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FURTHER PROMOTION AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS, INCLUDING THE QUESTION OF THE PROGRAMME AND METHODS OF WORK OF THE COMMISSION

ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES AND WAYS AND MEANS WITHIN THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM FOR IMPROVING THE EFFECTIVE ENJOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS

Report of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences, Ms. Radhika Coomaraswamy

Addendum

Report on the mission of the Special Rapporteur to South Africa on the issue of rape in the community (11-18 October 1996)

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Introduction

1. At the invitation of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences visited Pretoria, Johannesburg and Cape Town in South Africa from 11 to 18 October 1996, to study the issue of rape in the community.

2. The Special Rapporteur would like to take this opportunity to express her gratitude to the Government of South Africa for the cooperation and assistance extended to her during the mission, which enabled the Special Rapporteur to meet with all relevant sectors of society. The Special Rapporteur would also like to thank the United Nations Development Programme Resident Representative in Pretoria and his office for the logistical and organizational support provided in connection with the mission.

3. During her visit, the Special Rapporteur met with the Minister for Welfare, the Deputy Minister of Justice, high-level government representatives at the Departments for Foreign Affairs, Justice, Welfare and Population Development, as well as with the police, members of the judiciary and representatives of non-governmental and community-based organizations, women victims of violence and other relevant sectors of society, which enabled her to obtain a comprehensive picture of the issue being considered. A selective list of persons/organizations with whom the Special Rapporteur met is annexed to the present report.

4. The Special Rapporteur chose South Africa for her case study on rape in the community because of its reportedly high incidence in that country. Her visit enabled her to explore the response of the Government and the community to the phenomenon. In addition, the Special Rapporteur was interested in studying the situation of violence against women in post-apartheid South Africa, in a society which has been very violent.

I. GENERAL BACKGROUND

5. “Regina Nyanda lives on the pavement of Umgeni Road, outside the Durban police station. She has been there for more than 20 years. Regina can hardly walk, and she suffers from epilepsy. During the day she sells used plastic chemical containers to make a living and to send money for her children to go to school. At night, she barely sleeps because she is afraid that local thugs, known as 'tsotsis', will come and steal from her or attack her in her makeshift bed and rape her. Several hundred women live in the informal settlement on the pavement outside the Durban station, vulnerable to attacks by the 'tsotsis', who are especially dangerous on the weekends when they get drunk. Women reportedly take turns sleeping at the end of the bench outside the station because they know that the woman at the end is likely to be raped.”

6. South Africa has the second highest crime rate in the world. Sixteen per cent of deaths in South Africa are due to non-natural causes. According to some sources, South Africa has the highest murder rate in the world. In 1994 there were 32,107 cases of rape reported - an increase of 16 per cent over the previous year. In 1993, 28,318 cases of rape were reported and police estimate that only 2.8 per cent of all cases of rape are
actually reported. If this were true, South Africa would also probably have the highest level of rape among countries which have taken the initiative to collect statistics on violence against women. Besides the high incidence of rape, women die in South Africa because of political violence. From June 1990 to 1993, 922 women were killed as a result of internal political conflict and 880 were injured. There are signs that such violence is now abating owing to the new political atmosphere in the country.

7. In addition to having a high incidence of violence, South Africa is also a deeply divided society. As the official South African report to the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing candidly points out, life in South Africa is greatly determined by issues of race, class and gender. Regional disparities as well as the highest gini co-efficient (income distribution indicator) in the world, point to both vertical and horizontal discrimination.

8. The female population of South Africa is 15,507,390, of whom 75 per cent are black, 13 per cent are white, 9 per cent are coloured and 3 per cent are Indian. One third of the female population is under 15 years old. The female illiteracy rate is 50 per cent. The unemployment rate for women is 14.7 per cent as opposed to 11.5 per cent for men. That 31.1 per cent of black women who work, work in domestic service indicates the nature of social oppression which exists in South Africa. The unemployment rate among black women is 17.9 per cent but among white women it is only 3.9 per cent. In the rural areas 28 per cent of households are female headed and in the urban areas 29 per cent are female headed. Maternal mortality among black women is 2.6 per 100,000 births and .003 for white women. Malnutrition affects 28.3 per cent of black women and 4 per cent of white women in South Africa. HIV positive indicators are 5.55 per cent for black women and 0.52 per cent for white.

9. The statistics reveal that South Africa, despite economic progress, faces the problems of a third world society. There are, however, signs that major changes are taking place. There is a great deal of optimism and vision among the policy makers whom the Special Rapporteur met while in South Africa. The Special Rapporteur shares that optimism as she was greatly impressed by the ideals and humanism of South Africa's politicians - especially its women politicians. As South African leaders begin to take control of their political life and to shape their future economic policy, it is refreshing to note that 26.5 per cent of the new politicians are women - one of the highest rates in the world. This is up from only 2.8 per cent in 1985, although there are still no women in the highest echelons of the civil service and only 10 per cent of the judiciary are women.

II. THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM AND THE LEGACY OF APARTHEID, AND THE PATTERN OF RAPE

10. All the experts that the Special Rapporteur met referred to a general distrust by the public of the criminal justice system, which is still closely associated with the former apartheid regime. The criminal justice system was seen as an integral part of the State violence that was directed against the black population during the previous regime. This close identification of the criminal justice machinery with the system of political and racial oppression
Violence in South Africa has many components. The first type, which was widespread in earlier years, is the legacy of political violence. This included violence by the State against its citizens, especially its black citizens, internecine violence between different political parties and violence among the different ethnic groups and their leadership. While commentators point out that no major studies have been conducted on rape, there is evidence that women have been targeted for rape for political motives. 9/12

In addition to political violence, there is clandestine professional violence which is often related to large-scale organized criminal activities. An example of such violence directed particularly against women is what is known as “taxi killings” related to the minimal public transport infrastructure in South Africa (see para. 25 below). There are also car hijackings and, in some urban areas, what is called “jack rolling”. This rather terrifying crime is basically gang rape but seen as a leisure activity for men, like alcohol or playing cards. For women’s organizations, “jack rolling” typifies the “macho” approach inherent in South African society and the social legitimation and tolerance of violence against women. A Human Rights Watch report on violence against women in South Africa has an extensive section dealing with this type of violence. 10/ As a community leader told a human rights factfinder, “jackrolling is not a crime, it is just a game”. 11/

With regard to rape, the most frightening aspect of the statistics relates to the profile and age of the perpetrator and victim. As Human Rights Watch states in its report, “Disturbingly, ... persons aged 20 years and younger accounted for 40 per cent of convictions for rape during the period July 1993 to June 1994”, while in cases of assault, young persons accounted for only 15 per cent to 21 per cent of the convictions. 12/

The prevalence of violence against women in South Africa varies from region to region, between urban and rural and between black and white communities. In the Northern Cape, with a vast and widespread coloured population, the increased general violence, the breakdown of families, and the low status of women in society severely increase women’s vulnerability to violence and abuse. In addition, in some, mainly black, areas, police stations with specialization in crimes against women do not exist. Such areas include the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Northern Transvaal. Moreover, in these areas women are less likely to report rape because it is not considered a crime in some cultures. Furthermore, the fact that the Family Violence Act was not applicable in the homelands exacerbated the alienation of black women from the criminal justice system. The Special Rapporteur was also informed that police pilot projects addressing violence against women are frequently implemented in urban areas, such as Pretoria, Durban, Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth, but not in rural and remote areas.
15. The disparity in law enforcement was a major factor which emerged from the Special Rapporteur’s visit. Although white communities in the urban areas boast some extremely interesting programmes concerning the policing of rape, the appalling lack of resources, personnel and sensitivity in the black townships with regard to the crime of rape was deeply disturbing. The Special Rapporteur has tried to reflect some of these concerns in the section on the police, below. The legacy of apartheid period, where criminal policing stopped short of the black areas, is a stark reminder of the challenges facing the South African criminal justice system.

16. The concept of “community policing” is still not a reality in all of South Africa; it has not taken root in the urban townships or in the rural areas. It is imperative that the criminal justice system move from a repressive apparatus with its attendant mentality to a system of community policing based on social justice if South Africa is to reduce the extremely disturbing statistics for rape and violence. The need to develop an awareness of social justice among the police, the prosecutor’s office and the judiciary should be seen as the first priority of any governmental authorities concerned with law enforcement, especially the Ministry of Justice.

17. When discussing causes of violence against women in South Africa with the Special Rapporteur, experts frequently referred to a patriarchal and violent society without a human rights culture, in which people frequently do not know how to gain access to the criminal justice system, especially for reporting purposes. In such a society, women victims of violence are often stigmatized or blamed instead of supported. It is important that the proper climate is created in South African society for women victims to feel at ease in the police stations and the courts. Some changes have been implemented in certain areas as pilot programmes, but a general policy with regard to making the criminal justice system “victim friendly” is absolutely imperative.

III. THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK

A. International

18. Violence against women in general and rape in particular are increasingly recognized as violations of the human rights of women and there exists State responsibility to ensure the protection of these rights as an aspect of international human rights law. South Africa as a member of the community of nations is expected to be committed to these international standards. South Africa signed the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women in January 1993 and ratified it in December 1995. In this context, the Special Rapporteur would like to highlight General Recommendation 19 made by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, which explicitly states that violence against women is an aspect of discrimination. States parties are specifically directed to provide support services for all victims of gender-based violence, including refuges, specially trained health workers, rehabilitation and counselling services. The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women deals specifically with the problem of violence against women in the family, in the community and by the State. Rape is clearly recognized as a form of violence against women which takes place in the community. States are required to use “due diligence” to prevent, prosecute and punish perpetrators.
who commit violence against women. They are further required to sensitize their criminal justice systems, provide support services for victims and to collect data on violence against women.

B. National

19. The Constitutional Principles which will guide the drafting of the final Constitution of South Africa and which are most relevant to the elimination of violence against women state that:

(a) The Constitution shall prohibit racial, gender and all other forms of discrimination, and shall promote gender equality and national unity (Constitutional Principle III) and

(b) Equality before the law includes laws, programmes or activities that have as their object the amelioration of the conditions of the disadvantaged, including those disadvantaged on the grounds of gender (Constitutional Principle V).

20. The South African Interim Charter of Fundamental Rights guarantees equality before the law and equal protection of the law. In section 8 (3) (a), it also provides for the protection of persons against discrimination on “one or more of the following grounds: race, gender, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture or language”. In addition, on 9 August 1994, National Women's Day, the South African Women's coalition launched its Charter for Effective Equality. Article 10 of the Charter specifically addresses violence against women and states that “women shall be entitled to security and integrity of the person, which shall include the right to be free from all forms of violence everywhere”. The same article also calls for legal protection, training of staff and personnel, affordable shelters and counselling services for survivors of rape and for the education of members of the criminal justice system.

21. In 1995, the Human Rights Commission was established, consisting of 11 members with a commissioner for each of the 9 provinces. The Commission has a broad range of powers, duties and functions, including mediation, conciliation, negotiation and investigation. Although the Commission was not yet fully functional at the time of the mission of the Special Rapporteur, standing committees had been established on relations with non-governmental and community-based organizations, and international and parliamentary liaison, on legal and constitutional matters, and on policy and planning matters, including those relating to women's human rights. The Human Rights Commission is responsible for drafting a national plan of action for human rights. Since the Commission was in the process of developing its methods of work at the time of the Special Rapporteur's visit, specific ways to integrate gender into its mandate had not been elaborated. However, it was indicated that close cooperation with the South African Commission on the Status of Women and the respective “gender-desks” in all ministries would be pursued. Furthermore, the need for including a gender component in the Commission's education and training programmes was recognized and the legislation monitoring function of the Commission's legal department could be used for exploring the possibilities of promoting specific rape legislation.
22. As in most common law jurisdictions, rape in South Africa is defined as unlawful sexual intercourse with a woman without her consent. The notions of “sexual intercourse” and “without her consent” have of course been criticized by many feminists since the law only relates to situations between men and women and there must be vaginal penetration by the penis. Sodomy, oral sex and penetration by foreign objects are not considered rape. In addition, the emphasis on consent often requires the woman’s character to be on trial. Furthermore, the “cautionary rule” requires the judges to take additional care when the testimony of a rape survivor is not corroborated. The Special Rapporteur would like to refer to her main report to the Commission on Human Rights at its fifty-third session, which addresses in detail these aspects of rape and contains a fuller discussion of the common law approach to rape (E/CN.4/1997/47).

IV. GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND STRATEGIES

23. In the framework of the follow-up to the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, the Government of South Africa committed itself to establishing an office for the status of women. The Special Rapporteur was informed that the office would be responsible for policy-making in the field of women's rights and for the implementation of the newly drafted Charter for Empowerment, but that its establishment had been considerably delayed because of administrative difficulties.

24. The Government of South Africa, through the Department of Welfare, has entered into a nationwide partnership with the public and private sector to combat violence against women. The National Network on Violence against Women is the first initiative in this area involving full cooperation between the non-governmental and governmental sectors. One of its main objectives is to mainstream gender issues within the Government through, inter alia, establishing “gender desks” in all ministries.

25. The Network involves various governmental bodies, including the Department of Transport, in view of the increasing levels of rape in the public transport sector. The Special Rapporteur is encouraged by the participation in the project of a wide range of non-traditional actors, since violence against women is not only a matter for the police, the criminal justice system and the health sector. It is important to realize that a concerted effort in all areas of life is needed to eliminate violence against women. The Special Rapporteur noted with interest that, as part of its "TAXINATE" programme, the National Network is planning to use taxi drivers and taxi stations to disseminate information on violence against women. This seems a valuable innovation, considering that taxis are used by approximately 72 per cent of the population in South Africa. The other priority area to be tackled by the Network is that of trains, since they provide both a site for outreach and for crime.

26. As part of the activities of the Network, its Media Committee has launched the “White Ribbon Campaign” with the objective of raising solidarity among South African women to combat violence against women. The campaign was launched at the national level on 9 August 1996, on National Women's Day, and is intended to raise awareness and create solidarity through the distribution of white ribbons in public places, at meetings and other events. The campaign
was expected to be launched provincially on 24 November 1996. Whilst the Special Rapporteur considers awareness raising to be an important aspect of any nationwide fight against violence, she is concerned that the limited resources of the Network should be spent solely on a media campaign when more immediate, practical needs could be met. The Media Committee also monitors the media, responding to negative coverage against women on television and in newspapers in order to eliminate stereotyping of the role of women or violence against women in the media. Furthermore, the Network is ensuring that POLTV, the television channel of the police in South Africa, disseminates videos and role plays which condemn abuse of women and domestic violence. Another interesting initiative which was being considered was the design of comic strips to raise awareness on violence against women.

27. The Special Rapporteur was not in a position to evaluate the success and effectiveness of any of the above-mentioned programmes since most initiatives were at the planning stage. The major constraint, however, that the Network and its project faces is funding, despite the assistance of some overseas donors and the Department of Welfare. In this connection, the Special Rapporteur is concerned that sufficient funding should be made available to the Network to enable all the envisaged activities to be carried out, as well as other programmes to prevent and eliminate violence against women.

V. THE POLICE

28. At the outset, it should be noted that the former South African Police Force, which operated under the apartheid regime, changed its name to South African Police Services (SAPS) as part of an ongoing process of restructuring to improve its image and restore public confidence in law enforcement.

29. As part of the restructuring of the police, all 11 former South African police forces have been merged into a nationwide police service. The Secretariat for Safety and Security is advising the Minister of Police in this matter and is overseeing the implementation of the last phase of the restructuring.

30. In the framework of restructuring, the police is also establishing community police forums with a view to enhancing cooperation and dialogue between the police and their communities and to combat crime in the community through joint action and community vigilance. In addition, the police have established “partnerships” with community actors, such as the National Network on Violence against Women and religious women’s groups, who will launch pilot projects to counter violence against women in South African society. A complaints directorate, responsible for investigating all complaints and misconduct, has been formed recently to serve as an internal oversight mechanism within the police service.

31. According to police statistics, 36,888 cases of rape are reported annually, but shockingly, the Special Rapporteur was informed that the police believe that this figure represents only 1 in 36 of the actual cases of rape. The Special Rapporteur is extremely concerned at this low rate of reporting. However, at the same time she is encouraged that the South African police seem to be very aware of the problem of under-reporting of crimes of sexual
violence, especially by women. The rape statistics for the period January-June 1996 showed 23,806 reported cases, which indicates an alarming increase of 23.3 per cent as compared with the first half of 1995. It is considered that, within the framework of serious under-reporting, black women are the most reluctant to report rape to the police. This reluctance is understandable since the police confirmed that it has only recently become possible for black women to have access to police services, and since there is general public mistrust of the police force because of its history under the previous regime.

32. It appears that the training and specialization of police officers with regard to sexual violence and rape varies greatly, depending on the individuals and on each police district. In order to counter this problem at the national level, the National Standards and Management Department of the South African Police Services was, at the time of the Special Rapporteur's mission, in the process of developing national standards and a code of practice for the police in dealing with victims of sexual violence. The Department was also reviewing the possibility of amending the Family Violence Act to allow for courts to provide interdicts for victims as a preventive measure. Furthermore, the treatment of victims in court was being looked into with a view to making the judiciary more “victim-friendly” by, for example, avoiding cross-examinations which might intimidate or discourage victims. Witness-protection schemes, such as testimonies through third persons, were also being studied.

33. However, the police informed the Special Rapporteur that the compulsory basic training has been updated generally with a view to improving the police’s response by, inter alia, treating the victims as “survivors” rather than as “victims” and by refraining from excessively putting questions such as “Why did this happen to you?” “What did you do to make this happen to you?”. In addition, the police follow training courses on sexual offences investigation techniques, in collaboration with non-governmental organizations and the University of Pretoria, all of whom have been providing constructive criticism and substantive input to the course. The first such training took place in February 1995 and a further 2,000 officers had been identified to undergo training in the course of 1996. The special training for officers ensures, for example, that although the first officer on the scene of a rape is a uniformed officer, no personal or delicate questions will be asked until the investigator trained in dealing with victims of sex crimes arrives. At the time of the mission, the police had also launched a pilot project entitled “Victim Care”, under which a package containing disposable panty hose, a sanitary towel, a tooth brush and tooth paste, wet towels, a comb and powder was made available at three police stations in areas with an elevated incidence of rape. Victims at two of the police stations had reacted very positively, whereas, according to the police, the reaction of victims at the Soweto police station was not so favourable.

34. In 1989/1990, an information pamphlet for rape victims was prepared, but currently the possibility of redesigning a non-stigmatizing cover page for the pamphlet was being considered. The South African Police Service has already carried out human rights training courses for officers dealing in particular with victims of violence and especially vulnerable groups. A training package and a standardized teaching manual on human rights and the
police are currently being developed as part of a three-year human rights strategy within the police force. It was specially brought to the attention of the Special Rapporteur that these courses include an integrated gender perspective and develop techniques to increase gender sensitivity among the police.

35. At Sunnyside police station in Pretoria, where the station captain herself is a sex crimes specialist, one officer is always on 24-hour standby to come to take the statement of a victim as soon as it is reported. Furthermore, the victim, with her consent, is accompanied to the district surgeon, a governmental forensic expert, at the medical-legal clinic, for an examination. Afterwards, the victim is offered a referral to a counsellor, before being accompanied to a place of her choice, i.e. to her family or a friend’s place. However, the police informed the Special Rapporteur that victims only seek contact with counsellors or social workers in the second week after the crime, if at all.

36. The police assured the Special Rapporteur that they are increasingly trying to build a safe environment with friendly spaces for women victims at police stations, but also recognized that such facilities are not necessarily available at police stations in townships. The Special Rapporteur was able to note marked disparities between police stations like Sunnyside in the centre of Pretoria and police stations in townships like Atteridgeville outside Pretoria and Alexandra in Johannesburg. Upon entering Atteridgeville police station, the local police officers were amazed to see a white female police officer, who accompanied the Special Rapporteur, enter the station. Other than being shown the ordinary reception area of the station, where a number of black male police officers were crowded, the Special Rapporteur was not provided with any evidence of a more “user-friendly” environment, such as “trauma centres” or rooms for rape victims. Similarly, at Alexandra police station, despite obvious efforts by the police officers on duty to welcome their visitors, no room with brightly coloured curtains and soft music playing was awaiting women victims. Instead, a bleak cluster of grey buildings with large underground detention cells, characterized by a stench emanating from wet blankets spread on dirty stone floors in cells meant for three, but, according to the police, accommodating up to eight at times, provides a stark contrast to the visible efforts made at creating “user-friendly” environments at police stations in, for example, the central Pretoria area.

37. The Special Rapporteur also noted with concern that police stations in townships like Atteridgeville and Alexandra have no programmes or resources targeted at inspiring public confidence in the police in their precincts or at encouraging increased reporting. No programmes for women victims of violence and no specially trained officers to investigate such cases seemed to be available either. Bearing in mind the prevailing high levels of violence in all black townships, it should become an utmost priority of the newly reformed South African Police Services to ensure that police services in townships, especially with regard to rape, are adequately improved and enough resources are allocated for this purpose.

38. The police informed the Special Rapporteur of the National Crime Strategy, in which individual priorities for action have been identified by each province, not necessarily based on the incidence of the various crimes.
The Strategy addresses, inter alia, community values and education in relation to crime and criminality. As part of this Strategy, the Department of Health is implementing a victim support programme, but otherwise, in the majority of first-year province plans, crimes against women and children had not been established as a priority. However, the Strategy contains a victim empowerment and support programme providing for police training and the development of victim support infrastructure, which will be undertaken by the Department of Health as a partner in the National Network on Violence against Women.

VI. THE DISTRICT SURGEON

39. As mentioned above, the rape victim is required to undergo a medical examination at a governmental medical-legal institute. The district surgeons, as the forensic medical experts are referred to in South Africa, are supplied by the police with three test kits for examining crime victims in order to streamline the examination procedure and to ensure accurate and complete results. The Special Rapporteur considers this important, especially bearing in mind that most district surgeons have not received specialized medical training to examine and treat victims of sexual violence or rape. The crime kits are used to take vaginal and oral swabs and smears for foreign body fluids. In the case of rape perpetrated by someone the victim did not know, containers for a vaginal swab and two smears are provided in the kit, in addition to a comb for examining the pubic hair for foreign material, such as hair and pubic lice, as well as tubes for blood group determination, saliva tubes and containers for samples of any foreign body fluids, such as semen and blood. Another crime kit, with fewer samples required, is available for examining rape victims who might know the perpetrator. After the examination, the crime kits are meticulously sealed and labelled only with serial numbers in order to ensure the utmost confidentiality for the victim and to avoid any tampering with the evidence. The district surgeon's office also provides information kits and brochures for rape victims, which are available in English, Afrikaans, Zulu and other native languages.

40. Despite the useful crime kits designed by the police forensic experts, the Special Rapporteur is concerned that medical students only receive compulsory medical-legal training in their fifth year of study, without specific training for examining victims of sexual violence. The Special Rapporteur understands that, owing to the sensitive nature of the crime of rape, women victims cannot be used for training, which creates certain limitations. However, the Special Rapporteur considers that medical-legal officers should receive such training, which should be carried out in close cooperation with police forensic experts. In addition, another concern pointed out to the Special Rapporteur was the lack of guidance given to district surgeons with regard to the treatment to be prescribed for the rape victim after the examination. In this connection, the need for standardized guidelines for medical treatment was brought to the attention of the Special Rapporteur.

41. With regard to the establishment of "one-stop" centres, the district surgeon with whom the Special Rapporteur met was of the opinion that since in the first instance most victims really only seem to seek medical treatment and
then clean themselves, the availability of psychological and social counselling did not seem so immediate. Proximity of the medical-legal institute to the police, however, would definitely facilitate the victim's task. In this connection, the Special Rapporteur was very concerned at the fact that in most black townships and in rural areas the only district surgeon available is often very far away. In Alexandra township in Johannesburg, for example, a woman who had been raped and was sent to see the district surgeon, was gang-raped by different perpetrators on her way home from the medical examination. The Special Rapporteur was also disconcerted at reports that women victims of rape are subjected to an average waiting time of 4 to 11 hours before being seen by a district surgeon. Such horrendous revictimization must be avoided at all costs.

42. Another concern raised with the Special Rapporteur was the fact that in South African out-patient clinics a high turnover of doctors is proving an obstacle when examining doctors are called to court when the suspected perpetrators have been found, after investigations that often take a considerable time. Many doctors cannot be found easily if they have moved on to another clinic.

43. The district surgeon whom the Special Rapporteur met pointed out that with modern technology, such as DNA examinations of rape victims, evidence might even be found more than 72 hours after the incident. In this connection, however, the district surgeon pointed out that governmental medical-legal institutes are chronically underfunded, so that the premises are not well kept and some of the most modern and effective examinations cannot be carried out on rape victims since they are very costly. District surgeons are, therefore, obliged to rely on donations, such as special examination cameras, from the private sector in order to update their working methods.

44. The district surgeons appear to have a close working relationship with the local police, which undoubtedly facilitates investigation and spares unnecessary difficulties for the victim.

VII. THE JUDICIARY

45. The Special Rapporteur is concerned that in her discussions with non-governmental organizations and women's support groups the judiciary was heavily criticized for being gender-insensitive, subscribing to myths and stereotypes surrounding women, which are reflected in the judgements. It was also noted that South African public prosecutors are, with the exception of specialized sex crime court prosecutors at the Wynberg Courts, generally still very inexperienced, especially in rape cases, which are tried by district courts.

46. The Wynberg Court in Capetown and its "G court" specializing in sexual offences is one of the most noteworthy initiatives by the Government in response to the problem of violence against women. In 1993, the Attorney-General of the Western Cape constituted the Cape Attorney-General's Task Force on Rape, with the participation of prosecutors and non-governmental organizations, which in March of the same year decided to establish a sexual offences court, namely "G Court". At this court, specially trained prosecutors have achieved a 30 per cent improvement in conviction rates for
rape on a nationwide scale. The conviction rate for sexual offences in “G Court” is approximately 80 per cent, as compared to 50 per cent in other regional courts. It was, however, also mentioned that over 30 per cent of rape cases are withdrawn by the plaintiffs before the trial. In this connection, the frequent undue delays experienced in court cases involving rape and sexual offences pose a major problem, so that at any given time 200 to 250 cases are pending before “G Court”, whereas a backlog of 80 cases is normally considered acceptable.

47. According to Wynberg Court statistics, 69 per cent of victims of rape or sexual offences in cases which come to court are under 18 years of age, and only 5 per cent of plaintiffs are white. The perpetrators are mostly “area-bound”, meaning that they originate from the same area or neighbourhood as the victim, so that 80 per cent are known perpetrators.

48. In addition to trained prosecutors, at “G Court” women victims of violence have access to a permanent social worker, or “victim support coordinator”, who refers plaintiffs to the appropriate social support services, such as counselling, when needed and desired. In addition, women victims are referred to non-governmental organizations and women's support groups, a service which does not seem to be provided by any other regional courts in the country. In addition to the obvious benefits such referral services bring for the victims, it is important to bear in mind that they also relieve the burden placed on prosecutors, who experience a particularly high rate of “burn-out” in sexual offences cases. A private waiting room and toys for children, financed by the community, are other innovative aspects of “G Court” intended to inspire the confidence of women victims of violence in the judiciary.

49. In answer to the Special Rapporteur's query as to why such a seemingly successful example of addressing the problem of violence against women within the judiciary has not been replicated in other regions, it was stated that in some areas, such as Bloemfontain, for example, statistics on rape and violence did not justify the establishment of specialized courts. The Special Rapporteur is, nevertheless, concerned that the rape statistics available certainly do not reflect the true extent of the problem. On the other hand, some believe that it is not beneficial to single out rape and sexual offences from other similar types of crimes, and that they should be treated in general courts in an equal manner. The Special Rapporteur, however, is of the opinion that special treatment is warranted in cases of rape and sexual offences, bearing in mind that the principal raison d'être for specialized courts is to avoid the secondary trauma or revictimization of victims of violence. The multi-disciplinary approach of the Wynberg Court, working closely with the district surgeon, the police and non-governmental organizations and providing social support services, is to be highly commended, especially in view of tangible improvements achieved in the judiciary's handling of rape cases.

50. It was mentioned to the Special Rapporteur that, as a result of a very elevated incidence of rape in Mitchell's Plane in the Western Cape, a second sexual offences court would be established. Furthermore, the need for a second specialized court in Wynberg, Capetown, has been identified and one was expected to be set up in Athlon upon the appointment of a magistrate.
51. The Special Rapporteur was also pleased to note that the Attorney-General of the Western Cape organizes yearly seminars for training prosecutors on sexual crimes and that regional prosecutors seek advice from the sex crimes specialists at Wynberg in rape trials. Specialized sexual offences training courses are also offered by the Justice College in Pretoria, attended by magistrates before their appointment.

52. As already mentioned above, the National Standards and Management Department of the South African Police Services was conducting research into the possibilities of improving court procedures for victims of sexual crimes, with a view to making the court more victim-friendly and to avoiding revictimization through, for example, cross-examinations. Such initiatives must be encouraged and supported by the Government.

53. According to some experts, the sentencing structure in South Africa is not satisfactory and is frequently erratic, especially since no national guidelines for sentencing exist. It was, however, pointed out to the Special Rapporteur that one of the reasons for apparently low sentencing on rape cases is that 95 per cent of such cases are heard in regional courts, where a maximum sentence of 10 years for rape is imposed. Only very few rape or sexual crimes cases reach the Supreme Court, where higher sentences would be possible. At the Wynberg Court, the average sentence for rape offenders ranges from 8 to 10 years' imprisonment, or more in cases with accumulated charges. With regard to a minimum sentence, however, some commentators felt that the courts should have discretion over such matters. In addition, it was held that the sexual history and social behaviour of the victim before the crime is a decisive factor in sentencing.

VIII. THE PROBLEM OF DISPARITY: A CASE STUDY OF ALEXANDRA TOWNSHIP, JOHANNESBURG

54. The largest and most violent black township in South Africa is Alexandra, situated in Johannesburg, bordering on and under the responsibility of the same mayor as Sandton, a wealthy upper-middle-class district of Johannesburg. The differences, however, could not be greater, and are only exacerbated by the fact that these two neighbourhoods are so close to each other.

55. A drive through Sandton with a police patrol at night involves two police officers, one plain-clothed and one in uniform, in a private vehicle. The patrol surveys meticulously maintained one-family houses with groomed gardens, and modern company buildings that stretch along wide, clean concrete streets, interrupted by trees and lawns. The major concerns are break-ins and property crimes, with occasional controls of local nightclubs and bars for drunken youths and possible prostitution. However, no incidence of or need for police intervention occur during the patrol.

56. On the same night, just across a major traffic junction, the police is also patrolling Alexandra. This time, however, the vehicle is a combat vehicle with iron bars on the windows and there are six uniformed police officers, heavily armed. The heavy vehicle winds itself through the muddy streets of Alexandra and only with difficulty passes by the makeshift houses of cardboard and plastic, with no fences or greenery, without knocking them
down. Inside the vehicle conversation is virtually impossible because of the loud noise that it is making. The streets of Alexandra are empty, as are those in neighbouring Sandton, but during that night five cases of rape are reported at the police station. One involves a teenage girl raped by four teenaged boys who entered her house through the roof while she was at home alone.

57. Life in a township is a battle for survival. As such, violence against women and rape, and the reporting and prevention of such crimes, are relegated low on the list of priorities of life. Outside Alexandra Community Centre, where ADAPT is based, a very long queue of people reaching around the whole block is testimony to the many needs of Alexandrans. They might be standing in the queue for food, for legal advice, for social support or for any of the other services provided by ADAPT.

58. The Agisanang Domestic Abuse Prevention and Training Project (ADAPT) was set up by a young, active nurse-psychologist in 1993, after personal experience of domestic violence, in order to study and review cases of sexually assaulted women who come to the Alexandra Health Clinic, in the black township of Alexandra, Johannesburg. This project seems to have started the ball rolling and ADAPT now has a very comprehensive programme of assisting women victims of violence and organizing women’s support groups within the township. In this connection, ADAPT is part of a recent initiative to seek government funding for the establishment of a one-stop centre in Alexandra. However, working to eliminate violence against women in a township like Alexandra is a difficult struggle. The persistence of violence within society, exacerbated by the failings of the criminal justice system, is at its most intense in such a township. ADAPT is also working on a project to improve the treatment of women victims within the criminal justice system by, for example, mobilizing women. For this project, ADAPT is seeking a lawyer and a social and community worker, inter alia to review the Family Violence Act.

59. The numerous activities carried out by ADAPT in Alexandra are creative, full of initiative and show how a few resources can be stretched far and community solidarity built. ADAPT’s youth coordinator organizes workshops and counselling at the health clinic, holds discussion rounds on date-rape and violence, and briefings for priests and ministers on domestic violence and gender sensitivity. As part of the youth programme, a young women’s and a young men’s network have been established, where problems are discussed openly, stereotypes are addressed and attitudes are changed. In particular, the young men’s coordinator pointed out the lack of attention paid to young men as possible future perpetrators of violence against women and the urgent need for preventive action in this regard. Peer counselling and sharing of experiences are considered the keys to success in this connection and do not require impossible resources.

60. In conversations with the courageous, young and enthusiastic people working at ADAPT, be it as volunteers or professionals, it was emphasized that people living in townships are frequently broken people, people without a sense of the worth of life. It is, therefore, not surprising that, in an atmosphere where murder and impunity prevail, rape is not necessarily considered the worst of all evils. ADAPT believes that a psychological
healing process and confidence restoration is needed in order to eliminate violence against women in townships in the long term and that the improvement of the criminal justice system is only one of many measures that need to be taken to that end.

61. The women's rights mural in Alexandra, the only spot of colour in the township, has been carefully preserved from violence, not by fences but by the love of Alexandra's people for their art and culture. It also symbolizes a new awareness which must be nurtured; it proclaims that "women's rights are human rights".

IX. COMMUNITY ACTION

62. The non-governmental and community-based sector in South Africa appears to be continuously developing and growing stronger. It was emphasized repeatedly that one of the best ways of eliminating violence against women in the community was to break the silence of women victims by sharing experiences. An important step in this direction has already been taken with the establishment, at national and provincial levels, of the National Network of Women against Violence, which is comprised of both governmental and non-governmental representatives and organizations.

63. Some of the activities of the National Network have already been outlined above but the Special Rapporteur was also briefed on additional activities carried out by non-governmental organizations with the support of the Network and the South African Police Service. For example, police training is carried out under the Victim Support Scheme of the National Crime Prevention Strategy in the Gauteng and Western Cape areas. The Special Rapporteur would like such training to be extended to the Northern Province, Orange Free State, the North West Province, Mpumalanga and the Eastern Cape. In addition, education in schools on violence against women, women's rights and gender-sensitization is being carried out by the Network in some regions. Another interesting initiative is the training of social workers and shelter staff to deal with women victims of violence.

64. The Special Rapporteur was encouraged to hear that in Port Elizabeth, in the Eastern Cape, a one-stop crisis centre has been established by non-governmental organizations with financial assistance from banks. This centre is located at a hospital near a black township, and victims can receive the help of police officers, psychologists and welfare officers in the same location. As mentioned in her previous reports, the Special Rapporteur is very much in favour of such a multi-disciplinary service for women victims of violence, since coordination between the relevant agencies for the investigation is ensured, but most importantly because of the need to avoid revictimization of the women at all costs.

65. The Special Rapporteur was pleased to note that the Women's Committee of the Transvaal Rural Action Committee (TRAC) is actively working towards the empowerment of rural women by initiating their economic independence and by raising their self-confidence and their awareness of their rights. In addition, TRAC was advocating for changes in the draft constitution in regard to customary laws and practices.
66. One of the most active and renowned South African non-governmental organizations dealing with women victims of violence is People Opposing Women Abuse (POWA) in Johannesburg, which provides a telephone crisis service, individual face-to-face counselling, legal advice and referrals. Approximately 20 per cent of the women who use the telephone hot-line are victims of rape. In addition, POWA organizes workshops for preventive education purposes, and runs a resources and information centre and a shelter for battered women and their children. POWA also provides court support, preparing women victims for the court proceedings by explaining the role of the magistrates and, inter alia, through role plays. In this connection, POWA pointed out to the Special Rapporteur that although support for women in court is considered crucial, it simply did not have sufficient human or financial resources to provide this service on a regular basis.

67. POWA has also launched an interesting initiative, establishing two branch offices in black townships, in Kataros Township and in the West Rand area. The latter provides one-stop centre services. Their experiences were too recent to evaluate during the Special Rapporteur's mission. In addition, POWA, through the National Network on Violence against Women, has drafted a manual for gender-sensitive training of the police in the Gauteng area.

68. The National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders (NICRO) has also undertaken many initiatives towards the elimination of violence against women. Most importantly, however, NICRO addresses a crucial issue to this end: it is one of very few organizations, if not the only one, dealing with the rehabilitation of perpetrators. The Offender Care Centre in Woodstock provides social service visits to offenders in prisons and to their families, and a resocialization programme after the sentence has been served. The NICRO Women's Support Centre in Cape Town, on the other hand, provides care for women victims of violence. The victim care project originated in the 1980s at the initiative of a loose network of groups in the Western Cape, known as Coordinated Action for Battered Women. The Centre was established in 1993 and serves approximately 80 women per month; most of them are domestic violence victims, but they also include some rape victims. The main concern raised by the Women's Support Centre, which is strongly shared by the Special Rapporteur, was the lack of shelters for women victims of violence. For example, in the Western Cape, there are only four shelters, all privately run, with 20 places each. There are no government-run shelters at all. Another issue considered crucial when dealing with women victims of violence was the role and effectiveness of the police. The hope was expressed that national directives would be developed to ensure equal access for all women to appropriate police services, since standards varied considerably between different police precincts.

69. The non-governmental organization Rape Crisis has been working with women victims of violence in Cape Town for 20 years. Its client base is mostly black, reflecting the higher incidence of rape victims among the black population, as well as the easier access to alternative support services that the white population seems to have. Rape Crisis carries out public education for communities, school children, teachers, prosecutors, health workers and students on issues of rape and sexual crimes. Similar proactive training is held for the police, with the participation of community police forums. At the time of the mission, the National Network on Violence against Women, a
joint governmental and non-governmental effort described active (see paras. 24–27) was developing a draft national training module to be submitted for consideration by the South African Police Forces. The research and advocacy department of Rape Crisis has produced a comprehensive sexual assault survivor's guide explaining in detail the steps that a woman victim should follow after an incident, and is studying the possibility of an individual complaints mechanism being established by the Human Rights and Gender Equality Commissions. The Special Rapporteur noted with satisfaction that research was being carried out on interviewing victims who went through Wynberg "G. Court" with a view to evaluating its effectiveness. Such evaluations of the many initiatives taken in South Africa to eliminate violence against women would be of importance early in the process, so as to ensure effective and practical measures.

70. Lawyers for Human Rights, a national non-governmental organization based in Pretoria, is carrying out human rights education and training for judges, magistrates and prosecutors across the country, through its provincial offices. In addition, its gender-desk based in Durban ensures the implementation of a gender and women's rights component in training and other activities carried out by the organization. Lawyers for Human Rights has also been involved in so-called "street law" projects, paralegal community education programmes originating in the University of Durban Westville. "Street law" projects train law students to train secondary school students on human rights, and at least 14 universities in South Africa now have street law project coordinators.

X. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

71. From the discussions held during her visit, the Special Rapporteur was able to conclude that, in addition to the inherently violent character of South African society, the status, real and perceived, of South African women greatly contributes to their victimization through rape and sexual violence. In particular in rural and more remote areas, customary laws still treat women as minors and deny them the independence that they must be assured if violence against women is to be combated effectively.

72. The Special Rapporteur would like to underline that during her visit it became clear that the measures undertaken by the Government of South Africa to eliminate violence against women, and in particular rape, have only been in place for a very short time and, therefore, their effectiveness cannot be fully evaluated. The Special Rapporteur will, however, make preliminary recommendations with a view to a possible follow-up to the new developments in South Africa for the next session of the Commission on Human Rights.

A. At the international level

73. The Special Rapporteur urges the Government of South Africa to ratify all international human rights instruments to which it is a signatory, namely, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child.
74. The Government of South Africa should also take measures to accede to both Optional Protocols to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and to the International Covenant on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families.

B. At the national level

75. The major priority with regard to the eradication of violence against women in South Africa is the need to redefine and develop the criminal justice system. The legacy of apartheid, which prevented effective, community-based law enforcement, continues to be present and there is a compelling need to ensure a representative police force, an effective prosecution system and a gender-sensitive judiciary. The inequities of apartheid with regard to race, class and region have a major impact on the quality of law enforcement with regard to violence against women. Unless the criminal justice system is completely overhauled to reflect the needs of the community, violence in general and violence against women in particular will continue to pose a major problem for law enforcement.

76. Women's confidence in the criminal justice system must be nurtured by increasing the number of female officers in the police services and by using police community forums to raise topics such as violence against women and rape.

77. The Government of South Africa should consider the possibility of amending its Penal Code to reflect the recent trends within the common law jurisdiction with regard to sexual violence. Definitions of sexual violence should be broad enough to cover the manifold aspects of rape, which include, but go beyond, what is termed “sexual intercourse”. They should also ensure that the requirement of “absence of consent” does not involve further victimization of the rape victim. Sentencing structures under the Penal Code should ensure that offenders receive adequate punishment and that aggravated crimes are given matching punishment.

78. Rules of evidence with regard to sexual violence should be amended and there should be rethinking with regard to the cautionary rule used by judges concerning corroboration of the testimony of victims. A victim’s past sexual conduct should not be relevant in a trial unless it is directly linked to the crime in question.

79. The Government of South Africa should ensure provisions within the Penal Code to protect the identity of rape victims and maintain their privacy during the investigations and prosecution.

80. The Government of South Africa should ensure specialized programmes for awareness-raising and training of members of the criminal justice system with regard to gender issues and the special problems associated with investigating and prosecuting violence against women. Such programmes should be mandatory for the whole police force, and special seminars and courses should be organized for prosecutors, as well as other members of the judiciary.
81. The Government of South Africa should introduce changes in school and university curricula with a view to teaching a balanced gender-perspective, and mandatory gender-sensitization training in medical and legal schools with regard to issues of violence against women.

C. Non-governmental organizations

82. The Special Rapporteur noted that in South Africa few programmes and initiatives exist for the rehabilitation of perpetrators of sexual offences. In view of the high recidivist rate among sex offenders, the Special Rapporteur calls upon non-governmental organizations, in collaboration with the Government, to develop and expand rehabilitation programmes for perpetrators, in order to eliminate repeat offences.

83. Non-governmental organizations should take the lead in lobbying for the establishment of "one-stop centres", whether at police stations, hospitals or at offices of non-governmental organizations, where rape victims can benefit from the most comprehensive relief services possible for counselling and psychological assistance and for access to appropriate legal remedies. In view of scarce resources, however, the Special Rapporteur urges that basic gender-sensitive training for all law enforcement officials, the judiciary and medical-legal officers on the basis of a national standard should be carried out as a matter of priority. Resources should subsequently be diverted to building one-stop centres, at least in those areas where women are most subject to violence.

84. Non-governmental organizations, in particular through the National Network on Violence against Women, should establish shelters for women victims of violence nationwide.

85. Non-governmental organizations, in cooperation with the Government, should pursue their efforts to sensitize the media nationwide on the issue of violence against women and to eliminate the perpetuation of gender stereotypes. The FEMFAX initiative of the National Network, which is intended to provide journalists regularly with information on violence against women and women's rights by fax, is an innovative step in this direction.

86. Non-governmental organizations and academic institutions are called upon urgently to undertake research, collection of data and comparative analysis with regard to violence against women in South Africa. In order to be able to devise a needs-based nationwide response to the problem, it is imperative that the Government and non-governmental organizations have a comprehensive picture of the phenomenon and its possible variations on the basis of region, ethnicity and race.

87. Non-governmental organizations are also encouraged to establish community-based projects in townships, such as ADAPT in Alexandra, which solicit community involvement in combating violence against women. The Special Rapporteur also urges non-governmental organizations and women's groups to provide support services for women victims of violence, especially in connection with accompanying women to police stations, to the district surgeon and to the court proceedings, in order to minimize revictimization through the criminal justice system.
Notes


5/ Ibid., p. 44.


7/ Beijing Report, p. 4.

8/ Ibid., p. 20.


10/ Ibid., pp. 54-57.

11/ Ibid., p. 55.

12/ Ibid., p. 53.

13/ In discussion with Ms. Lynette Myburgh, Control Prosecutor, Wynberg Court, Capetown, 17 October 1996.
Annex

SELECTIVE LIST OF PERSONS/ORGANIZATIONS CONSULTED BY THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR DURING HER MISSION

Pretoria

Dr. Abdul Minty  
Director-General for Multilateral Affairs,  
Ministry for Foreign Affairs

Ms. Marina Minnie  
Ministry for Foreign Affairs

Ms. Nontatu Skolo

Dr. Leila Patel  
Director-General, Department of Health

Ms. Helen Starke  
Chief Director, Social Welfare Services,
Mr. Eddie Harvey  
Director, Social Integration,
Ms. Susan Kotzé  
Senior Social Worker,
Ms. Florence Maleka  
Social Worker,  
Department of Health

Mr. Peter Cronjé  
Legal Advisers, South African Police Services
Ms. Elaine Venter  
(SAPS)
Ms. Sharon Schütte  
Communication Officer, SAPS

Mr. Tertius Geldenhuys  
Legal Services, National Standards and
Ms. Dellenne Clark  
Management Service, SAPS
Ms. Maryna Russouw

Supt. Anneke Piernaar  
Detective, Child Protection Unit,
Capt. Thalita du Jong  
Detective, Sunnyside Police Station,  
SAPS

Dr. Katrin Muller  
Medical-legal Officer (District surgeon)

Ms. Elize Koen  
Centre for Women's Studies, University of South Africa (UNISA)

Ms. Elise Delport  
University of South Africa (UNISA)

Ms. Cecille van Riet  
Director, Human Rights Education, Lawyers for Human Rights

Ms. Swarup Rani Singh  
Advice Desk for Abused Women, University of Durban Westville

Ms. Natalie Stockton  
Women's Bureau of South Africa
**Johannesburg**

Ms. Shirley Mabusela  
Deputy Chairperson, Human Rights Commission

Ms. Pansy Tlakula  
Commissioner, Human Rights Commission

Mr. John Mojapelo  
Director, Media and Public Relations, Human Rights Commission

Ms. Motsaathebe Lebo  
Transvaal Rural Action Committee (TRAC)

Ms. Lynne Cawood  
Director, People Opposing Women Abuse (POWA)

Ms. Mary Sechaba  
Interdenominational Women's Prayer League

Ms. Mmathsilo Motsei  
Director,

Mr. Ntaoleng Khesue  
Youth Coordinator,

Ms. Thulani Nkosi  
Community Support Worker,

Ms. Martha Kgasoane  
Volunteer, Agisanang Domestic Abuse Prevention and Training (ADAPT)

Ms. Mary Robertson  
Supervisor, Trauma Clinic, Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation

Ms. Cathy Albertyn  
Gender Research Project, Centre for Applied

Ms. Beth Goldblatt  
Legal Studies, University of Witwatersrand

**Cape Town**

H.E. Ms. Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi  
Minister for Welfare

H.E. Mr. Aziz Pahad  
Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs

Ms. Lynette Myburgh  
Control Prosecutor, Wynberg Sexual Offences Court

Ms. Margot Lochrenberg  
Rape Crisis

Ms. Glynnis Rhode  
National Institute for Crime Prevention and

Ms. Faeza Khan  
Rehabilitation of Offenders (NICRO) Women's Support Centre

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