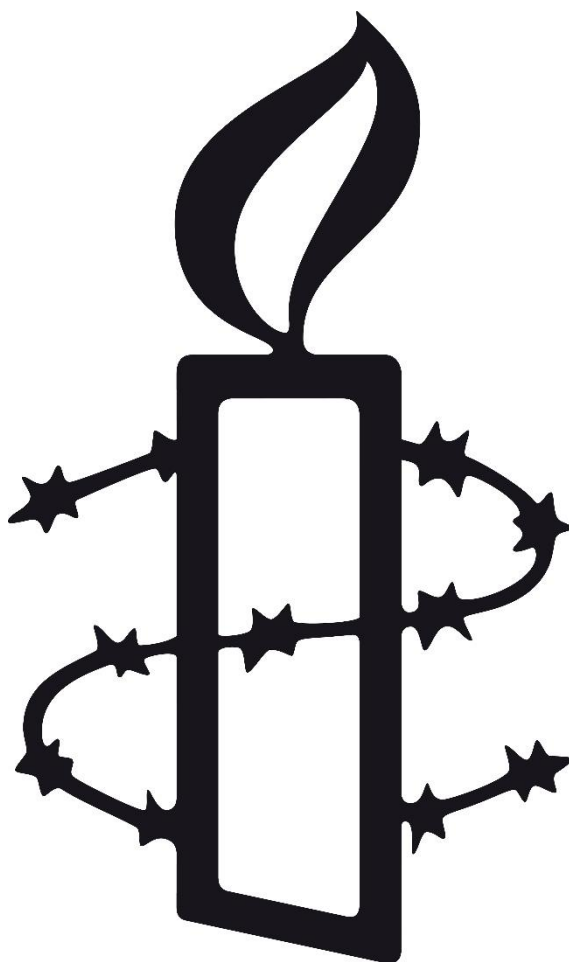


SOUTH AFRICA

SUBMISSION TO THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE
142ND SESSION, 14 OCTOBER- 7 NOVEMBER 2024, LIST OF
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Amnesty International submits this briefing to the United Nations (UN) Human Rights Committee, in advance of the adoption of the List of Issues Prior to Reporting for South Africa's second periodic report under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights ('the Covenant'). This submission is not an exhaustive account of Amnesty International's concerns but highlights several of the organization's key concerns in relation to the implementation of the Covenant in South Africa.

1. INTRODUCTION

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2. HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDERS (ARTICLES 2, 6, 7 AND 9)

South Africa has seen increased threats and violence against human rights defenders (HRDs). The Centre for Environmental Rights has documented numerous cases where activists are harassed, threatened, and even killed for their work.¹ In 2018, Amnesty International campaigned for environmental activist Nonhle Mbuthuma from the Amadiba Crisis Committee (ACC), an organization that defends land rights, who was receiving death threats.² She started receiving these threats following the killing of ACC's chairperson Sikhosiphi 'Bazooka' Radebe in 2016. There has been no justice for his murder.³ In 2020, environmental activist Fikile Ntshangase was killed for speaking out against proposed mining in her community. Similarly, there has been no justice for her killing.⁴ Threats, attacks and killings of members of grassroots movement Abahlali baseMjondolo (AbM) continue with no protection offered, nor justice for those killed or their loved ones.⁵ AbM have reported that 25 of their members, supporters and leaders have been killed over the past 18 years since its formation in 2005. According to AbM, some of these killings occurred during protests, police raids, or evictions, while some were targeted killings. In 2022 alone, three of the movement's activists were killed in a space of six months in the eKhenana informal settlement on the outskirts of eThekweni (formerly Durban). Those killed in eKhenana in 2022 were linked to court cases in which they were key witnesses or victims of trumped-up charges. At least five of the eight killed in eKhenana between 2018 and 2022 are believed to have been killed due to their activism work. There have only been two convictions for the 25 killed - one for the murder of Thuli Ndlovu in 2014 and another for Ayanda Ngila in 2022. The state has failed to ensure justice for AbM activists and failed to provide a safe and enabling environment for these and other human rights defenders to carry out their work.⁶

Journalists can play a role in upholding human rights, by reporting and exposing human rights violations. Threats against journalists are experienced on several fronts, including online hate speech and harassment and in-person threats and attacks.⁷ Attacks, threats and killings extend to whistleblowers, with the most notable recent example being Babita Deokaran, killed outside of her home after she exposed alleged corruption in the Gauteng Department of Health.⁸

¹ Centre for Environmental Rights, 'Defining Moments of 2019: Defending environmental defenders', 2019 <https://cer.org.za/news/defining-moments-2019-defending-environmental-defenders>

² Amnesty International, 'Nonhle Mbuthuma: What is the future you would swipe for?', 2018, <https://amnesty.org.za/nonhle-mbuthuma-what-is-the-future-you-would-swipe-for/>

³ Daily Maverick, 'Amadiba Crisis Committee will honour slain activist by defending the right to say no to extractivism', 27 March 2022, <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2022-03-27-amadiba-crisis-committee-will-honour-slain-activist-by-defending-the-right-to-say-no-to-extractivism/>

⁴ Amnesty International South Africa, 'Two years and still no justice for Fikile Ntshangase murder', October 2022, <https://amnesty.org.za/south-africa-two-years-and-still-no-justice-for-fikile-ntshangases-murder/>

⁵ Amnesty International South Africa, 'Stop threats to Thapelo', 2023, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/petition/stop-threats-to-thapelo/>

⁶ Amnesty International, *"Our Lives Count for Nothing": Threats, attacks and killings of members of Abahlali Basemjondolo (Shack dwellers) movement in South Africa's KwaZulu-Natal province*, 2024, <https://amnesty.org.za/research/our-lives-count-for-nothing/>

⁷ Amnesty International, Campaign for Free Expression, Committee to Protect Journalists, Media Monitoring Africa, and the South African National Editors' Forum, 'Universal Periodic Review: Freedom of Expression', March 2022, <https://amnesty.org.za/research/universal-periodic-review-freedom-of-expression/>

⁸ News24, 'Silenced: Why Babita Deokaran was murdered', 2023, <https://specialprojects.news24.com/silenced/index.html>

South Africa has a number of pieces of legislation which provides for the protection of whistleblowers in different situations, although with the murder of Babita Deokaran there was a call to strengthen this legislation. However, there is no specific legislation for the protection of HRDs. In 2023, the South African Department of Justice and Constitutional Development released a Discussion Document on Proposed Reforms for the Whistleblower Protection Regime in South Africa⁹ and opened it for public comment.¹⁰ There is still a need for legislation which is specific to the protection of HRDs.

During the UN Universal Periodic Review (UPR) in 2022, focusing on South Africa's compliance with international human rights obligations, a number of countries also made recommendations¹¹ to South Africa calling for the protection of HRDs and for the country to put in place effective mechanisms for the protection of HRDs. The South African government has acknowledged and accepted these UPR recommendations and undertaken to implement legislation to protect HRDs, yet no steps have been taken towards this.

3. MIGRATION (ARTICLES 7, 9 AND 13)

South Africa has a strong legal and human rights framework on refugees and asylum seekers' rights. However, the failed asylum management process, which has been well documented over the years, shows that the implementation of existing laws and policies, as well as court orders, is starkly lacking.¹²

The rights of asylum seekers and refugees, which are prescribed in law and policy, are being denied in various ways. Amnesty International found that the asylum process is not explained properly to asylum seekers when they arrive, and translation is either lacking or of poor quality. Asylum seekers have recently fled their countries of origin, and many are unable to speak and understand English, which puts them at a major disadvantage in being able to claim refugee status without prejudice.¹³ This is compounded by the fact that most asylum seekers do not have legal representation to assist them with their claims if they are rejected. Poor decision-making, including mistakes of fact and lack of sound reasoning, has led to a 96% rejection rate,¹⁴ resulting in a massive backlog of appeals and reviews. This has kept some asylum seekers in the asylum system for as long as 19 years. Institutional xenophobia and anti-migrant bias are rife, exacerbating the vulnerable position of asylum seekers.¹⁵

The consequence of the failures in the asylum management system is that asylum seekers live in limbo, without permanent status, for up to 19 years. The effects of this are multifaceted, and include financial, physical and psychosocial elements. Inability to remain documented affects their ability to get decent and permanent work, hinders their rights to access basic education and healthcare, and makes them vulnerable to harassment, arrest and detention.¹⁶ Civil society organizations have reported a practice of unlawfully arresting asylum seekers at Refugee Reception Offices across the country, which is being challenged in court. Since November 2023, new applicants for asylum have reportedly been arrested, detained, and deported without the chance to have a refugee status

⁹ Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, *Discussion Document on Proposed Reforms for the Whistleblower Protection Regime in South Africa*, 2023,

<https://static.pmg.org.za/230629WhistleblowerProtectionRegime.pdf>

¹⁰ Amnesty International, 'Submission supporting the proposed reforms for the whistleblower protection regime in South Africa', 14 August 2023, <https://amnesty.org.za/research/submission-supporting-the-proposed-reforms-for-the-whistleblower-protection-regime-in-south-africa/>

¹¹ United Nations Human Rights Council, *Universal Periodic Review - South Africa*, 2023, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/hr-bodies/upr/za-index> (accessed on 14 June 2024)

¹² Amnesty International, *Living in Limbo: Rights of Asylum Seekers Denied*, (AFR 53/0983/2019), 2019, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr53/0983/2019/en/>

¹³ Amnesty International, *Living in Limbo: Rights of Asylum Seekers Denied*, (AFR 53/0983/2019), 2019, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr53/0983/2019/en/>

¹⁴ Amnesty International, *Living in Limbo: Rights of Asylum Seekers Denied*, (AFR 53/0983/2019), 2019, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr53/0983/2019/en/>

¹⁵ Amnesty International, *Living in Limbo: Rights of Asylum Seekers Denied*, (AFR 53/0983/2019), 2019, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr53/0983/2019/en/>

¹⁶ Amnesty International, *Living in Limbo: Rights of Asylum Seekers Denied*, (AFR 53/0983/2019), 2019, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr53/0983/2019/en/>

determination interview. This puts asylum seekers at risk of being returned to countries where they face persecution or other serious human rights violations.¹⁷

In April 2024, South Africa finalized the White Paper on Citizenship, Immigration and Refugee Protection, proposing an overhaul of the migration system in South Africa. The paper proposes that South Africa withdraws from the 1951 Refugee Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol, and the re-enter at a later date with reservations on critical articles of the Convention, including access to health, education, social welfare, the right to work and trade, and others.¹⁸ This will have negative consequences on the rights of asylum seekers and refugees and concerns have been raised by civil society about its impacts.¹⁹

4. CORPORATE ACCOUNTABILITY/MINING AFFECTED COMMUNITIES (ARTICLE 2.3)

The extractives industry in South Africa has a dark and sordid history characterized by discrimination, exploitation and exclusion. The mining industry was both a beneficiary and a driver of colonialism and apartheid in its economic, social and legal manifestations. As the mining industry grew, Black communities were driven away from ancestral lands and ghettoised into informal settlements. The mining sector also perpetuated and strengthened the apartheid state through ill treatment and economic exploitation of Black workers.²⁰

Given this past, the post-apartheid government, has made some attempts to regulate mining operations and to offset the challenges wrought by mining in local communities through the adoption of new legislation which includes Social and Labour Plans (SLPs) - legally binding mechanisms through which mining companies are required to address socio-economic impacts of mining on communities surrounding the mines.

Amnesty International has found that the Department of Mineral Resources and Energy (DMRE) (now known as the Department of Mineral and Petroleum Resources), the government body regulating the mining industry and the enforcement of SLPs, has failed to adequately monitor mining companies' implementation of SLPs.²¹ The failure by the DMRE to monitor SLPs results in the harmful impacts of mining being exacerbated which negatively impacts the enjoyment of human rights by communities. SLPs have done little to transform how mining companies operate and ensure that they meet their human rights responsibilities, and this is largely due to the lack of state oversight.²²

The failure by mines to implement their SLPs is a compounding factor to the many challenges faced by communities, some of which include negative environmental, social and economic outcomes, gender inequality, and polluted water sources.²³

¹⁷ Scalabrini, *Press Release: Scalabrini Centre of Cape Town and Lawyers for Human Rights to Challenge Unlawful Arrests of New Asylum Seekers*, 24 May 2024, <https://www.scalabrini.org.za/press-release-unlawful-arrests-of-new-asylum-seekers/>

¹⁸ Department of Home Affairs, *White Paper on Citizenship, Immigration and Refugee Protection: Towards a Complete Overhaul of the Migration System in South Africa*, 17 April 2024, https://www.dha.gov.za/images/gazettes/ANNEXURE_A_Gazette-50530.pdf

¹⁹ Helen Suzman Foundation, 'HSF rejects finalisation of white paper on citizenship, immigration and refugee protection', no date, <https://hsf.org.za/news/press-releases/hsf-rejects-finalisation-of-white-paper-on-citizenship-immigration-and-refugee-protection>

²⁰ See for example Vic Allen, *The history of black mineworkers in South Africa: The techniques of resistance 1871-1948*, 2007; Martin Legassick, 'Capital accumulation and violence', 1974, *Economy and Violence*, Volume 2, Issue 3, p. 253-291 (Capitalism accumulation and violence); Harold Wolpe, 'Capitalism and cheap labour-power in South Africa: From segregation to apartheid', 1972, *Economy and Society*, Volume 1, Issue 4, p.425-456 (From segregation to apartheid).

²¹ Amnesty International, Centre for Applied Legal Studies, Sekhukhune Combined Mining Affected Communities, *Unearthing the Truth: How the Mines Failed Communities in the Sekhukhune Region of South Africa*, 2022, [amnesty.org.za/research/unearthing-the-truth-how-the-mines-failed-communities-in-the-sekhukhune-region-of-south-africa/](https://www.amnesty.org.za/research/unearthing-the-truth-how-the-mines-failed-communities-in-the-sekhukhune-region-of-south-africa/)

²² South African Human Rights Commission, *Hearing Report on the Underlying Socio-Economic Challenges of Mining-Affected Communities*, 2018, [sahrc.org.za/home/21/files/SAHRC%20Mining%20communities%20report%20FINAL.pdf](https://www.sahrc.org.za/home/21/files/SAHRC%20Mining%20communities%20report%20FINAL.pdf), p. 56.

²³ Amnesty International, Centre for Applied Legal Studies, Sekhukhune Combined Mining Affected Communities, *Unearthing the Truth: How the Mines Failed Communities in the Sekhukhune Region of South Africa*, 2022, [amnesty.org.za/research/unearthing-the-truth-how-the-mines-failed-communities-in-the-sekhukhune-region-of-south-africa/](https://www.amnesty.org.za/research/unearthing-the-truth-how-the-mines-failed-communities-in-the-sekhukhune-region-of-south-africa/)

The DMRE is under-resourced and unable to perform its legislative duties; has a poor record management system and hinders access to information; has not given effect to the South African Human Rights Commission directives regarding public access to SLPs; and is unable to enforce mining companies' compliance with SLP reporting obligations, resulting in communities feeling abandoned and unable to enjoy human rights and impacting on their right to an effective remedy.²⁴

5. PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS OF SEX WORKERS (ARTICLES 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10 AND 26)

The criminalization of sex work,²⁵ and the domestic laws pertaining to sex work, creates barriers to the realization of the human rights of sex workers in South Africa.²⁶ Sex workers are among the most marginalized and stigmatized groups in society. They face an increased risk of violence and abuse, and crimes against them often go unreported, under-investigated, and/or unpunished.²⁷

The primary and secondary evidence gathered by Amnesty International demonstrates that criminalization and penalization of sex work have a foreseeably negative impact on a range of human rights. These include: the rights to life, liberty, autonomy and security of person; the right to equality and non-discrimination; the right to be free from torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment; the right to privacy; the right to the highest attainable standard of health; the right to information and education; the right to freedom of opinion and expression; the right to adequate housing; the right to just and favourable conditions of work; the right to family life and to found a family; and the right to remedy for human rights abuses.²⁸

Multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination and structural inequalities have an impact on the lives of many sex workers and can play a role in a person's decision to engage or remain in sex work, as well as their experiences while in sex work. People who face multiple forms of discrimination and structural inequalities, such as women and those who face discrimination on the basis of their sexual orientation, gender identity, race, caste, ethnicity, Indigenous identity, migrant or other status, are often over-represented in sex work. In addition to the marginalization that sex workers can experience on the basis of their gender and/or other aspects of their identity or status, they also frequently encounter censure, judgement and blame for being seen to transgress social or sexual norms and/or gender stereotypes on the basis of their participation in sex work.²⁹

The stigmatized and criminalized nature of sex work routinely forces sex workers to operate at the margins of society in clandestine and dangerous environments with little recourse to safety or state protection. As a result, sex workers face an increased risk of violence and abuse, and such crimes against them often go unreported, under-investigated and/or unpunished, offering perpetrators impunity. Criminalization of sex work also creates an environment where law enforcement officers and other officials can perpetrate violence, harassment, and extortion against sex workers with impunity. Where sex workers face the threat of criminalization, penalization, or loss of livelihood when or if they

²⁴ Amnesty International, Centre for Applied Legal Studies, Sekhukhune Combined Mining Affected Communities, *Unearthing the Truth: How the Mines Failed Communities in the Sekhukhune Region of South Africa*, 2022, [amnesty.org.za/research/unearthing-the-truth-how-the-mines-failed-communities-in-the-sekhukhune-region-of-south-africa/](https://www.amnesty.org.za/research/unearthing-the-truth-how-the-mines-failed-communities-in-the-sekhukhune-region-of-south-africa/)

²⁵ Amnesty International uses the term "sex work" to mean the exchange of sexual services (involving sexual acts) between consenting adults for some form of remuneration, with the terms agreed between the seller and the buyer. Where consent is absent for reasons including threat or use of force, deception, fraud, and abuse of power or involvement of a child, such activity would constitute a human rights abuse, to be treated as a criminal offence.

²⁶ Amnesty International, "Policy on State Obligations to Respect, Protect and Fulfil the Human Rights of Sex Workers," 26 May 2016, POL 30/4062/2016, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/pol30/4062/2016/en>

²⁷ Amnesty International, "Policy on State Obligations to Respect, Protect and Fulfil the Human Rights of Sex Workers," 26 May 2016, POL 30/4062/2016, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/pol30/4062/2016/en>

²⁸ Amnesty International South Africa, 'Submission: Amnesty International's submission supporting the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Bill, 2022', January 2023, <https://amnesty.org.za/research/submission-amnesty-internationals-submission-supporting-the-criminal-law-sexual-offences-and-related-matters-amendment-bill-2022/>

²⁹ Amnesty International South Africa, 'Submission: Amnesty International's submission supporting the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Bill, 2022', January 2023, <https://amnesty.org.za/research/submission-amnesty-internationals-submission-supporting-the-criminal-law-sexual-offences-and-related-matters-amendment-bill-2022/>

report crimes against themselves to police, their access to justice and equal protection under the law is significantly compromised.³⁰ This, in turn, offers impunity to perpetrators of violence and abuse against sex workers.

Sex workers in South Africa have reported harm experienced at the hands of police. This includes the abuse of power, violence, committing crimes against sex workers (such as rape), as well as refusing to investigate crimes against them (particularly when committed by police). This leads to sex workers being less likely to report crimes, low prosecution rates, and an increase in sex workers' risk of experiencing crime and violence.³¹

Evidence further indicates that criminalization interferes with and undermines sex workers' right to health services and information, in particular the prevention, testing and treatment of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and HIV. Criminalization of sex work has specifically been shown to directly undermine global HIV prevention efforts.³² Criminalization and stigma continue to create a barrier to accessing healthcare for sex workers, despite the burden of HIV. Negative attitudes by healthcare workers can make accessing sexual and reproductive health services challenging. In some cases, sex workers are refused services at clinics or hospitals.³³ Research has further shown that it is common for some South African police officers to confiscate condoms from people they believe to be sex workers, to arrest people carrying condoms on suspicion of being sex workers, and aggravating health workers distributing condoms to sex workers. This negatively impacts sex workers' willingness to carry condoms, increases chances of them engaging in unprotected sex, and further jeopardises the right to the highest attainable standard of health.³⁴

The South African government has adopted action plans, such as the National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide,³⁵ and the National Strategic Plan for TB, HIV and STIs,³⁶ both of which indicated the need for the decriminalization of sex work. President Ramaphosa has on several occasions committed to the decriminalisation of sex work.³⁷ In 2022, the Department of Justice released a Bill to repeal provisions in existing domestic legislation criminalizing sex work.³⁸ However, in 2023, the State Law Advisor advised that the Bill be revised, citing a lack of regulations should sex work be decriminalized.³⁹ Following general elections in South Africa in mid-2024 resulting in a new administration, it is unclear if or when a new Bill will be tabled again. In 2024, the Sex Workers Education and Advocacy Taskforce filed an application with the Western Cape High Court to declare unconstitutional and invalid the provisions in legislation criminalizing sex work.

³⁰ See CEDAW, General Recommendation 33 (women's access to justice), UN Doc. CEDAW/C/GC/33, 2015, paras. 9, 51(I).

³¹ Asijiki Coalition, 2018, 'A touchstone document of peer-reviewed academic evidence on the decriminalization of sex work'. Available at: <https://asijiki.org.za/wp-content/uploads/Decrim-report-WEB.pdf>

³² See generally Global Commission on HIV and the Law, *Risks, Rights and Health*, 2012; UNAIDS Guidance Note on HIV and Sex Work, Annex 3; UNAIDS, UNFPA, UNDP, *Sex Work and the Law in Asia and the Pacific*, 2012; UNDP, UNFPA, APNSW, SANGRAM, *The Right(s) Evidence: Sex, Violence and HIV in Asia – A Multi-country Qualitative Study*, 2015.

³³ Asijiki Coalition, *A touchstone document of peer-reviewed academic evidence on the decriminalization of sex work*, 2018, <https://asijiki.org.za/wp-content/uploads/Decrim-report-WEB.pdf>

³⁴ Open Society Foundations, 'Criminalizing Condoms: How Policing Practices Put Sex Workers and HIV Services at Risk in Kenya, Namibia, Russia, South Africa, the United States, and Zimbabwe', 2012.

³⁵ Republic of South Africa, *National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide*, 2020, <https://www.justice.gov.za/vg/gbv/nsp-gbv-final-doc-04-05.pdf>

³⁶ Republic of South Africa, *National Strategic Plan on TB, HIV and STIs 2023-2028*, 2023, <https://knowledgehub.health.gov.za/elibrary/national-strategic-plan-hiv-tb-and-stis-2023-2028#:~:text=The%20emphasis%20in%20the%20NSP,STI%20prevention%20and%20treatment%20services>

³⁷ See for example <https://genderjustice.org.za/news-item/keep-the-promise-and-decriminalise-sex-work/>; <https://youtube.com/watch?v=7ioZFpMiK2M>; and <https://sanac.org.za/sudden-ditch-of-the-sex-worker-decriminalization-bill-an-unwarranted-travesty-of-justice/>

³⁸ Republic of South Africa, 'Minister Ramola on Criminal Law Amendment Bill of 2022 – decriminalising sex work', 2022,

<https://www.gov.za/news/media-statements/minister-ronald-lamola-criminal-law-amendment-bill-2022-decriminalisation-sex>

³⁹ GroundUp, "'Tough blow" for sex workers as decrim bill delayed', 7 June 2023, <https://groundup.org.za/article/sex-work-decriminalisation-bill-heads-back-to-the-drawing-board/>

6. GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE (ARTICLES 2 AND 3)

Gender-based violence (GBV) in South Africa remains pervasive, curtailing the rights of women to equality and non-discrimination. Between April 2022 and March 2023, there were 4,169 reported cases of women being murdered, 42,780 reported cases of rape, and 7,483 cases of sexual assault.⁴⁰

In January 2022, President Cyril Ramaphosa enacted three new laws to strengthen protection against GBV. These were the Criminal and Related Matters Amendment Act 12 of 2021, the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act 13 of 2021 and the Domestic Violence Amendment Act 14 of 2021. However, despite progressive legislation addressing GBV in South Africa, there are systemic failures in the implementation of policies and legislation. Many women and girls are therefore unable to access and enjoy the rights and protections that have been provided for by law. Experiences reported by survivors highlight that the police often do not fulfil their obligations as mandated in legislation. For example, one survivor, who was raped three times in 2018 and 2019, reported the first and second cases, but did not report the third due to a lack of confidence in the police who she felt had bungled her cases. They failed to adequately investigate the cases even though she knew who the suspects were.⁴¹

In September 2017, the Medical Research Council found that only 8.6% of rape cases opened by the police in 2012 had resulted in convictions, citing a lack of resources and training for police officers, as well as failures to investigate the crimes and gather evidence. The study found that decisions of the police to arrest perpetrators and prosecutors to proceed with cases are influenced by wrongful beliefs of what constitutes 'serious' rape. This bias is replicated during trial proceedings, on part of the judge or defence attorney.⁴²

Victims are often fearful of reporting assaults to the police as there is an entrenched culture of harmful gender stereotypes and discriminatory attitudes. Some of these attitudes abet and perpetuate rape myths. Many victims have reported secondary victimization when they come forward to report a case.⁴³

In 2024, President Cyril Ramaphosa signed the National Council on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide (NCGBVF) Bill into law. The NCGBVF is intended to provide oversight and ensure the implementation of the National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide, which was adopted in 2020. While the Bill has been signed into law, the NCGBVF has not been established yet - four years after the NSP was adopted.

⁴⁰ South African Police Services, *Police Recorded Crime Statistics: 2022 - 2023 Financial Year*, 2023, https://www.saps.gov.za/services/downloads/2023-2024%20Annual_WEB.pdf

⁴¹ Amnesty International, "Treated like furniture": Gender-based violence and COVID-19 response in Southern Africa (Index: AFR 03/3418/2021), [amnesty.org/en/documents/afr03/3418/2021/en/](https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr03/3418/2021/en/)

⁴² Gender and Health Research Unit and South African Medical Research Council, *Rape Justice in South Africa: Retrospective study of the investigation, prosecution and adjudication of reported rape cases from 2012, 2017*, samrc.ac.za/sites/default/files/files/2017-10-30/RAPSSAreport.pdf

⁴³ Gender and Health Research Unit and South African Medical Research Council, *Rape Justice in South Africa: Retrospective study of the investigation, prosecution and adjudication of reported rape cases from 2012, 2017*, samrc.ac.za/sites/default/files/files/2017-10-30/RAPSSAreport.pdf

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