequency table and the cross tabulations.

Table 3.10 Motive of the offence

Motive	Frequency	Percentage
Sex	53	55.79
Revenge	18	18.95
Others	24	25.26
Total	95	100

Table 3.10 shows the motive of the offence. In this study, the collected data for the study reveals that the motive for the offence is mostly sex in 53 cases, 55.79 percent and revenge, 18 cases, 18.95 percent. In 24 cases, 25.26 percent the motives for the offences are not recorded in the dockets.

Table 3.11 Motive of the crime versus 'crime accused of'

Motive of the crime	Crime accused of		Total
	Rape	Indecent assault	
Sex	46	7	53
	48.42	7.37	55.79
	86.79	13.21	
	61.33	35.00	
Revenge	17	1	48
	17.89	1.05	18.95
	94.44	5.56	
	22.67	5.00	
Others	12	12	24
	12.63	12.36	25.26
	50.00	50.00	
	16.00	60.00	
Total	75	20	95
	78.95	21.05	100.00

Frequency missing = 1

Chi-Square 16.6635; DF 2; Prob 0.0002

According to table 3.11, a statistical significance exists between the motive of the offence and 'crime accused of'. The cross tabulation indicates that, when a perpetrator is accused of rape, the motive will be sex, because in 46 cases of rape the motive is sex and only in 7 cases of indecent assault. Therefore, if a person is accused of any sexual crime against a child, then there is a very high chance that sex is the motive.

Table 3.12 Number of perpetrators

Perpetrators	Frequency	Percentage
1	84	87.50
2	7	7.29
3	1	1.04
4	2	2.08
5	1	1.04
6	1	1.04
Total	96	100

Table 3.12 indicates the numbers of perpetrators that are involved in the crimes. In this data, 84 of the cases are committed by one perpetrator, which is 87.50 percent while 7 cases, 7.29 percent, are committed by two perpetrators, 2 cases, 2.08 percent are committed by four perpetrators. These findings are most probably related to the fact that sexual offences like rape and indecent assault against children are of a secretive nature.

In the next section, the *modus operandi* will be discussed according to available literature and in the empirical study.

3.3 MODUS OPERANDI OF THE PERPETRATORS

3.3.1 Psychological abuse and control

According to Leberg, Salter and Herman (Bancroft & Silverman 2002:88) psychological abuse and control play a huge role in the behaviour of perpetrators,

who rape and indecently assault children, especially incest perpetrators and their relationship with their victims and other family members. Salter states that the perpetrator often subjects the victims to harsh and frequent criticism and to other forms of verbal abuse such as insults, invalidations, and ridicule. The abuser tends to alternate between these extremes, at times treating the victims as loveable and attractive and other times verbally degrading them. This pattern is typically established for an extended period of time before any sexual violation takes place (Bancroft & Silverman 2002:88).

In this study, the researcher finds that perpetrators often assault their victims, beat them, slap them with an open hand and, worst of all, threaten them with knives and firearms which is consistent with the harsh treatment of victims mentioned by Slater. This is evident in the *modus operandi* of Case 12. According to the statement of the victim "...he grabbed me and pushed me inside, he then slapped me on the face with an open hand". The victim in Case 35 says in her statement: "... the two males came to us shot twice in the air, he instructed me to undress at gun point. He fired a shot close to my ears ordering me to undress". Also in Case 50, the victim says, "...he drew a firearm and started to called (sic) me beach (sic) and ordered me to undress at gun point. He slapped me on the face and kicked me on the back and I fell on the bed". Victims of Cases 51, 59, 61, 62, 64 and 67 have made similar statements.

The researcher did not, however, find loveable treatment of the victims prior to the rape and also these harsh treatments do not take place over an extended period. It often occurs only minutes before the crime is committed.

In this regard, Maltze and Holman (1987:17) maintain that the perpetrators often exercise authoritarian control over the victim through social isolation, a dictatorial parenting style, and a controlling style and is involved in "... the minute details of each family member's life".

De Young and Herman (Bancroft & Silverman 2002:88) also report that perpetrators may favour the victim to other children in the family. According to Maltze and Holman (1987:17) many perpetrators use their victims as confidants, and they often

combine this with presenting themselves in such a manner as if they need to be taken care of, so that their victims feel sorry for them. Incest perpetrators are sometimes described as preparing a violation by first engaging their victims in open emotional discussions with an adult tone, which involves for example the way in which they feel hurt or rejected by the victims mother (Herman 1981). They thereby draw their victims into secret alliances with them (Bancroft & Silverman 2002:89). In this study, the researcher finds no instances where the victims are treated like confidants and no emotional discussions between the victims and the perpetrators occur.

3.3.2 Preparation of the victim

According to De Young (1986:176) the perpetrators prepare their victims over a period by lavishing special attention onto the victims such as buying gifts, or allowing them forbidden treats. Stern and Meyer (1980:83) clearly state, "... the gradual evolution of molestation weighs heavily against reporting", especially as the child is "made a partner in a conspiracy of silence through bribes, threats, and affection". In this study, the researcher finds affection in Case 24, the victim says in her statement that "...he said to me he did not mean to do what he did to me, its just that I was growing up so he is lusting for me... he started sending me messages on my cell phone saying, he loves and he was loving to kiss me".

The researcher also finds in this study that perpetrators prepare victims by intoxicating them with alcohol. For example, the victim in Case 11 says, "... two guys hold my hand and the other two open my mouth and the driver drinks me something which was inside a juice bottle. After drinking that thing I have feel that I am becoming dizzy and after that I have never seen anything until the morning..."

3.3.3 Preparation of the social environment

Lemberg (Bancroft & Silverman 2002:89) point out that perpetrators are known to discourage assistance to their victims through tactics of shaping public perception of themselves and of their victims. They project an image of themselves that do not fit public perception of what a sexual abuser will be like, and pretend to be humorous,

outgoing, kind, and good with children. With these tactics, it becomes difficult for those who know the perpetrators to believe that they have committed sexual offences (Faller 1988). At the same time, the abusers may strive to create a negative public perception of the victim so as to influence people to discount any possible disclosures that they may make. In this study this *modus operandi* is not evident.

3.3.4 Imposition of secrecy

Herman and Salter (Bancroft & Silverman 2002: 90) indicate that perpetrators, according to reports, threaten their victims with regard to the consequences of any disclosure of the abuse and sometimes include threats of violence which commonly involve threats that the children will be separated from both their parents. They indicate that abusers also use other strategies to enforce secrecy. This *modus operandi* is evident in this study as illustrated by Case 73, where the victim confirms this in her account "...and told me that if I can tell anybody he will come at my school and will kill me". The victim in Case 89 says in her statement: "...he also told me if I could tell anybody he is going to kill me".

The researcher finds that perpetrators try to maintain secrecy by giving gifts and making promises to their victims. This is buttressed by Case 8 in which the victim says in her statement: "... he then slept with me and gave me R10 note to keep quiet". The victim of Case 36 reports that "...I cried telling him to leave me that I want to go home, he refused after he finished he instructed me to dress and not to tell anyone and ... and gave me R3.50". According to the victim in Case 62, "... he told me he was sorry for raping me and if I ever need anything like money I should come to him and he will give me..."

3.3.5 Manipulation

According to Lemberg (1997) Salter (1995) and Maltze and Holman (1987) cited in Bancroft and Sivlerman (2002:90) the majority of child sexual perpetrators are highly manipulative. They state that perpetrators attempt to confuse the victims about their intentions, and to create the illusion that caring motivates their behaviour. Following

an abuse, they may persuade the victim that she is at fault for what took place, because she seduced them or because she colludes with him by maintaining secrecy, even though she may have been coerced into doing so, according to de Young (Bancorft & Silverman 2002:90).

The findings of this research support the literature study, which states that the perpetrators usually confuse victims about their intentions. This is evident in Case 38 in which the victim says, "...he was standing next to his car with two friends known to me... He called me and told me that my boyfriend is looking for me... He told me to get in to the car so that we could look for my boy friend and I refused... he then drove around with me... He then told me he is taking me home and said he is going to look for my boyfriend. Later he changed his mind and that he is taking me where he stays...". In Case 48, the victim says "... when he called me and asked me to take his radio and put it inside his room, and I agree out of suspicion... and he followed me from behind and immediately on entering the room, he also entered the room and shut up the door behind him". Victims of Cases 55, 82 and 94, made similar statements.

In this study, the researcher finds the following *modus operandi* that is not evident in the literature:

Threats to kill victims with firearm or knives

The researcher has discovered that most of the perpetrators often threaten to kill their victims with firearms or knives when they resist. This is the case with the victim of Case 3 as she says in her statement "...he then told me to go with him to his place and if I scream, he will shoot and kill me. He further alleged that he had a firearm with him". The victim in Case 4 also says "... he locked the shack and put his hand on my mouth and so I was unable to scream. He pushed me on the bed... he was holding a knife on top of me". The victim of Case 28 says, "... we tried to runaway but he threatened to shoot us. He then drew a knife". In Case 35, the victim explains, "... Suddenly came two men, on arrival they shot twice in the air. The other male who was escorting us... in an argument they shot him on the leg... the suspect undress my trouser at gunpoint. He fired one shot close to my ears ordering me to

undress my underpants... I was raped by the other black male... he remained on top of me for an hour with a knife on top of my breast". In Case 64 the victim said in her statement: "I refused and he drew a firearm and shot inside the house. He assaulted me took off my clothes at gunpoint". Victims in cases 67,70,73,74,79,83,85,87,89 and 90 have made similar statements.

Use of Accomplices (Setting up victims)

Another *modus operandi* evident in this study is the use of accomplices by perpetrators. For example, in Case 42 the victim says "...there came the boyfriend of my friend and his friend. After that I decided to go home but they all refused, forced me to seat together with the suspect. After that he overpowered me and sleep with me. He did it three times until 16:00 the next day". The victim in Case 64 also says "... I was in a party with my friend when Name1`s boyfriend came to me and ask me to accompany him and his friend to his friend`s place. When we arrived Name2 started to tell me that he wanted to sleep with me. I refused and he drew a firearm and fire a shot inside the house, took off my clothes at gunpoint". In Case 47 the victim says, " ... I then ask Name1 to used the toilet... Name 2 accompanied me to the toilet, Name2 used the toilet first and I followed. After relieving myself, I found Name1 outside, I then asked him where Name2 was, and he said she was inside the house. I went inside the house, he followed me only to find that Name2 is not inside the house... he then dragged and rape me". Victims in Cases 62 and 85 made similar statements.

Concealment of evidence

The researcher in this study also finds that the concealment of evidence is another *modus operandi* that perpetrators use. This is evident in Case 11 in which the victim says, "...after that the guy who has gone for an hour has come with a dish having cold water and a soap so that I must bath myself, and I refused to bath and they forced me to bath. In Case 38 the victim said, "... he woke me up and told me to wash myself. I washed myself and he told me that because I had bath no one is going to believe when I open a case docket..." and in Case 42 the victim said, "... he

forced me to wash before leaving his place”.

Multiple perpetrators (gang raped)

In this study, the researcher has discovered that perpetrators use their friends as part of their *modus operandi* to assist during the rape process. This *modus operandi* is evident in Case 13 in which the victim says, “...two guys hold my hands and the other two opens my mouth and the driver drinks me something... after that I am becoming dizzy... I have realise that my trouser was not zipped... when I looked I have found that I have never wear panty...”. In Case 35, the victim also says in her statement: “... he pushed me forcefully down open my tights wide and inserted his penis in my vagina... after finishing they exchanged us, I was raped by the other black male...”. In Case 62 the victim states, “... Name3 told Name2 to obey his rules. Its then that Name2 raped me... and after Name3 raped me too”. In Case 74, the victim said, “...I then feel his penis in my vagina... the other was pointing me with a firearm. When the first male finished, he then told the other male to jump on me also. He then lie on top of me and started having sex with me. They both started to exchange themselves raping me several times...”. The victim in Case 75 says, “... Name2 held my hands at the back of my head while Name1 took off my pants and panty. Name1 opened my legs and inserted his penis inside my vagina... after a while he stopped and get off. Name2 came as his penis was already outside during the encounter and raped me...”. According to the victim in Case 80, “ ...they grabbed me then I resisted, he forced himself on me and rape me after him the other one came and rape me, while he was raping me his friends held my hands”. Victims in Cases 84,87,92 and 93 have also made similar statements.

In this study the researcher finds perpetrators use a certain pattern. The perpetrators grab, pull, push, force, assault, threaten, and undress the victims, close their mouths and rape them and then tell the victims not to report the incident.

This research has also registered the *modus operandi* aspects concerning the date, day, month, time, and place of the incidents, nature of injuries and how the crime are committed.

Table 3.13 Date of the incident

Date of the incident	Frequency	Percent
1	4	4.26
2	5	5.32
3	4	4.26
4	1	1.06
5	6	6.38
6	4	4.46
7	4	4.26
8	2	2.13
9	2	2.13
10	2	2.13
11	1	1.06
12	4	4.26
13	1	1.06
14	2	2.13
15	5	5.32
16	5	5.32
17	3	3.19
18	2	2.13
19	1	1.06
20	3	3.19
21	2	2.13
22	2	2.13
23	4	4.26
24	2	2.13
25	5	5.32
26	2	2.13
27	1	1.06
28	4	4.26
29	3	3.19
30	4	4.26
31	4	4.26
Total	94	100

Frequency Missing = 2

Table 3.13 shows that children are a little bit more vulnerable to rape and indecent assault on the 5th, 2nd, 15th, 16th, 25th, day of the month, 6.38 percent, 5.32 percent, 5.32 percent, 5.32 percent and 5.32 percent respectively. This means that sexual crimes against children are a little bit more common at the beginning of the month, the middle of the month and at the end of the month.

In an attempt to explain this frequency, the researcher is tempted to speculate that the above trend is because salaries are paid out on these dates of the month, thus there is a high propensity of alcohol consumption, which serves as a disinhibitor to the perpetrators.

Table 3.14 Month of the incident

Month of the incident	Frequency	Percentage
1	9	9.57
2	11	11.70
3	5	5.32
4	5	5.32
5	7	7.45
6	6	6.38
7	6	6.38
8	11	11.17
9	11	11.17
10	7	7.45
11	6	6.38
12	10	10.64
Total	94	100

Frequency Missing = 2

Table 3.14 indicates the months that the crimes of rape and indecent assault of children are most common. From the frequency procedure of table 3.14, these sexual crimes are more common in the months of February, August, September, which register 11 cases and in December 10 cases, 11.70 percent and 10.64

percent respectively. These crimes are therefore more common at the beginning of spring and during the summer months.

Table 3.15 Day of the incident

Day of the incident	Frequency	Percentage
Monday	14	15.38
Tuesday	9	9.89
Wednesday	9	9.89
Thursday	7	7.69
Friday	8	8.79
Saturday	20	21.98
Sunday	24	26.37
Total	91	100

Frequency missing = 5

Table 3.15 shows the days of the week that the crimes of rape and indecent assault are mainly committed. The frequency procedure of the day of the crimes reveals that these crimes are mostly committed over the weekends, that is: Sunday, Saturday and Monday. In this study, 24 cases have been committed on Sundays, 20 cases on Saturdays and 14 cases on Mondays. This may be due to the fact that the victims are more likely to be available during weekends – and the working perpetrators do not have to go to work.

Table 3.16 Time of the incident

Time of the incident	Frequency	Percentage
06:00-10:00	14	15.22
10:00-14:00	9	9.78
14:00-18:00	26	28.26
18:00-22:00	31	33.70
22:00-02:00	10	10.87
Total	90	97.83

Frequency Missing = 4

Table 3.16 indicates that these crimes are more often committed between 18:00 and 22:00: 31 cases (33.70%), 14:00 and 18:00, 28 cases (28.26%) and 06:00 to 10:00, 14 cases (15.22 %). These crimes are mostly committed in the evening, till late at night when children are no longer in school and play around their neighbourhoods. It is also the time of the day that perpetrators can conceal their identity and the crimes from onlookers because it is dark. From 14:00 to 18:00, most parents and caretakers are still at work, and leave their children alone at home after school hours, which explain why these crimes are also committed at this time of the day.

Table 3.17 Place of the incident

Place of the incident	Frequency	Percent
House of the perpetrator	47	48.96
House of the victim	12	12.15
School	2	2.08
Veld	11	11.46
Street and public toilet	5	5.21
Others	19	19.79
Total	96	100

Table 3.17 shows the place where the crimes of rape and indecent assault are often committed. In this study, most of these crimes are committed in the house of the perpetrators, which is in 47 cases, and a total of 48.96 percent of the 96 cases under scrutiny. Twelve cases have been committed in the house of the victims, whereas 11 cases have occurred in a veld, which is 12.15 percent and 11.46 percent respectively.

Table 3.18 Nature of injuries sustained

Nature of injuries sustained	Frequency	Percent
Bruises	4	4.17
Cuts	7	7.29
Fractures	8	8.33
Bleeding/secretion	9	9.38
Others	68	70.83
Total	96	100

Table 3.18 indicates the nature of injuries sustained by victims as a result of the crimes. The above table shows that bleeding/secretion are common injuries that are often sustained by child victims of rape and indecent assault. In the above table, bleeding/secretion occurs in 9 cases, which constitute 9.83 percent of the injuries, while fractures and cuts occur in 8 and 7 cases, 8.33 percent and 7.29 percent respectively. In 68 cases, 70.83 percent of the injuries sustained are not recorded or there are no injuries at all.

Table 3.19 How the crime was committed

How was the crime committed	Frequency	Percent
Sex organ	64	67.37
Hand	9	9.47
Instrument	1	1.05
Weapon (knife, firearm, etc)	8	8.42
Others	13	13.68
Total	95	99.99

Frequency missing =1

Table 3.19 indicates how the crimes are committed. This table shows that in 64 cases, 67.37 percent, the crimes have been committed with sex organs, while in 9 cases, that is 9.47 percent and 8 cases or 8.42 percent were committed with hands and weapons (knife or firearm) respectively. This indicates the clear sexual focus of the perpetrators.

This research registers statistical high significance between how the crimes are committed and the crime the perpetrators is accused of.

Table 3.20 How the crime was committed versus the crime accused of.

How the Crime was committed	Crime accused of		Total
	Rape	Indecent assault	
Sex Organ	58	6	64
	61.05	6.32	67.37
	90.63	9.38	
	76.32	31.58	
Hand	4	5	9
	4.21	5.26	9.47
	44.44	55.56	
	5.26	26.32	
Instrument	1	0	1
	1.05	0.00	1.05
	100.00	0.00	
	1.32	0.00	
Weapon (Knife / Fire arms)	8	0	8
	8.42	0.00	8.42
	100.00	0.00	
	10.53	0.00	

Chi-Square 27,8960; DF 4; Prob 0.0001

In table 3.20, a statistically high significant difference exists between the crime accused of' and how the crime was committed. There is thus a relationship between how the crime was committed and the crime. From the above table, 58 rape cases are committed with sex organs, while only 6 cases of indecent assaults are committed with sex organs. The figures for the crimes of indecent assault are lower, because the methods that have been used in most of these crimes are sex organs.

However, it must be pointed out that, because the crime the perpetrator is accused

of is rape, the sex organ is used more often. This indicates that if a case of rape is reported, there is a very high probability that a sex organ must have been used to commit the crime. The reason for this is that the motive for rape generally is linked to sex.

3.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF VICTIMS

Within criminology, victim's studies have emerged as a separate component. With regard to the crime of rape and indecent assault of children, the main area of interest regarding the child victim, in this study, includes his or her personal characteristics. This includes the the effect of the crime, as well as possible explanations for their victimisation.

3.4.1 Age

According to Miller-Perrin *et al.* (1999:115) the definitional restriction limits the upper range typically from 16 to 18 years, but at the lower age range, children as young as 3 months have been reported as victims of sexual abuse. The rape of a 5 months old baby have been reported in South Africa (Infant rape crisis jolts in South Africa: 2001). Retrospective studies of adults support the findings that middle childhood (approximately 7 to 12 years of age) is the most vulnerable period for sexual child abuse. In incestuous situations, de Young, Crosson 1999:127) reports that in her sample of 60 victims of parental incest, 80 percent are eldest daughters and 5 percent are only children. Others theorise that a father may approach his eldest daughter and if she refuses, may move on and abuse the other daughters.

Attention must be drawn to the fact that the abuse of younger children goes undetected because younger children are less likely than older children to report the abuse, and some adults may not even remember abuse that has occurred early in their childhood. Most recent statistics indicate that the rate of sexual abuse show little variability for ages of children 3 years or older. According to Crosson-Tower (1999:126) the average age of sexually abused children is between 4 to 6 years for boys and 11 to 14 years for girls. She states that there may be more cases of abuse, but statistics are difficult to get hold of, because adolescents are more

reluctant to report abuse because they fear their parents will curb their freedom. Swanson *et al.* (1996:426) report that victims of paedophiles range from 8 to 16 years. In incest cases, the victims are mostly in middle adolescence, that is 15 years (Kutz & Mazur 1979:263).

In this research the following is recorded concerning the age of the victims:

Table 3.21 Age of the victim

Age of the Victim	Frequency	Percentage
2	2	2.08
3	6	6.25
4	3	3.13
5	2	2.08
6	1	1.04
7	10	10.42
8	22	22.92
9	30	31.25
10	13	13.54
11	4	4.17
16	1	1.04
17	1	1.04
18	1	1.04
Total	96	100

Table 3.21 shows the age of the victims. From the table, the vulnerable age for child sexual victimisation range from 7 years to 10 years old. In this study, 9 year old children are mostly victimised in 30 cases (31.25%) and 8 year olds in 22 cases (22.92%). This may be due to the fact that these younger children are more available and approachable because the older ones are more inclined to be at school or in groups after school.

3.4.2 Gender

Reports estimate that the majority of sexual child abuse victims are females, and girls are three times more likely to be sexually abused than boys (Miller-Perrin *et al.* 1999:115). Many experts believe that this gender discrepancy reflects, in part, that males are simply less likely to report abuse, for example Finkelhor (1981) states that males are less likely to disclose abuse. According to Larson, Terman, Quinn and Behrman that is cited in Miller-Perrin *et al.* (1999:116), new evidence suggests that higher proportions of males are abused, than previously thought. The rates of abused males that appear in reports are higher than rates that are obtained from official statistics reports. Research thus indicates that boys are abused at a younger age. The median age for boys that are sexually abused is 8 years as opposed to girls who are 12 years. The National Committee to Prevent Child Abuse (NCCAN) (1994:26) reports that during 1992 the majority of boys who were sexually abused were between the ages of 4 and 6 years. The abuse takes place for shorter periods of time and is more likely to take place outside the family. Statistically, boys that are sexually abused are from poorer socio-economic backgrounds than girls (Crosson-Tower 1999:127).

The finding of this research regarding gender is as follows:

Table 3.22 Gender of the victim

Gender of victim	Frequency	Percentage
Male	9	9.38
Female	87	90.63
Total	96	100

Table 3.22 shows the gender of the victims. In this study there are more female than male victims. Females are victims in 87 cases (90.63%) while males were victims in 9 cases (9.38%).

The literature studies support these findings, which suggest that most sexual crimes that are committed against children have female victims.

Table 3.23 Race of the victim

Race of the victim	Frequency	Percentage
Black	87	90.63
Coloured	8	8.33
Asians	1	1.04
Total	96	100

Table 3.23 indicates the race of the victims. The table shows that black victims are involved in 87 cases (90.63%), and coloured victims in 8 cases (8.33%). Literature studies show that victims of child sexual crimes come from all race groups. The high percentage of black victims in this study is because the empirical study is done in predominantly black communities.

3.5.3 Sexual Attractiveness

The actual physical attractiveness of the daughters in incest cases seems to have little influence on whether or not she will be sexually abuse. However, there is some debate as to the seductiveness or promiscuity of the female incest victim prior to victimisation. Although offenders often describe their victims as seductive, this allegation is usually viewed as part of the perpetrator's rationalisation (Crosson-Tower 1999:127). Depending on the age of the daughter, developmental characteristics may evoke sexual curiosity from males, and in the case of the father, approaches may be regarded as parental interest. The possession of pseudo-maturity, which is defined as behaviour beyond her years, may make her appear an appropriate sexual object (Meiselman 1978:133). For example, in their sample Swanson *et al.* (1996:426) finds that about 33 percent of fathers become sexually interested in their daughters when they enter puberty. In their studies, some of the offenders say that they are "transfixed" by their body changes. For some offenders, the attraction begins when the daughter starts to act more grown up, but before her body changes. Some fathers in this sample become aroused by a daughter after they have been away for a long time. Her new maturity and developing body catches them by surprise. One of the father says: "I started to wonder what it would be like to touch her breast and to touch her legs and wondered how...". The father-adult in me shut down", says another, "and I was like a kid again". Recent studies

that question the promiscuity of the daughter as contributor to incest Maisch, Meisslman (Crosson 1999:127) show that the daughter's behaviour is predisposed by her already character-disordered family.

3.5 RISK FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH CHILD SEXUAL VICTIMIZATION

Sgroi (1982), Finkelhor (1984) as cited in Crosson-Tower (1999:126) postulate several factors that put children at risk of sexual victimisation. They mention that social isolation, children who are left alone, are unsupervised, and who do not have the physical presence of numerous friends and neighbours are more likely to be sexually abused. The mother has an influence on the child's vulnerability and studies show that mothers who are absent, and who is not emotionally close to their daughters, who have never finished high school, or who keep themselves isolated are more likely to have a child who will be sexually abused (Crosson-Tower 1999:126).

Miller-Perrin *et al.* (1999:116) highlights a number of family characteristics that are associated with sexual victimisation of children. They indicate that the presence of a stepfather, or living without one's natural parents for an extended period of time, have been associated with an increased risk of child sexual victimisation. They point out a number of risk factors which include: a mother who is employed outside the home or who is disabled or ill, living with parents whose relationship is in conflict, living with parents who abuse alcohol or drugs or have emotional problems. These victims also have few friends and a poor relationship with one or both parents.

Finkelhor (1984:23-29) suggests that the presence of a stepfather in the home makes a child more vulnerable, not only for abuse by the stepfather himself, but for abuse by others. A girl, especially one whose mother has remarried, is probably exposed to a variety of men who may have had an opportunity to abuse her. Further, friends of a stepfather may not perceive such a strong taboo against molesting the adopted daughter of a friend as opposed to a blood relative (Crosson-Tower 1999:126). This perception may be a result of the belief that the stepfather does not have a strong emotional investment in the child, unlike a natural father. Faller (1988:30), however, finds that the stepfather is the abuser in 17 percent of her

sample, compared to 28 percent of biological fathers, who are married to the mother at the time of the abuse.

Van der May (Crosson-Tower 1999:127) concludes that boys are at higher risk of sexual abuse in either father-son or mother-son incest if the parents abuse alcohol. She also maintains that mothers are more likely to abuse their sons if they are single parents, or if the household has a low income. Fathers are more likely to abuse their sons sexually if they are the dominant parent, if there is marital discord, if the household has a low income and if the mother is emotionally distant and hostile towards males and if the father feared homosexuality.

3.6 EFFECTS OF CHILD SEXUAL VICTIMISATION

3.6.1 Variety of effects

There are few in our society who will argue that the rape and indecent assault of children do not cause serious problems for the child victims. The burgeoning research regarding this subject suggests that the effects of sexual victimisation of children can be far-reaching, negative and complex.

The majority of research evidence suggests that a variety of negative psychological, behavioural and interpersonal problems are more prevalent among victims of child rape and indecent assault when compared with children without such a history (Miller-Perrin 1999:124). According to Macdonald (2001:107) a range of external factors apparently mediates the effects of childhood sexual victimisation. These factors include the nature of the abuse, its severity, frequency and duration, the relationship of the victim with the perpetrator, the number of perpetrators, whether or not coercion or physical force is used, and the degree of support, particularly material support subsequently available to the victim.

It must also be underscored that, any form of sexual victimisation will scar the child for life. The permanent nature of the harm, and the duration of the trauma will depend on the period over which the child is molested or raped, the extent of the molestation, its intensity and the stage of life in which the child is exposed to the

molestation (Van der Hoven 1998:33).

Fanst, Runyou, Kenny (1995:443) and Nash, Zivney and Hulseley (1993:267) maintain that the emotional climate of the family in which the victim lives may also play a role in exacerbating or minimising the impact of abuse, as well as the family's association with its prevalence. In another study, Lange *et al.* (Macdonald 2001:107) find in their sample of over 400 women who had unwanted sexual experiences in their childhoods, that the severity of the abuse is the most important objective factor that is associated with the development of adult psychopathology. They therefore associate the significance of the victim's subjective characteristics and the atmosphere in the family of origin as strong predictors of psychopathology.

3.6.2 Social isolation

Studies by Louw, Gerdes and Meyer (1984:368) indicate that social isolation is one of the effects of child sexual victimisation. It is reported that, as a result of the parent's control over the child, the parents prevent the child from developing intimate friendships with other children. Intimate friendships with their peers are essential for the child's social development, especially during adolescent years. Within this context, Macdonald (2001:108) reports that sexually abused children are more likely to have problems of social withdrawal and isolation. She states that children who are sexually abused also exhibit high levels of dissociation.

3.6.3 Cognitive and academic development

Many researchers have indicated that poor cognitive and academic development are associated with sexual child abuse, however Trickett (1997:405) concludes that there is little evidence regarding the cognitive and academic consequences of childhood sexual abuse at a very young age. She is able to identify only studies that report developmental delays in girls, but not in boys. During middle adolescence, the evidence is more mixed, with some studies reporting problems at school whilst others do not (Macdonald 2001:108).

Trickett therefore maintains that these differences appear to be the function of the measures used in studies. She states that most studies, which have examined IQ, have ascertained deficits in sexually abused and physically abused children. Many studies, however, show a high level of attention deficits hyperactivity disorder among sexually abused children (Macdonald 2001:108).

3.6.4 Early sexual behaviour

According to Miller-Perrin *et al.* (1999:126) the two most common symptoms identified in sexually abused children are sexualised behaviour, such as overt sexual acting out towards adults or other children, compulsive masturbation, excessive sexual curiosity, sexual promiscuity, and precocious sexual play and knowledge. Sexualised behaviour is also believed to be behavioural symptoms that are most predictive of the occurrence of sexual abuse.

3.6.5 Trauma

Trauma has been described as the most frequent effect of sexual abuse on the child victim in the form of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). The symptomatology includes difficulties such as nightmares, fears, feelings of isolation and inability to enjoy usual activities, somatic complaints, symptoms of autonomic arousal and guilt feelings (Miller-Perrin *et al.* 1999:127).

Sexual child abuse has also been associated with a range of psycho pathologies. In a related study, Gomes-Schwartz, Horowitz and Cardarell (1990:78) report that 17 percent of the pre-school group (4 to 6 years), 40 percent of the primary school group (7 to 13 years) and 8 percent of the adolescent victims (14 to 18 years) show evidence of clinically significant pathology, which indicates severe behavioural and emotional difficulties. When a check list is used for parents who report behaviour in order to assess the effects of sexual abuse on 93 pre-pubertal children, Dobowitz, Black, Harrington and Verschoore (1993:743) find that 36 percent have significantly elevated scores on the internalising scale, such as depression and withdrawal behaviour. Thirty eight percent have elevated scores on the externalising scale such as acting out behaviour. Crosson-Tower (1999:128-129), however, reports that the

degree of trauma a child victim experiences will depend on the following variables:

Type of abuse

Crosson-Tower states that some victims of family incest appear to be more deeply affected than those who are abused by someone outside the family. Yet, abuse by non-family members who have either meant a great deal to the victim or who have been sadistic or violent can also have profound effects.

The identify of the perpetrator

She indicates that when the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator is close, the victim describes being more significantly traumatised. This trauma is based on the betrayal of trust that the abuse at the hands of a family member or trusted individual represents. She maintains that daughters that are abused by their fathers demonstrate fewer traumas in adulthood than those who are abused by their mothers. Sons who are molested by mothers report fewer effects of the abuse, but researchers are now finding abuse by mothers lurking in the background of many rapists and homosexuals.

The duration of the abuse

According to Crosson, most incestuous abuse in families takes place from one to three years before any disclosure. Abuse that continues for a period of time, rather than a one time incident or series of incidents, seems to create more trauma.

The extent of the abuse

Although any type of misuse can cause trauma for children, a perpetrator who takes a child further along the progression, or does more physical damage to the child creates more residual effects.

The age at which the child is abused

Developmentally, children pass many milestones and each interrupted developmental stage will cause its own particular effects.

The first reaction of significant others at disclosure

Most children attempt to tell at least one adult of the victimisation. Individuals who decide to tell a trusted adult may receive help, which can lessen the impact of the abuse. Securing therapeutic aid is often based, however, on the reaction of those who first hear of the abuse. If the adult in the child's life is not willing to believe the child, he or she may be blamed or forced to keep the guilty secret until they are adults.

It must, however, be pointed out that the psychological consequences of childhood sexual victimisation can extend into adulthood and affect victims throughout their lives. Childhood sexual victimisation has been associated with a variety of symptoms in adulthood (emotional reactions including depression and anxiety) (Miller-Perrin *et al.* 1999:127). They cite Brown and Finkelhor (1986) by stating that depression is the most common symptom reported by adults who were sexually abused as children. Additional effects include problems with interpersonal relationships, post-traumatic stress disorders such as, re-experiencing traumatic events through intrusive thoughts, flashbacks, or nightmares, sexual adjustment, and behavioural dysfunction like substance abuse, eating disorders and self mutilation.

3.7 THEORETICAL EXPLANATIONS

In an attempt to explain the criminal behaviour of sexual offenders and their victims, the sociological explanation is more relevant because sexual offences against children is a socially patterned phenomenon, and not just a manifestation of individual psycho-pathology or other defects of personality, character or physiology. In order to understand sexual child abuse, the individual and the sociological theories will both be applied. In this regard, the individual theories such as the

psychoanalytical theory, cognitive theory and the sociological theories, for example the psychosocial and the learning theories will be used to explain why some individuals abuse children sexually. Meanwhile, the lifestyle-exposure model and the theory of culpability will be applied to explain child sexual victimisation.

3.7.1 The perpetrator

Structural Explanations

The social theories explain crime according to the socio-economic condition and cultural values. This means that crime is the result of social and economic disparities built into the social structure (Siegel & Senna, 2000:131). It must be underscored that structural theories represent the purest form of sociological explanation for misconduct. It also indicates the possible link between the structure of the personality (psychoanalytical) and the structure of the society (anomie theory). This implies that by tracing the possible weakness in the personality structure or the social system, explanations for sexual crimes can be made.

The psychoanalytic theory developed by Freud (1856-1958) provides the basis for the psycho-dynamic perspective. The principles of this theory can be used to explain criminal (sexual) behaviour. Two aspects of this theory are important in this case: its explanation of consciences and the immediate gratification of needs. Freud explains the psychological functioning of human beings in terms of the personality structure, namely the id, ego and the superego and distinguishes three levels of consciousness.

Followers of Freud, such as Friedlander, Abrahamsen and Schoenfeld, have applied the theoretical principles of Freud's theory to explain criminal behaviour, and, according to Abrahamsen (Van der Hoven 2001:21) people are predisposed to criminal behaviour if their basic motives are as yet unsocialised and strong if the ego is too weak to resist the demands of the id, and if the superego has not become independent yet. This means that people will be inclined to break the law if they are unsupervised, or when they believe that they will not be caught. Friedlander places particular emphasis on mother-father and child relationships as in the case of incest,

rape and indecent assaults.

According to the psychoanalytical theory, the personality structure contains the libido, which is considered to be the driving force, and generates the energy for all human actions and relates to human sexuality (Venter, 1983:112). The human development and expression of the libido relates to the successful resolution of the conflict experienced by humans through the developmental phases, these are the oral, anal, genital, latent and puberty phases, and any unsolved conflict during these stages may result in deviant sexual adjustment during adulthood.

According to Freud, personality is divided into the Id, the Ego and the Superego. The id is the seat of the libido and considered to be atavistic and relates to the activities of which the individuals are not conscious (Maguire & Radosh, 1999:197). Maguire and Radosh refer to it as the original system present at birth, it is the reservoir of instinctive drives that operate at the unconscious level. The two most important instincts are sex and aggression and the id drives and seeks immediate gratification and operates on the pleasure principle. The id is neither aware of nor concerned with external reality. It is essentially amoral and suppression of the amoral content is not always obsolete or permanent.

Maguire and Radosh describe the ego as a secondary system, which operates on the reality principle and has an appreciation for the external world. In large measures, the ego develops because of the conflict that arises as the id comes into contact with the real world. In its efforts to restrain the undesirable contents of the id, the ego develops mechanisms to rationalise the behaviour, which then makes the individual more comfortable.

The superego is thus the sum of the moral outlook and behavioural values acquired by the human, and constantly exercises pressure on the ego to suppress the id so that the general requirements of daily life and the norms of the community can be adhered to (Venter, 1983:117).

In an attempt to explain sexual offenders' behaviour, Freudian-based explanations of criminal behaviour must be extrapolated. Imbalances between the id, ego and the

superego: because the id is concerned only with self-gratification and is amoral, it must be held in check by the ego. A strong ego will successfully repress the id impulses or channel them through socially acceptable behaviour, clearly, if the id is too strong, or ego is too weak, crime may be the result.

The role of the superego is also a key factor and if weak, the individual will not be deterred by social pressure. Individuals with a weak superego may commit acts that most members of the society may describe as horrific. Crime may also result from an overpowering superego. As the ego reflects the person's view of himself and the superego reflects the conscience, the offender's involvement in the crime can be explained by using the personality structure, as seen in the theory.

It is important to note that this type of explanation of criminal behaviour is also evident in the anomie theory, but the difference is just that, while the psychoanalytical theory explains criminal behaviour in terms of the structure of the personality, anomie theory explains it in terms of the structure of the society.

Cognitive theory

The cognitive concept is closely related to intelligence and refers to the intellectual knowledge or comprehension of the world. This perspective refers to the study of the intellectual processes and how we interact with our real world (McConnell & Philipchalk 1999:329). This theory can be used to explain why offenders commit particular offences. According to Conklin (1992:168), a person with low intelligence will be more inclined to commit a simple crime on impulse because emotional factors may override the reasoning of these individuals at a particular moment. Conklin also states that people with low intelligence are more likely to commit offences such as sexual crimes (rape, child molestation and indecent assault). They display less self-control and cannot appreciate the consequences of their actions, since they are more insistent on the immediate gratification of their needs than intelligent individuals. These traits are part of the characters of sexual child offenders.

Anomie Theory

Anomie theory was developed by Merton in 1959, and according to Merton, an integrated society maintains a balance between the social structure (approved social means) and culture (approved goals). When cultural emphasis on the goal to succeed is stronger than the emphasis on approved means to achieve the goal, an imbalance occurs, which then leads to criminal behaviour (Siegel & Senna 2000:145). The result of this imbalance is criminal behaviour (that is: sexual offences against children), the offender can react to the anomic situation with innovation and rebellion.

In this regard, innovation means that people pursue the prescribed goals but do not attach any value to the rules or the accepted means to achieve these goals. This interpretation therefore can be used to explain sexual crimes against children (rape and indecent assault) because offenders still pursue the goals of sexual gratification, but they do not use the accepted means (e.g. marriage) to do so. In this case, the accepted means for these offenders are the rape and sexual molestation of children, especially if their prescribed sexual partners are not available.

Although Freud and Merton's theory was not meant to explain sexual crimes, it is evident that some elements of these theories can be used to understand this type of criminal behaviour. The importance of this theory is that the major contributing factor of sexual offences against children, such as personality structure and the social environment are strongly considered.

Psychosocial theory

Erikson expands on Freud's work and includes the social world in its totality and its influence on the individual. The main difference with Freud's theory is the emphasis Erikson places on the role of culture in the development of the individual. He emphasizes the function of the ego and distinguishes between certain life phases in the life of a human being. He states that certain developmental tasks need to be mastered in each phase in order to progress to the next phase. Although problems

may arise in any of these phases, the adolescent phase (identity versus role confusion) is of interest in this regard (Van der Hoven 2001:22).

Erikson therefore regards the criminal as a rational being shaped by his or her conscious choices in the different life phases. His theory postulates a link between the unsatisfactory resolution of a crisis in each life phase and poor ego integration, which contributes to criminal behaviour. Erikson regards the adolescent phase as the most critical during which a positive ego-identity must be formed. If this fails to occur, role-confusion emerges and the person feels rejected, which of course turns the individual against the society in the form of delinquency. In the next phase, the confused individual is unable to establish intimacy, which may lead to character disorder, or even psychopathy, which then result in the manipulation of others, often without a conscience.

The child sex offender's action can still be applied within the framework of this theory. The offender's family background, such as inadequate parenting, single parenting, domestic violence broken homes and poor education can lead to impaired ego-identification and role confusion. This evidently leads to an individual who is incapable to form healthy intimate relationships in adulthood and thus sexually victimise children that come their way.

Learning theories

This theory acknowledges that individuals have physiological mechanisms that permit them to behave aggressively, but whether they will do so, and the nature of their aggressive behaviour, are learned (Reid 1997:125). In the case of sexual offences, especially paedophile, usually have its origins in childhood's complex psychological dynamics. Children are known to engage in various forms of sexual activities quite frequently during childhood, and granted the high rate of sexual experiences with peers in normal childhood, the association of sexual arousal with immature body characteristics of other children may condition a long term sexual response to immature bodies. The strength of the sexual drive during puberty may possibly enhance the likelihood of such a learning process. Given that puberty begins at various ages, there is a possibility that a child experiencing his or her first

sexual arousal at puberty may be responding to a similarly aged, pubescent peer in adulthood (Howitt 1995:131).

Sexual fantasies about other children during masturbation may reinforce the paedophile and rapist imagery and Condrón and Nutter (Howitt 1995:131) state that there is evidence that sexual offenders start masturbating younger than other men in general. They also state that some adult offenders may act as models for this lifestyle. Problems with relating to adults may result in the now sexual youngster failing to 'grow out of' his paedophile. This learning theory can also be applied to adult offenders, and it emphasizes the learning of attitude, moral considerations, skills and behaviour necessary to sustain a career in delinquency and relies heavily on the psychological views of social learning.

Learning theorists believe that poverty and social class are not sufficient to explain crime. They argue that juvenile offenders need to learn how to become delinquent and also how to cope emotionally with the consequences of their behaviour. This explanation is applicable to offenders who gang rape children or paedophiles who operate sex rings.

Differential association

Sutherland's theory of differential association can be applied to explain sexual child offenders. According to his theory, criminal behaviour is learned through interaction with others in a process of communication and intimate personal contact. This learning process includes techniques of committing crimes and adopting arousing motives, drives, rationalisation and attitudes of teaching them. The specific direction of motive and drive is learned from the definition of legal codes of the country. The view is that the duality of criminal behaviour is an indication of social disorganisation and a learned form of behaviour.

Applying this theory, it can be said that the action of child sex offenders can partly be explained in terms of this theory. From the above, it is clear that the childhood background and the existing family and social structure of offenders may be seen as disorganised.

3.7.2 Victims

In an attempt to explain the child as sexual victim's contribution to the crime, it has been suggested that the victim's role is merely that he or she is in a helpless situation where the offender has the time and opportunity to commit the crime. Children are dependent on their parents and significant others, and belong to a sociably and more often geographically isolated family and community who is obviously not integrated into the community and thus has no other recourse than their parents, and as such are more helpless. However, the lifestyle-exposure model of Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978) and the culpability theory of seduction can be applied to explain the sexual victimisation of children.

Lifestyle-exposure model

The model of Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo is based on the proposition regarding the correlation between lifestyle and victimisation. These researchers want to know why certain groups of people are more vulnerable to victimisation than others. As a result, they report that the answer to this question lies in the lifestyle or pattern of activity of the people, which give rise to differences in the incidence of victimisation (Van der Hoven 2001:52-53).

Although not all the propositions of this model are applicable to sexual offences against children, one element of the theory that is relevant to this study is that the offender and the victim must intersect in time and space and share common demographic circumstances and lifestyles. In this regard, Hindelang *et al.* (1978:251-264) suggest eight propositions regarding the exposure to victimisation that may be linked to a particular lifestyle. In this case, only those propositions that can adequately explain rape and indecent assault will be discussed.

The percentage of time that individuals spend with non-family members varies as a function of lifestyle. Children supposedly spend most of their time with their mothers who have to care for them, but the demands of lifestyle influences, and variations in lifestyles are created where individuals fail to isolate themselves from persons with

offender characteristics. Thus it can therefore be concluded that in an endogamic family, where the victims spends most of their time within the family they are therefore unable to isolate themselves from the offenders, and victimisation can flourish.

Variation in lifestyle is related to the variation in the ability of the individual to isolate themselves from people with criminal characteristics. Family income is an important determinant of lifestyle, it determines where families can afford to live, and how the family members live, and with whom they will interact. The poor have little choice in where they live and how they live. Hence, one can deduce in this case that a disorganised neighbourhood with high rates of poverty and low socio-economic status such as the Cape flats and Alexandra, will have many victims of rape and indecent assault.

Variation in lifestyle is associated with variation in the desirability and vulnerability of the person as a target of personal victimisation, as well as the ease with which the victimisation may take place. This proposition refers to the offender's perception of the victim. Public places such as streets, schools, parks and shopping malls offer offenders opportunities to victimise children who have virtually no effective defensible space. This partly explains why paedophiles target young boys at schools and parks, and also in churches by priest, while the rape of children takes place in the streets and incest at home.

It must also be pointed out that an important factor that determines the desirability of the victim is whether the offender believes that the child is unlikely to report the sexual abuse (Hindelang *et al.* 1978:265). This factor applies to sexual victimisation of children because offenders are of the opinion that children are not likely to report the crime, and even if they do, they may not be believed. In terms of vulnerability, children are mostly lonely at the time of their abuse and are unable to defend themselves.

Theory of culpability (seduction by the victim)

Freud developed this theory of childhood seduction but it was later rejected. After this rejection, Freud posited an internal aetiology for sexual child abuse (Rush 1996:261). According to Rush, victims who report sexual abuse is said to confuse the abuse with memories of their fantasised dire as children for their unavailable love objects. Thus, if the abuse did occur, it was logical to place the blame on the victims who are said to be acting out their desires for unavailable love objects. The offender is then conceptualised as falling within the seducer's spell. Using Freud's perspective, it becomes easier to understand why some researchers blame the victims. For example, a study by Krieger, Rosenfeld, Gordon and Bennett (1980:81-82) divide incest victims into two groups, participants' victims and accidental victims. The former are those who have in some way encouraged the initiation or continuation of the sexual relationship, and the latter are those who have not done so. One of the discriminating features of the groups was whether the abuse had occurred more than once, and if it had, the victim was assumed to have participated because he or she must have in some way encouraged or initiated it.

Supporting this theory, Yates (1982:482-483) indicates that the majority of youngsters have become not only victims of sexual crimes, but also participants. Yates points out that these children purportedly do not report the abuse because of the gratification that the abuse provides. In this study, Yates reports an 18 months old child who has been sexually abused since birth. The child's new foster mother could not lie down in bed when he was awake, as he would crawl on top of her and attempt to burrow under her clothes. If a woman visited, he would sit on her lap, wrap his arms around her neck, and deliver sensuous kisses. He would then attempt to open her blouse or lift her skirt. Yates states that "...eroticised pre-school children... are readily orgasmic and also maintains a high level of arousal without orgasm". Even though the literature has fewer examples of blaming the victims, some researchers continue to consider the victims partly culpable for the abuse. Recent studies (Bolen 2001:29) in the 1990s continue to find that 12 percent to 45 percent of researchers attribute responsibility to the victim.

3.8 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the researcher examines the various typologies of child sexual offenders such as the fixated and the regressed with particular emphasis on the situational and the preferential offenders. The four main patterns of situational child sexual offenders such as the regressed, morally indiscriminate, and sexually indiscriminate and the inadequate personality patterns have been illuminated. The patterns of the preferential child offenders, which include seduction, introverted and sadistic have also been discussed. Also discussed were the *modus operandi* used by perpetrators. In this case, perpetrators are said to psychologically abuse and control their potential victims, they use tactics such as lavishing their victims with gifts in a bid to prepare the potential child for the abuse. They also prepare the social environment for the abuse and impose some amount of secrecy by threatening the victim against any disclosure, they also manipulate most of their victims.

The characteristics of the perpetrators, which include age, gender, intelligence, marital status, occupation, criminal records, poor social skills and the relationship between the victim and the perpetrators, were examined. The victim's characteristics such as age, gender and sexual attractiveness were discussed. The risk factors associated with victimisation and the effects of the victimisation such as social isolation, cognition and academic development, early sexual behaviour and trauma have been addressed.

The theoretical explanations of child sex offenders and victims have been discussed in this chapter. In explaining the behaviour of offenders, the individuals and the structural theories that have been used, such as the psychoanalytical theories, cognitive theory, psychosocial theory and the learning theory. Furthermore, the lifestyle-exposure theory and the theory of seduction have also been used to explain the sexual victimisation of children.

In conclusion, perpetrators of rape and indecent assault of children are relatively young heterosexual males who are not insane, retarded or sexually frustrated. They seek to control rather than injure the child and usually poses more of a psychological

than a physical threat. Their behaviour is highly repetitive, often to the point of a compulsion, rather than being the result of temporary lapses of judgement while in a state of intoxication.

As stated in the previous chapter, and in the light of the inability of the above analyses and theories to adequately explain child sexual offenders' behaviour and their victims, the researcher proposes that child sex offenders can only be fully understood within the framework that analyses the complexity of the adjudication of offenders and their victims.

Hence, the next chapter will focus on the legal processes that child sex offenders and their victims go through in England, the United States and South Africa.