
**SOCIOCULTURAL FACTORS AS DRIVERS OF MEN TO RAPE: A
STUDY OF MALE RAPISTS INCARCERATED AT KAMITI MAXIMUM
PRISON IN NAIROBI, KENYA**

¹Dr. Jonathan Maweu

¹Multimedia University of Kenya

***Email of the corresponding author: jonathanmaweu@gmail.com**

Publication Date: December 2022

ABSTRACT

Background: Rape is a global problem with many women and children falling victims on a daily basis. Studies indicate that multiple of factors drive men to commit this heinous crime. This is the case in Nairobi, Kenya with KEWOPA report stating that only 30.0% of the cases are reported. Thus, this study sought to assess how biological factors drive men to rape among convicted male rapists in Kamiti Maximum Prison in Nairobi, Kenya. The study was based on the dynamic theory of factors.

Methodology: The study applied a mixed methodology and thus adopted a concurrent triangulation research design. Qualitative data were analyzed thematically along the objectives and presented thematically in narrative forms. Quantitative data were analyzed descriptively using frequencies and percentages with the help of Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS 23) and presented using tables.

Findings: The study established that sex offenders were influenced by several socio-cultural factors to commit the crime. The study established that sex offenders were socialized to believe in the superiority of men over women, that men are the ones who decide when to have sex with women, and were also socialized to believe that men should be marked with physical toughness, emotional stoicism, and a fixation with having control over women. On the other hand, women are socialized to be submissive to men, not to admit their desire for sex, while men are taught that women's rejection of sexual advance is not genuine and should be overlooked and any resistance should be defeated.

Recommendations: The study recommends that different stakeholders such families, religious organizations, educational institutions and other government agencies should partner to provide holistic support, to nurture men who partner with women in the fight against gender based violence. Their also a need to mentor the boy child in to a man who is not threatened by his counterpart, the woman.

Keywords: *Sociocultural factors, male rapists, sexual socialization*

INTRODUCTION

Rape is the act of sexual penetration against the free will of the victim, or on a victim who is unable to decline or give a legally binding consent for sex (Merril, 2004). People who cannot give a legally binding consent for sex include the minors, the mentally ill, the intoxicated and the unconscious (Merril, 2004). Rape can be accomplished through verbal coercion, threat of force, use of force, and through abuse of authority, and use of physical force and or threat to force (Strom, Roper-Miller, Jones, Sikes, Pope & Horstmann, 2013; Angelone, Cantor, Marcantonio & Joppa, 2020). In most cases, rape victims are females; but, occasionally males are raped (Akinade, Adewuyi & Sulaiman, 2010). Grath and Burgees (1979) have identified four types of rapist as including; the power reassurance rapist, the power assertive rapist, the anger retaliation rapist and the sadistic rapist. Current studies indicate that rape is on the rise and is quickly becoming a culture as it appears to be tolerated, and is quickly entrenching into the culture (Merril, 2004). At least 35% of women globally have been raped at least once in their lifetime (Tofte, 2011). In North America, sexual violence against women has become a common phenomenon with close to 34.5% of women being victims (Nelson, 2010). According to Heiskanen (2010), most rape victims are women and most rapists are men. Heiskanen also reports that the number of reported cases is very low, and as a result, the number of victims is greatly underestimated. Nelson (2010) asserts that sexual violence, particularly rape, was the most under-reported violent crime in Great Britain.

According to Lonsway and Archambault (2012), the number of reported cases of rape is low relative to the incidence and the prevalence rates in Great Britain. In Italy, a 2006 National Statistical Institute Survey (NSIS), on sexual violence against women, established that 91.6% of women, who had been raped, did not report to the police. This could be attributed to the ‘perception that rape perpetrators rarely get convicted due to the challenge of gathering sufficient evidence to sustain convictions. In the United Kingdom [UK], there was a 33% conviction rate in 2010; and in 2014, the conviction rate deteriorated to 24% (Lonsway & Archambault, 2012).

Recent studies have established that sexual behavior is a product of an array of biological factors (Maweu, 2022), psychological qualities (Maweu, 2006) and sociocultural experiences (Harper, 2001). Harper concurs with Bandura’s (1977) social learning theory which proposes that people acquire attitudes, values and behavior by observing and imitating modelled behavior after considering its possible consequences. Studies on the role of socialization and culture on rape has

outlined numerous sociocultural factors that influence the behavior of men who rape. According to White and Sorenson (1992), people's sociocultural values and attitudes influence the way they view rape, described, understood and treated it within their community. Stermac, Segal and Gillis (1990) examined the culture of societies where rape cases were high and found rape to correlate with the following cultural aspects; raiding other groups for wives, a reasonably high degree of interpersonal violence, a belief that men should be rough and women inferior and powerless, and a generalized negative attitude towards women.

Sanday (1981) studied cultural factors that influence men into raping women within communities where rape was either culturally allowable and or largely overlooked. In his study, LeVine (1959) identified the Abagusii and the Agikuyu tribes of Kenya, among rape prone communities. According to Sanday (1981), the Abagusii community was among rape prone cultures, and was characterized by such values as rape being a part of rituals of their rite of passage into adulthood; rape being used as weapon to scare women into submission, normal heterosexual sex was viewed as a contest in which men overcome women's resistance, legitimate heterosexual sex was considered to be aggressive, involving use force and inflicting of pain; the normal response of a girl to sexual advances should include pretending that she is unwilling or does not desire to have sex and in effect make it difficult for men to know whether she is willing or unwilling to have sex. Among the Agikuyu, ritual sex was part of the rite of passage, in which men ceremonially rape women before they can be permitted to marry. Entry into adulthood for Gikuyu males and/or females was marked by rituals that could involve rape (Sanday, 1981).

In rape prone cultures, rape is either promoted or tolerate and men are categorized together as a group that is against women (Sanday, 1981). According to Sanday (1981), rape appears to be permitted in situations where men are unable to pay bride price or convince a woman to elope with them. In such a predicament, a man was permitted to abduct the woman, take her to his house and rape her as way of persuading her to stay. In addition, in places where women are in short supply, men are allowed to raid enemy communities and take women as spoils of war and keep them as sex slaves (Sanday, 1981). In other cases, men raped women as a way of expressing their control, power and dominance over women (Gwartney-Gibbs, Stockard, & Borner, 1983).

In their study, Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) investigated the effect of rape myth acceptance on the reported number of rape cases, and identified two common myths that included that women lie

that sex was non-consensual to avoid being perceived as immoral and myth that only sexually loose women are raped. The study found that when rape myths are used, by rapists, to explain why rape victims should be blamed for the offense and dismiss the incidence as sexual assault. White and Sorenson (1992) identify two cultural values that inform the way rape cases were handled including the belief that victims are blameworthy and only truly pathological men are capable of rape and other assaultive behaviors. According to Idisis, Ben-David and Efrat (2007), occasionally, a woman would fail to report a rape case due to fear that she would be blamed for its occurrence.

In their study, Stermac, Segal and Gillis (1990) noted that socialization, interpersonal attitudes and cultural values are among sociocultural aspects that shape human behavior. Harper (2001) used the terms gender role socialization and sexual behavior socialization to show that sexual behavior is a product of early socialization. Other studies on the topic include Watkins and Bentovim (1992), who noted that one out of every five sexually abused boys grew to be child molesters later in life. Thus, childhood experiences provided a model of behavior that is emulated later in life. In another study, men who had sexually aggressive peers were found to be more likely to report forced sex than those without such peers (Gwartney-Gibbs, Stockard, & Bormer, 1983).

According to Zurbriggen (2010), men are also socialized to value a type of masculinity that is marked by physical toughness, emotional stoicism and a fixation with being in control and need for status; on the other hand, women are socialized to prefer personal qualities that are marked by being nurturing, submissiveness and self-giving as critical components of femininity. According to White and Sorenson (1992) boys are socialized to demonstrate heterosexual prowess with multiple girls, show strength and control from an early age. As a result, men are likely to be dominating, firm and forceful as they relate with women; while women are likely to allow men to initiate sexual contact and make the decision on whether or not they will have sex (Amin, Kagesten, Adebayo, Chandra-Mouli, 2018; Harper, 2001).

On the other hand, gender role socialization also appears to normalize rape by advancing rape supportive beliefs, including the narrative that women are to blame when rape occurs. Gender role socialization also seems to prescribe sexually coercive cognitive sexual schemas, roles and beliefs among men (White & Sorenson, 1992). For example, in societies where men are expected to be dominant and aggressive while women are supposed to be caring and helpful; women become easy targets for rape, as men exploit messages that women have received over the years to convince

them to put their needs first. In such settings, woman may not even perceive such sex as forced. The sociocultural view of rape can either constrain or embolden the culture of rape, determine whether the victim will consider what was done to them was offensive and determine whether the offense will be reported and determine whether the victim seek post rape support (White & Sorenson, 1992).

Other studies show that insensitive sentiments on rape and rape victims appear to encourage rape by numbing rapists and denying the negative effects of rape. Lottes (1988) documents the following among insensitive attitudes that marked rape prone societies: the notion that women's status, power and authority is relatively lower to that of men, that fathers should have less time with children, that women should general be disdained as decision makers, that rape victims are blamable for of provoking sexual assault, that males would be of macho personal traits, that considering rape is sexually stimulating to females, and that both men and women should value toughness and aggression as masculine qualities.

The study established that socio-cultural factors play a big role in the formation and maintenance of negative attitudes, misconceptions, and normalization of criminal tendencies against women (Grath & Burgees, 1979). According to Akinade, Adewuyi and Sulaiman (2010), boys adopt stereotyped notions of masculinity as they transition into adolescence. They espouse masculinity models that are marked by physical toughness as demonstrated by high tolerance to pain and a tendency to engage in fights, an appreciable level of autonomy, emotional stoicism and heterosexual prowess as evidenced by exercising control over many girls in relationships. Lastly, through gender socialization, boys are steered to adopt gender norms that hold males as superior, and by use of social barriers such as ridicules, labeling from peers and stigmatization discourage, boys were discouraged from displaying feminine traits or engaging in activities that are associated with girls (Amin, Kagesten, Adebayo & Chandra-Mouli, 2018).

According to Ben-David and Schneider (2005), parents, peers and social institutions, are agents of gender socialization and inform the way boys and men express their gender and sexuality. Parents are the primary agents of gender socialization who model gender roles, give sanctions against certain behaviors and communicate their expectations from boys and girls. As boys transition into adolescence, peers play the biggest role in informing and promoting their perceptions of masculinity. Peers encourage masculinity norms by challenging each other physically, verbally as

well as encouraging risk taking practices (Amin, Kagesten, Adebayo, & Chandra-Mouli, 2018). Simons, Wurtele and Durham (2008) suggest that sexual offenders are likely to have been socialized to meet their need for intimacy and sexuality through maladaptive means.

Specifically, childhood experiences of sexual abuse transmitted violence in their interpersonal relationship as children and afterwards. In African, cases of rape are on the rise. For example, the rate of sexual violence in South Africa is among the highest globally (Ritter, 2012). The Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN) estimates that 500,000 rapes are committed annually in South Africa (Artz, Smythe & Leggett, 2012). According to Seelinger, Silverberg and Mejia (2011), the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), had to pass progressive laws against sexual offences in 2006, despite this, the rate of sexual violence is still on the rise with 17,500 cases reported in 2009.

In Kenya and Nairobi County in particular, Ajema, Rogena, Muchela, Buluma and Kilonzo (2010) assert that cases of rape are on the rise with many victims of rape being females of between 9 months to 105 years of age. Ajema et al (2010) notes that rape perpetrators are mostly men who are unknown to these women. To mitigate this problem, government agencies have initiated different strategies which are yet to register much remarkable progress. Despite this state of affairs, much is yet to be done to interrogate how sociocultural factors drive men rape, hence, the need for this study.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Cases of rape have been on the rise in different parts of Kenya, especially in Nairobi County. As noted earlier, cases of rape are on the rise with many victims being female and the perpetrators being mostly men (Ajema et al, 2010). Although documented studies indicate that sociocultural factors play a role in influencing men's sexual behavior, there are no studies done on the area or deliberate policies to mitigating the soaring cases of rape and therefore the need for this study.

OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The study sought to address the following objectives;

1. To assess the prevalence of rape cases in Nairobi, Kenya;
2. To evaluate the role of sociocultural factors as drivers of rape cases in Nairobi, Kenya

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study was guided by theory of planned behavior (TPB) as postulated by Ajzen (1991). The theory is premised on the social-cognitive model for predicting human behaviors. According to Ajzen (1991), TPB is a linear model that discusses attitudes, perceived norms, and perceived control and their influence on behavioral intentions, which, in turn, affect behavior. In other words, under the TPB, norms and attitudes moderate the influence of perceived behavioral control on intentions. The theory assumes that the best predictor of behavior is behavioral intention. In other words, Ajzen (1991) asserts that how strong an attempt the individual makes to engage in the behavior, and the extent to which an individual has control over the behavior are influential in whether he or she engages in the behavior. Behavioral intention is produced from a combination of attitude toward the behavior, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control. In the social learning theory of rape,

Ellis (1989) explains how people learn how to rape through a four-stage process which includes: the modeling stage where behavior is copied from the environment; the sex-violence linkage stage where the association between sex and violence is created; the desensitization stage, where men get desensitized to the pain of rape victims; and rape-myth-effect stage where stereotypes and prejudices sustain rape acceptance, victim blame and encourages sexual violence. In the context of this study, this theory is particularly relevant because it attempts to underscore the fact the behavior of men to rape largely contributed to by a set of factors, in this case, biological, which strongly influence their decisions make about their sexual behavior.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study adopted a quantitative design and used descriptive surveys. It targeted 869 respondents, who comprised of 826 males convicted of rape and 43 Prison Welfare Officers, from which a sample size of 40 convicts and 11 Prison Officers was picked using convenient sampling technique. Questionnaires were used to collect data from the male convicts while interviews were used to collect data from Prison Officers. Quantitative data was analyzed descriptively using frequencies and percentages using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS 23) and presented using tables.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

This section presents the findings of the study guided by the objectives.

RESPONSE RATES

In this study, 40 questionnaires were administered to convicted respondents, only 39 forms were filled and returned; and only nine (9) Prison Welfare Officers out of the targeted eleven (11) were interviewed at Kamiti Maximum Prison. This yielded a questionnaire return rate of 97.5% for male convicts and a response rate of 81.8% for Prison Welfare Officers. According to Creswell (2014), that is a response rate above 75% is adequate and can be used to generalize the study outcomes to the target population. The demographic data showed that most rapists were between 21 to 30 years, accounted for (53.8%), and the number of cases appears to reduce with increase in age. A majority of rapists were married people 60% and had not gone beyond primary school in their education. On ethnic distribution, Agikuyu accounted for 30.8%, the Ameru people contributed 20.5% while Somali people where the least and accounted for 5.1% of sample.

Prevalence of Rape Cases in Nairobi County

The first objective of the study sought to assess the prevalence of rape cases in Nairobi County. The findings are presented in Table 1:

Table 1: Levels of Rape Cases in Nairobi County

Victims of Rape	Percentage (%)
Women	38.9
Children	41.4

Table 1 show that 38.9% of women and 41.1% of children have been victims of rape in Nairobi County. This finding confirms Nelson's (2010) claim that, in North America, sexual violence towards women has become a common phenomenon with close to 34.5% being victims of rape.

During the interviews, a Prison Welfare Officers reported that cases of rape among women and children had become common, with an increase of 16.9% in the number of reported cases that involve children, especially in slums areas and their neighborhoods. The Prisons Welfare Officer, PW01, further reported that; "The number of rape cases could be higher since many victims shy away from reporting such cases given some of the perpetrators are close relatives"

The report corroborates the assertions of International Crime on Statistics and Justice by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) that majority of the victims of sexual abuse are

women and perpetrators are mostly males globally. According to Nelson (2010), rapes against women are rarely reported to the police and the number of female rape victims is significantly underrated due to under reporting. The findings concur with Ajema et al (2010), who noted that, in Kenya, particularly in Nairobi County, rape cases are on the rise with most victims being females of various ages and some toddlers.

According to Ajema et al (2010), among females who were sexually violated during the post-election violence, 40% reported that they were raped by male persons, who are unknown to them, while 20% were violated by kinsmen or males who they had a previous intimate relationship with. Thus, these findings indicate that, despite the enactment of progressive sexual laws with severe penalties meant to deter would be offenders, the rate of rape and defilement incidents among women and children remain high and much concerted efforts need to be initiated to curb the menace.

SOCIOCULTURAL FACTORS AS DRIVERS OF MEN TO RAPE

The study examined the sociocultural factors that drive men to rape among convicted male rapists at Kamiti Maximum Prison. The study administered a tool whose test items assessed the respondent’s sociocultural values and gender role socializations and the results are captured in the Table 2.

Table 2: Sociocultural values of convicted male rapists

Value	True
Being a man is a privilege that one has to enjoy	80.50%
I believe that men are superior to women	92.20%
It’s the husbands right to have sex with wife when he wants	97.40%
If a man spends money on a woman, he has a right to sexual favors	42.10%
Culturally, a man has the right to beat his wife	86.60%
Men should be the ones to decide when to have sex with a woman	86.80%
Women deserve the kind of trouble they put themselves in	66.70%
Women manipulate men and someone should stop them	75%

According to the findings, 80.5% of convicted rapists considered being a man to be prestigious, 92.2 % considered men to be superior to women, 86.6% of the respondents were convinced that culture allowed husbands to beat their wives, another 86.8% proposed that men should be the ones to decide when to have sex with a woman –whether consensual or not, 97.4% thought that husbands have a right to enjoy sex whenever they want, and 66.7% suggested that women deserve the trouble that they put themselves in. Generally, these findings indicate that sexual violence and disregard for the needs of woman as among values that are embedded within the culture and passed to boys as part of gender role socialization and sex behavior socialization. The findings could resonate with White and Sorenson (1992) who found rape cases to be more in communities that had higher cases of violence, and men had been socialized to be rough and to believe that they are superior to women. Men are mostly socialized to embrace a brand of masculinity that is marked by physical toughness, emotional stoicism, and a fixation with control over women; while women are socialized to be submissive to men, be nurturing, and being self-giving (Zurbriggen, 2010). On the contrary, these findings appear to contradict earlier studies that proposed that more cases of rape were expected in communities where men are considered to be superior to women, such as the Agikuyu community is considered to be matriarchal.

In sexual behavior socialization, accepting rape myths appears to prepare men to rape, while preparing women to play an enabling role. It appears that sexual behavior socialization facilitates the sex-violence linkage and the desensitization stages (Ellis, 1989). In Kenya, it is likely that men are socialized to be mostly aggressive, to believe that legitimate heterosexual sex ought to involve use force and that a woman should respond to sexual advances by pretending that she is not interested with sex (Sanday, 1981).

In a culture where women are socialized to pretend that they are not interested with sex whereas men are socialized to overlook “their pretend rejection” in addition to having to overcome a woman’s resistance to sex; it becomes difficult to determine genuine rejection and pretended rejection. The study also established a tendency to blame women for rape and other sexual violations that they encounter. This study agrees with White and Sorenson (1992) who noted that the narrative that “women are to blame when rape occurs”, that prevails in rape prone cultures.

The study analyzed the distribution of negative attitudes towards male-female relationship across ethnicity and the results are presented in Table 3. It found a cross cutting believe that men are superior to women; that men who give women some money should be extended sexual favors; and that men should be the ones who decides when to have sex. Surprisingly, the study noted that the number of those who believe that men are culturally allowed to beat their wives was relatively low.

Table 3: Association of ethnicity and attitudes towards women

Ethnicity										
Value	Kikuyu	Meru	Kamba	Luhya	Taita	Embu	Kisii	Borana	Somali	Total
Men are superior to women	10	8	7	3	0	2	1	2	2	35
Husbands have a right to have sex when they want	11	8	7	3	1	2	1	2	2	37
If men spends money, on women, he must be served	9	7	7	3	1	3	1	3	2	35
A man has a right to beat his wife	7	6	6	1	1	1	1	2	1	26
Men are the ones who decide when to have sex	11	6	6	3	0	2	0	2	2	32

Sanday (1981) identifies the Abagusii and the Agikuyu communities as among rape prone cultures where men were permitted to forcefully take a woman, who refuses to elope, and have forced sex as a way of making her to stay. Sanday also indicates that the Abagusii and the Agikuyu had rape embedded within their rite of passage. Although the study shows that certain ethnicities dominated the sample, this may be attributed to the location of the maximum prison which is at the heart of the Agikuyu homeland, near the city of Nairobi and adjacent to Akamba homeland.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

From the study findings, it is evident that culture plays a major role in instilling a culture that supports sexual violence. From the study findings, 80.5% of convicted rapists considered being a man as prestigious, 92.2% thought that men were actually superior, 86.6% were convinced that culture permits men to beat up their wives and 66.7% believed that women are to blame for some of the sexual violence they encounter. It is apparent from the research findings that socialization and negative cultural values play a big role in driving men to rape. It is evident that the current legislative and policy framework, may not be effectively addressing the sociocultural factors to deter would be offenders, the rate of rape and defilement incidents among women and children remain high.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The study recommends that different socializing agents such as the families, religious organizations, educational institutions and government agencies ought to deliberately develop programs that eliminate negative gender role socialization models, violent sex scripts, myths, and values which may drive men to sexual offences. In their place, these agents should develop programs which inculcate positive roles and scripts which are sensitive to women and their needs. Lastly, there is need to deliberately calibrate our social institutions to empower them to provide extra support to the boy child and nurture him into a man who is not threatened by women.

REFERENCES

- Ajema, C., Rogena, E., Muchela, H., Buluma, B. and Kilonzo, N. (2010). Standards Required in Maintaining the Chain of Evidence in the Context of Post Rape Care Services: Findings of a Study Conducted in Kenya. Liverpool VCT, Care and Treatment, The Division of Reproductive Health, and The Population Council.
- Ajzen, I. (1991). The Theory of Planned Behavior. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*. 50 (2): 179–211
- Akinade, E., Adewuyi, T., & Sulaiman, A. (2010). Socio-Legal Factors that Influence the Perpetuation of Rape in Nigeria. *Precedia Social and Behavioural Sciences* (5), 1760-1764.
- Amin, A., Kagesten, A., Adebayo, E., & Chandra-Mouli, V. (2018). Addressing Gender Socialization and Masculinity Norms Among Adolescent Boys: Policy and Programmatic Implications. *Journal of Adolescent Health*. (62), 53-55.
- Angelone, D. J., Cantor, N., Marcantonio, T., & Joppa, M. (2020). Does Sexism Mediate The Gender And Rape Myth Acceptance Relationship? *Violence Against Women* 00(0), 1-18.
- Artz, L., Smythe, D. & Leggett, T. (2012). *Reflections On Integrated Rape Case Management*. University Of Cape Town: South Africa.
- Bandura, A. (1977). *Social Learning Theory*. New York: General Learning Press.
- Ben-David, S., & Schneider, O. (2005). Rape Perceptions, Gender Role Attitudes, And Victim-Perpetrator Acquaintance. *Sex Roles*. 53 (516), 385-399.
- Creswell, J. (2014). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methodology*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Marshall, W. L., Laws, D. R., & Barbaree, H. E. (Eds.), (1990). *Handbook of Sexual Assault: Issues, Theories and Treatment* (pp. 143-144). New York: Springer Science.
- Ellis, L. (1989). *Theories of Rape: Inquiries into The Causes of Sexual Aggression*. Pennsylvania: Hemisphere Publishing Company.
- Grath, A. N., & Burgees, A. W. (1979). Sexual Trauma in The Life Histories of Rapists and Child Molesters. *Victimology*. 4(1), 10-16.

- Gwartney-Gibbs, P., Stockard, J., & Bormer, S. (1983). Learning Courtship Aggression: The Influence of Parents, Peers and Personal Experiences. *Family Relations* (35), 276-282.
- Harper, G. W. (2001). Contextual Factors That Perpetuate Statutory Rape: The Influence of Gender Roles, Sexual Socialization and Social Factors. *DePaul Law Review*. 50(5), 897-918.
- Heiskanen, M. (2010). Trends in Police Recorded Crime. In S. Harrendorf, M. Heiskanen, & S. Malby, *International Statistics On Crime and Criminal Justice* (Pp. 21-35). Helsinki: United Nations Office On Drugs and Crime (UNODC).
- Idisis, Y., Ben-David, S., & Efrat, B. N. (2007). Attribution of Blame to Rape Victims Among the Rapists and Non-Therapists. *Behavioural Sciences and Law* (25), 103-120.
- Levine, R. A. (1959). Gsiii Sex Offences: A Study in Social Control. *American Anthropologist*. 61, 965-990.
- Lonsway, K., & Archambault, J. (2012). The 'Justice Gap' For Sexual Assault Cases: Future Directions for Research and Reform. *Violence Against Women*, 18 (2), 145-168.
- Lonsway, K., & Fitzgerald, L. (1994). Rape Myths. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*. (17), 133-164.
- Lottes, I. L. (1988). Sex Socialization and Attitudes Towards Rape. In A. W. Burgess, *Rape and Sexual Assault* (pp.193-220). New York: Garland Publishing.
- Maweu, J. (2022). Biological Factors as Drivers of Men to Rape: A Study of Male Rapists Incarcerated at Kamiti Maximum Prison in Nairobi, Kenya. *African Journal of Emerging Issues*. (4)7, 23-37.
- Maweu, J. K. (2006). Factors That Drive Men to Rape: A Study of Convicted Male Rapists in Kamiti Maximum Prison of Nairobi, Kenya. Nairobi, Kenya: Unpublished MA Thesis - Daystar University.
- Merril, S. D. (2004). *Encyclopedia of Rape*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Nelson, M. (2010). Making Sense of DNA Backlogs: Myths Versus Reality. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice (NCJ 230183)

- Ritter, N. (2012). Solving Sexual Assault: Finding Answers Through Research. *NIJ Journal*, 4(1): 23-56.
- Sanday, P. R. (1981). The Sociocultural Context of Rape: A Cross-Cultural Study. *Journal of Social Issues*. 37(4), 5-27.
- Seelinger, K. T., Silverberg, H. & Mejia, R. (2011). The Investigation and Prosecution of Sexual Violence. A Working Paper of the Sexual Violence and Accountability Project Human Rights Center University of California, Berkeley.
- Simons, D., Wurtele, S., & Durham, L. (2008). Developmental Experiences of Child Sexual Abusers and Rapists. *Child Abuse Neglect*. 32(5), 549-560.
- Stermac, L. E., Segal, Z. V., & Gillis, R. (1990). Social and Cultural Factors in Sexual Assault. In W. L. Marshall,
- Strom, K., Roper-Miller, J., Jones, S., Sikes, N., Pope, M. & Horstmann, N. (2013). The 2007 Survey of Law Enforcement Forensic Evidence Processing: Final Report. Triangle Park, NC: RTI International.
- Tofte, S. (2011). Testing Justice: The Rape Kit Backlog in Los Angeles City and County. New York-City, NY: Human Rights Watch. Available At: [Http://Www.Hrw.Org/En/Node/81825/Section/2](http://www.hrw.org/en/node/81825/section/2).
- Watkins, B., & Bentovim, A. (1992). Male Children and Adolescents as Victims: A Review of Current Knowledge. In C. M. G, & B. K. M, *Male Victims of Sexual Assault* (pp. 27-66). London: Oxford University Press.
- White, J., & Sorenson, S. (1992). A Sociocultural View of Sexual Assault: From Discrepancy to Diversity. *Journal of Social Issues*. (48), 187-195.
- Zurbriggen, E. L. (2010). Rape, War, And The Socialization Of Masculinity: Why Our Refusal To Give Up War Ensures That Rape Cannot Be Eradicated. *Psychology of Women Quarterly* (34), 538-549.