

Serial Survivors: A Multi-Victim Case Study

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Abstract

This paper presents a case study based on how victims were impacted upon by rape and their subsequent involvement in the large police investigation and trial leading to the successful conviction of a prolific serial rapist. Material is presented outlining the background of the case before focusing on the women and how they managed the attack itself as well as their involvement in police investigative and court processes. In listening to the women recount their experiences of how they were impacted upon, we are provided with a window into what victims need in order to survive and manage in the aftermath of rape. These women's stories challenge conventional notions of victimhood and demonstrate ways of enhancing police/victim working relationships generally, as well as aiding our appreciation of multi-victim investigations. The paper also presents material from detectives involved in this case to illustrate the learning acquired by police during the course of this investigation.

Introduction

In the 1990s the city of Auckland, New Zealand, was the hunting ground for two of the worst serial rape offenders the country had ever known. Headlines described police “Hunting an Evil Shadow” (Taylor, 1995), screamed of “Streets of Fear” (Panckhurst, 1994) and profiled the victims of “The shadow that haunts South Auckland” (Welch, 1994). One of these offenders, Joseph Thompson, was apprehended by police and pleaded guilty to multiple offences; the other was still preying on women while police tried to close the net on him. This man was subsequently identified as Malcolm Rewa and arrested, with a total of 45 charges laid against him for offences committed against 27 women.

Rewa refused to admit guilt, resulting in one of the biggest court trials in the country. A senior detective who had been actively involved in both the Thompson and Rewa investigations suggested that, as someone with an extensive history of rape research, I would find it of interest to interview the women attacked by Rewa. This could not eventuate until after the trial was ended, and the offender convicted and imprisoned. From an initial group meeting with some of the women, the idea of a book emerged, one they hoped might provide the kind of resource they had looked for in the aftermath of rape. These women contacted others, and eventually I was able to interview 14 of the women from the trial plus a woman attacked by Rewa in 1975 who agreed to return to the courtroom to give evidence again.

This paper is based on the interview material from this research (Jordan, 2008), as well as incorporating material obtained from interviews I conducted with four of the principal detectives involved in the investigation. It begins by summarising the women's experiences of victimisation before considering the significance for them of being part of a large, multi-victim case. A central aim of this paper is to convey the learning obtained by the police involved in this case, and its implications for police responses to rape victims more generally.

Firstly, we need to establish what it was the women had to survive and acknowledge the extent of their victimisation.

Background

Malcolm Rewa committed his first known rape in 1975, was caught and sentenced to four and a half years in prison. Following his release he became a key member of the Highway 61 biker gang, and is now known to have sexually attacked at least 27 women during the period 1987-1996. He was convicted on most of the 45 counts against him, and while there was DNA evidence linking him to a number of cases, he was identified largely through his distinctive pattern of attack.

Rewa watched and stalked most of his victims, acquainting himself with a house's occupants and layout before breaking in, drawing on the skills he had developed as a burglar. He would overcome his victims suddenly and forcefully, silencing any screams by punching them in the mouths, and threatening their or their children's lives. Any attempts at resistance would be met by binding their wrists and ankles behind their backs, and gagging their mouths shut. Usually he would remove the women's clothing from the waist down, drape them on the bed with their legs hanging over the edge, and would shine a torch over their nakedness. Rewa's problems with erectile dysfunction often resulted in various attempts at masturbation/penetration, with some rapes technically not fully completed. Often he would leave the woman lying there powerless while he looked around the house for money, and might also return to rape her again. Sometimes it was difficult for the women to know when/if he had actually left the house.

Having given a brief outline of the offending, I want to shift the focus to those Malcolm Rewa attacked. Rewa tended to favour middle-higher socio-economic areas in Auckland city and suburbs. Of the 27 women whose cases went to trial, most were in their thirties at the time of the attack with the age range overall being from 15-43 years. The majority of the women were Caucasian, and most were well-educated, often professional women. They were typically attacked in their own home while asleep and once the offender had established there were no other adults in the house. The

majority had little previous experience with the police and felt very much strangers in a foreign land when they began engaging with the criminal justice system.

Experiencing and Resisting Victimisation

The image of 'woman as victim' is pervasive, and one that has become almost iconic in our society, a picture of total submission and surrender, the epitome of disempowerment. Traditional views of self defence have stressed the importance of acquiring the physical skills required to fight off a would-be assailant, with women instructed to avoid all risks and walk around prepared to morph into warrior princesses if need be (Brecklin and Ullman, 2005; Heyden et al, 1999; Hollander, 2005; Reekie and Wilson, 1993). Such a view reflects in part a perception that the attack is physical and the resistance and defence must also be physical.

While accepting that this can be an important part of self defence, the women's comments reflected a much broader conception of what self defence means (Jordan, 2005). In part this was necessitated by Rewa very quickly demonstrating that he was not the kind of attacker who would be deterred by attempts to resist him physically. As noted earlier, he communicated his determination to succeed very forcefully by his physical aggression, through the ways he disabled his victims, and by how he responded to any attempts on their part to resist him physically. His threats and actions ensured he obtained compliant victims.

Despite this, several of the women described how hurt they felt afterwards when those around them criticised them for not resisting him and employing self defence measures. Suzanne for example felt others blamed her lack of self defence knowledge in ways that implied she could have, and should have, been able to avoid being raped:

[P]eople afterwards were saying, 'Well, why didn't you do this, why didn't you knee him between the legs?' and things like that.... I couldn't knee him between the legs because I was in bed when he came in. He was expecting me but I wasn't expecting him. (Suzanne, in Jordan, 2008, p. 27)

It was also evident from the women's accounts that physical self defence may not always be the best option. In Rewa's case he responded even more aggressively towards any woman who tried to physically resist him. This prompted some to quickly devise other ways of responding and resisting. Raquel, for example, was one of the few women not attacked in her home. Rewa attacked her while she was getting into her car late one night, surprising and disabling her with a massive blow to the back of her head. She was scathing about assumptions that physical self defence would have 'saved'

her. What Raquel suggested was a quick appraisal of the situation to determine what the best option might be, in that environment with that particular attacker. She said:

You really just have to work it out at the time and that's the hard part, whether to fight or not.

She quickly assessed Rewa was not *a guy that you mess with, what he wants he will get* and decided to pretend the blow to the head had knocked her out.

I thought, he's hit me really hard on the back of the head - I could quite conceivably be unconscious or half-unconscious. If he thinks I'm unconscious he won't hurt me, because there's no reason to because I'm not going to fight back, so self-preservation... It worked. He was very, very careful with me and that's what I found fascinating, the way he was really quite gentle with me, the way he really treated my body. I suffered no further injury after that, no further physical injury. (Raquel, in Jordan, 2008, p. 21)

Now Raquel was still raped but what she did was for her a means of self defence. She found a way that kept a part of herself defended against Rewa's control, beyond his reach. This played a key role in her survival and recovery. The very fact that she successfully fooled him into thinking she was actually unconscious was hugely satisfying. As she described it:

I fooled him, and that came out in court too - it was like, I won!.... The fact that I'd fooled him, the fact that he really believed that and that I got the better of him. He didn't like it and that made me feel so good, it's like my little triumph, it's like, 'You didn't have complete control over me.'... I had control over him mentally in the sense that I fooled him, I don't know how to describe that - it's really amazing. (Raquel, in Jordan, 2008, p. 22)

Many of the other women also described ways in which they too created and strategised in the situation when physical self defence seemed impossible as an option. Some quickly adopted the role of observer and recorder, thinking ahead to the level of description they would pass on to the police – these women found a way to stay present but with a purpose. Others chose to dissociate, to leave Rewa their body and mentally remove themselves – one said that her sense of humour even kicked in at this point as she looked down on her bound and gagged body and found herself asking: *What would MacGyver do?* Others devised psychological strategies to help them survive in the moment, an example of which is now presented.

Gabriel described clearly the sense of fear and powerlessness the women experienced, recalling her own initial panic when Rewa attacked her one night. She became aware of herself lying in classic victim mode, scared, powerless, and waiting to be further harmed by him. As she said:

This guy had me strewn over a bed half naked, bound with blankets over my face, in position, just totally ready to rape me and he's going through the knife drawer, coming back into the room.... I thought, 'What can I do, what can I do to protect myself?' So I closed my eyes really hard and I decided to just fill up the entire room with myself so that as much of that room had me in it, so that there was no room for him in there, and it was a really hard process because I didn't have much time....

I just closed my eyes to try and think about me and how big I could possibly make myself in this room without moving. Bigger and bigger and bigger and bigger, and not focusing on what he is doing out there, and bigger and bigger and bigger and bigger. And he comes back in and he tries to rape me and he can't. (Gabriel, in Jordan, 2008, pp. 25-26)

Gabriel's example illustrates two things:

- (i) the power of mental self defence when physical defence is impossible; and
- (ii) how victimisation and survival co-exist.

At the very point of her victimisation, right when she was being treated as an object in this man's plan, she was, like Raquel, actively resisting his control, searching for some means to limit his power over her.

This perspective has implications for the on-going debate regarding whether to use the term 'victim' or 'survivor' when referring to those who have experienced rape victimisation. The inference is that either term on its own is imbalanced. Specifically, to only stress the harm of victimisation ignores the very act of survival and all the ways a victim may try to reduce or manage the effects of victimisation, yet to place ALL the emphasis on survival can shunt victims prematurely into feeling they have to be 'over it', they have to be strong, in ways that can ignore the very real harms they have experienced and needs that these engender.

These women demonstrated how they could hold both victim and survivor positions simultaneously. At the same time as they were being physically/sexually victimised, they were mentally and psychologically acting in their own defence. Their bodies may have been passive - through fear or from being physically bound and rendered immobile, but they still described ways in which they actively sought to limit Rewa's control of them. It was important for them to know there was a part

of them he could not reach, that they could resist him mentally and keep a part of themselves separate. He could rape their bodies but not their spirits. This was essential to their survival.

Surviving police processes

As well as surviving and managing the attack itself, the women also had to find ways to manage police processes and court procedures, with the potential these can have to cause secondary or revictimisation (Freckelton, 1998; Koss, 2000; Lees, 1997; Orth, 2002; Scutt, 1997). Some, for instance, talked about how they felt they became an object to collect evidence from, and struggled when some officers seemed to show little understanding or empathy for how police procedures might impact. One officer, for example, followed procedure regarding returning property that had been retained for forensic examination – he turned up on the victim's doorstep, unannounced, to present her with the jeans she had been wearing on the night she was raped – minus the crutch. The fact that there was a sizeable group of complainants, however, made a difference, in ways seldom available to the victims of one-off incidents. The next part of this paper focuses on the significance of being part of a large, multi-victim case, both for the women and for the police.

Firstly, for the women, their awareness of each other's existence was something that evolved over time, with the earlier victims unaware that others existed. Once police were confident that a serial offender was involved, the more recent victims knew in theory that others existed, although they were unable to have any contact with them until after they had given evidence at the trial. There were various ways this affected them.

Some of the aspects associated with being part of a multi-victim case could add to the women's distress, to the point of possible revictimisation. For example, some spoke of being led through police stations to be interviewed, feeling as if they were on show as the latest Rewa victim. They said they were aware of other detectives looking to see if they fitted the type this offender typically targeted. Their feelings of vulnerability in this situation were sometimes enhanced further by how they felt about what they were wearing. Connie described it this way:

They took me down to the police station in my nightie, exactly how I was dressed, in my nightie.... I can't remember how long I was there, it seemed to be ages. I was not in any particular private area because it must have been the start to the change of a shift because people seemed to be coming and going and sort of staring at me.

JJ: How did that feel?

Lonely, just lonely. (Connie, in Jordan, 2008, p. 46)

A second area of possible distress for some women came from the intense media interest in a case of this size. Once the hunt for a serial rapist was on, every next woman attacked made headlines, and although names were not published, there was often sufficient identifying detail printed for them to become recognisable to those who knew them. Shelley, for instance, was angered by the following experience:

I actually had a guy who used to work, with me say, 'Oh, we walked by your house to see which house it was that you were raped in.' I just remember thinking, 'How dare you!' ... I was just amazed that there is this sort of, 'Let's all drive past the house where the rape was' thing. A lot of people identified me because my street had been identified. (Shelley, in Jordan, 2008, p. 132)

The later victims had to manage their cases being added to a list of descriptions and areas showing where this man had attacked. This meant that at any time they could find themselves suddenly profiled again in the newspaper or on television. One woman, for example, sought safety in another city following the rape, a feeling that lasted only until she reached the newsstand.

I got to a newsagent's and they had these huge headlines: 'Serial Rapist Strikes Again.' I picked up this paper and there's a list of attacks, and mine was in there. I was just devastated. I thought, 'For fuck's sake, I just can't get away from this. It's followed me!' (Karen, in Jordan, 2008, p. 132)

However, there were also positives to be gained from being part of a multi-victim case. The most significant was the comfort many of the women said they gained from knowing they were not alone. As one woman said:

It probably sounds a bit weird but I was actually quite pleased that it wasn't just me. Not that I wanted it to happen to anyone else of course, but it made me feel a lot more comfortable. I wasn't the only one. There was some one else out there who understood how I was feeling. Even if I had never met them, they were there. (Kathleen, in Jordan, 2008, p. 192)

The detectives working on this case also observed the strength the women obtained from knowing others were going through what they were, and were able to use this to encourage the women to keep going and participate in the trial.

They actually found strength knowing that other women were going through what they were going through.... that they weren't alone in what they'd experienced, in what they were feeling. And that they weren't alone in what was going to happen. Initially when we talked to them and told them about the trial, all of them said, 'No, I don't want to do that. I'm scared.' And we said to them, 'Well, you're not alone. So and so's scared as well.' (Female detective)

The fact that there were multiple victims meant that these women became a force to be reckoned with, especially since so many of them were well-educated, professional women, highly articulate and assertive. One aspect that frustrated many were long intervals with no communication during the nearly two-year period between when Rewa was arrested and the trial commenced. While police and prosecution team members were communicating between themselves, initially the women often felt at the mercy of the system. The delays to the commencement of the trial were experienced particularly harshly, with the women often describing how it felt like an emotional roller coaster as they prepared themselves for the trial starting on a particular date and then had to adjust to further delays. While such delays inconvenience everyone involved, the impact on the women was keenly felt, since with each new date they had to psychologically gear themselves up for court, as well as arrange for the availability of a support person and organise practical aspects such as child care and time off work. Buoyed on by knowing there were many others being similarly affected, some responded by complaining and demanding to be kept better informed:

In the end I initiated it and said, 'You've got to send us more letters, tell us what the hell is going on', because there were times when they'd say, 'Look, the trial's here', but then you didn't hear and then you're waiting to go to trial and then someone phones and says, 'Oh no, it's not happening for another six months' That was really hard, I actually suffered every time that happened.

Emotionally you do, trying to prepare yourself for it....

They probably felt that they were doing enough, but when you live with something day by day, it's not enough. (Helen, in Jordan, 2008, pp. 67-68)

Helen felt that the police listened to her and responded well, quoting them as saying to her:

'Well, thank you for having the courage to come forward and go to court. Thank you for telling me that about the communication. I understand it from your point of view now and we'll try and do something about it, however, understand we've got this skeleton staff, and dah dah dah.' (Jordan, 2008, p. 68)

The police were keen to get it right for the right because this was a high-profile case involving a repeat offender whom they were determined to see convicted. Since Rewa had not pleaded guilty, they needed to ensure an on-going, positive relationship was maintained with the victim/survivors. It is to their credit that many allowed themselves to hear what the women were saying and began to see things from the victim's perspective and how the system felt from the other side. Several positive outcomes resulted from this enhanced awareness.

The first was that the police began issuing bulletins that were sent to all the women, updating them regarding developments in the case and proposed trial dates. This was a step that was very appreciated not only for the information contained but also for imparting a sense that the women were an integral part of this case and important to it.

A second key initiative was the appointment of dedicated officers to be available to the women in the lead-up to the trial. Initially these were three, then later two, women detectives whose role was specifically to liaise with and support the women. This involved reinterviewing some as well as being available to answer queries, provide information and generally support them through the lead-up to the trial, as well as through the trial itself. Recognition was given to the fact that personality and class differences might influence the degree of 'fit' between the women and the detectives, as reflected in one detective's account of how they managed this aspect:

We divided the list of victims between ourselves and the ladies, and we introduced ourselves to the ladies. We found out who we could work with and who we couldn't. If we had a personality clash with one lady then we'd get somebody else to go round. (Female detective)

A similar process was later undertaken to match each of the women with one of the three prosecutors involved in the case. Each woman individually met the prosecution and police team before the trial commenced, as well as having a briefing nearer to her own court appearance. The level of support and preparation each received was credited by the police as a key factor in ensuring each woman not only made it into court but could be a strong and compelling witness on the stand.

Comments were made by both the police and the women suggesting each valued the formation of a team identity. A senior detective spoke of how important it was to establish a good connection, saying the rapport the police achieved with the women was important in helping them get through the court case:

That's why we got on so well. We weren't kind of strangers who one day they'll walk into court and see these funny bloody faces sitting around the place and wonder who the hell we were and everything. They'd just feel like they were being abused again: 'Here's another case, bang up there, spout out all they've got to say then out the door and thanks for coming, we'll let you know what happens'. They were made, because of that original meeting and everything that happened, to feel like they were part of that team... they became part of the team, the team to put down Rewa. (Male detective)

One of the women attacked by Rewa spoke similarly about feeling aware of the police team and how this had a positive impact on the ways they cared for the women:

As for the police, the Harvey team, I felt that they became like a caring little family. A lot of detective men are really hard, but the ones that I met came up when they saw you, 'Hi, how are you?' I think they tried to make it as easy as they could for the victim - they looked after you. (Ann, in Jordan, 2008, p. 86)

While waiting for the verdict many of the women met up with each other at court and, in the company of the police/prosecution team, spoke fondly of sharing pizzas, conversation and laughter together. After the trial was over, most of the key players gathered with family members at what one of the women termed 'the after-match function'. This was an informal luncheon allowing everyone to meet each other in one of the women's homes, away from the pomp and austerity of the court. Descriptions from the women, police and prosecutors all indicated that this was a moving occasion for everyone present. As one woman commented:

It was an incredibly emotional experience. I would say that that's where my real healing came, to actually feel the strength of those women and to know how much we'd all been through.... (Karen, in Jordan, 2008, p. 193)

Implications for police

This case may have been unique in some ways, but in other ways it was not, and the detectives involved felt they learned an incredible amount from this group of women that was applicable to other investigations. While some police may have felt threatened and become defensive, these particular officers seemed willing to listen and enhance their understanding of how police processes impacted on victim/survivors. What this large, multi-victim case prompted was the motivation for increased responsiveness to victims' needs, and resulted not only in the successful prosecution of the

offender but also in the police acquiring increased understanding and learning about how to manage and support victims of sexual violence. The measures they introduced were ones that, as some said, should ideally be available for any victim of rape or sexual assault.

Four of the key learning points for police relating to how they interact with and respond to victim/survivors of rape are now presented:

1. the importance of a victim-centred approach;
2. the need for specialist skills and understanding;
3. the relevance of gender and using this to best advantage; and
4. the importance of fully preparing the victim/survivor for court.

1. The importance of a victim-centred approach

The detectives all spoke of how much they learned from listening to each woman, including an appreciation of the importance to the investigation of responding positively to her needs. As one commented:

The victim is the only person who sees the offender as part of the crime...If we don't interview her right, treat her right, then we might as well pack up and go home. That's why it's so crucial to do the victim right because she's the only one that can tell us about the offender. (Male detective)

The success of police investigations depends on positive relationships being formed and sustained with victim/survivors. As a United States detective expressed it, since the victim is the best evidence available, she needs to be cared for with as much care as that given to gathering and preserving any form of forensic evidence (Wells, 1991). A victim-centred approach is the most consistent with realising police aims of securing offender apprehension and conviction.

The principal reason for arguing for a victim-centred approach, however, comes down to the need to avoid any potential revictimisation of those already victimised. Having endured one trauma, it is imperative for the state, and others, to respond in ways that serve to ameliorate the harm done, not exacerbate it. The ability to heal and regain their lives is enhanced by positive interventions from others, with the emphasis being on finding ways to best meet the needs of victim/survivors, recognising the individual and diverse nature of such needs.

2. The need for specialist skills and understanding

While being able to connect with the victim/survivor and care for her was seen as important, also recognised was the need for specialist knowledge to inform interviewing procedures and interactions. A profiling detective who reviewed police interviews said they demonstrated the need for specialisation:

It would be very nice if we could have specialist interviewers because in some of the files that we have here, you look at some of the statements and they're awful! You know, that cop might have been really good with the victim and they might have got on really well, but as an evidence gathering exercise it was abysmal. (Male detective)

Also recognised as important was the need for specialised understanding of sexual violence and how it impacts on victims. A senior detective spoke strongly about how his approach to rape investigations was revolutionised after seeing firsthand how so many victims behaved, as well as reading research specific to rape investigations, such as Hazelwood and Burgess's book, *Practical Aspects of Rape Investigation*. As he expressed it:

It's not that we weren't treating them humanely, we just were treating them without understanding what their feelings were. That's a crying shame because we couldn't give them the service we should have been able to give them because we didn't understand what it is they were going through and how they were feeling... All of sudden it became understandable to us. Why victims behave in a certain way. Why they didn't tell us everything the moment they sat down in a chair. Why they felt dirty and unclean, why they wanted to get home and have a shower and wash the smell of the offender away from their body... If we don't understand, we can't interpret. If we can't interpret, we make the wrong decision. (Male detective)

3. The relevance of gender and using this to best advantage

The sheer size and seriousness of this case prompted the police, as noted earlier, to assign dedicated female detectives to engage with the women. What these detectives found was that they were often able to obtain a more detailed version of events, particularly involving embarrassing aspects to do with the offender's sexual interaction with them. In speaking of Rewa's victims, one detective noted:

The majority of them said they felt awkward speaking to a male officer. They were a bit more relaxed with female officers. When you talk to the guys [male detectives] they say, 'Oh no, I've been talking to them fine' but when you sit down with the women themselves, they say, 'Well actually, it's

easier to talk to you than a male.' I mean they'll never say that to a male officer, which is understandable. (Female detective)

In some cases it was the rapport established over time that eventually enabled the victim to disclose aspects that were later important in establishing that the same offender was involved. The importance of gaining full disclosure was emphasised by a senior detective from the profiling unit as he spoke of their investigative efforts. He described the way police analysed the cases linked by DNA to Rewa to develop a generic template, adding:

Then we put that generic template onto the characteristics of all of the other crimes and they were either present or not. But there were some where there was just no indication whether the characteristics were present. Why? Because the victims either hadn't told us or they hadn't been asked. (Male detective)

It was often in the re-interviewing of the women, by the female detectives, that the details were obtained that enabled the investigation team to establish and identify Rewa's sexual signature. This signature was critical since it stayed consistent even when he changed aspects of his modus operandi. Thus while there may have been changes in when and how he apprehended his victims, and how he constrained them, there was a consistency around such aspects as his sexual positioning of them, particular voyeuristic elements, erectile issues and so forth. These were sensitive and embarrassing areas for many victims to talk about. Statements could be, and were, obtained that seemed intact but failed to include these details, and it was the re-interviewing of the victims, over time, by women detectives in particular, that enabled this kind of evidence to be obtained to a sufficient level of detail.

4. The importance of fully preparing the victim for court

The police and prosecutors all put in a lot of effort preparing the women for the trial using the aspects already mentioned, such as deploying dedicated policewomen and holding advance meetings with the prosecution team. Efforts were also made to ensure the women had good prior knowledge of the court's layout, where the offender would be positioned, and how they should present themselves. As one detective said later:

We saw the benefit of that preparation with the Harvey trial. But that was a oncer. We had the facility, the time and the motivation to do it, because it was such a public trial and of a bad offender. (Male detective)

As other detectives commented, having seen what a difference such victim responsiveness made, they wished it was something ALL victims of rape could experience – that it would in fact not be just 'a oncer'.

Implications for rape investigations generally

Very little has been written regarding multi-victim cases from the perspective of how the victims are treated and impacted upon. The only paper located was published following the investigation of Paul Bernardo for 18 known rapes and sexual assaults, plus three homicides, in Ontario, Canada (Campbell, 1996). The judge who conducted the Bernardo Investigation Review emphasised how it showed the importance of sound sexual assault case management systems as well as the importance of specialised sexual assault investigation training. He stressed the importance of such factors as employing interviewing techniques that would enable full disclosure of the assault, keeping victims well-informed, providing officer continuity, and utilising victim support services.

There are obviously considerable similarities between this review and the learning that emerged from the Rewa investigation, and in ending this paper I want to highlight the implications for rape investigations generally.

The measures the police and prosecutors introduced were ones that should ideally be available for any victim/survivor of rape or sexual assault, not only those involved in a high-profile, multi-victim investigation. They demonstrate an awareness of the critical importance of caring for the victim/survivor to the success of any investigation or prosecution. They also show how essential it is to recognise the potential for criminal justice system processes to cause secondary (re)victimisation, and for all those involved to be cognisant of these risks and committed to their amelioration. The need for all those working with victims/survivors to have specialist knowledge and training is also evident, including understanding of how trauma impacts on disclosure and behaviour. Lastly, this case clearly demonstrates that the likelihood of success at trial can be increased by adopting a team approach, with all those involved united in the goal of securing the offender's conviction, while protecting victim/survivor well-being. Effective policing depends on positive, caring and trusting relationships being established and sustained over time with those who have been victimised, with these also being an important factor in the latter's own survival journey.

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