

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA  
GRADUATE COLLEGE

EVALUATING THEORIES OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE USING RAPE OFFENSES IN  
THE NATIONAL CRIME VICTIMIZATION SURVEY AND THE NATIONAL  
INCIDENT BASED REPORTING SYSTEM

A DISSERTATION  
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the  
degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

By  
ANDREW LAWRENCE SPIVAK  
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A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE  
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

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## Abstract

This study contributes to the discussion of feminist, evolutionary, routine activity, and social control theory explanations for the age distribution of rape victims by evaluating the predictive value of demographic factors about victims and offenders that predict the age distribution of female rape victims. The debate between feminist and sociobiological theorists has been contentious and bitter, and has resulted in the polarization of ideas related to whether offenders' motives are sexual, nonsexual, or both. This study examines these theoretical standpoints in criminological perspective, and uses national victim survey and official reporting data to determine the extent to which rapists preferentially select victims based on youth and attractiveness, or whether victim selection is more indiscriminate and based on proximity and convenience.

Indiscriminate selection suggests, as some feminist theorists have posited, that the young age distribution is due to routine activities and offenders will select victims only in accordance with convenience and opportunity, with minimal regard for age. A paradigm of deliberate targeting for youth predicts that offenders may prefer younger female victims even when controlling for proximity and access. The analyses presented here examine the difference in age distribution of victims and the discord between victim and offender ages in the cases of different victim-offender relationships (stranger, acquaintance, intimate partner, friend/family) and other measures of routine activities. Data on rape offense incidents from the 1992-2004 National Crime Victimization Survey (N=557) and the National Incident Based Reporting System 2004 (N=13,510) revealed support for both perspectives. While victim-offender relationship and other demographic and situational predictors strongly influence the age distribution of selected victims, the

victimization risk associated with younger women cannot be entirely explained with the routine activity measures available. In the rape incident datasets, victim age distributions were similar across levels of victim offender relationship after controls, and in a dataset of robbery incidents, victims' youth predicted likelihood of being raped when relationship-based opportunity (all stranger offenders) was controlled. While feminist and evolutionary predictions both receive a degree of support, results tend to support selection for younger victims, controlling for routine activity measures such as victim-offender relationship. Opportunities for a post-classical criminological interpretation are discussed.

## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

One of the most salient and well-documented demographic aspects of rape is the unusually young age distribution of its female victims. Women's risk of rape victimization peaks in the late teens and early twenties, then declines throughout the lifespan (Amir 1971; Greenfield 1997; Groth 1979; Katz and Mazur 1979; Mustaine 1997; Thornhill and Thornhill 1983; Ploughman and Stensrud 1986; Perkins and Klaus 1996; Mustaine and Tewksbury 2002; Shackelford 2002a; Tjaden and Thoennes 2006). This study explores feminist, evolutionary, routine activity, and social control theory explanations for the age distribution of rape victims and attempts to contribute to the discussion by evaluating the predictive value of factors (such as offender age, victim-offender relationship, and whether the rape was completed or only attempted) that pertain to the applicability of these perspectives.

The importance of rape as a subject of social scientific study within sociology and criminology, and the value of theoretical paradigms that may be able to better explain and predict the occurrence of sexual violence in general, are difficult to overstate. The individual and societal costs of sexual violence may be more substantial per offense than for nonsexual violent crimes, as rape victims report extensive psychological trauma in addition to physical trauma (Kimerling and Calhoun 1992; Rothbaum, Foa, Riggs, Murdock, and Walsh 1992). Estimating the total costs of sexual violence must then account for not only justice system expenditures and medical services, but also psychological support services and decreased health, productivity, and quality of life (Golding 1996; Koss, Koss, and Woodruff 1991). One National Institute of Justice study

estimated that rape offenses cost the U.S. \$127 billion per year (Miller, Cohen and Wiersema 1996).

### Definition and Prevalence of Rape

Whether we conceptualize rape as a more or less common event can effect the validity of theoretical paradigms that seek to explain it. Hefley (2006) asserted that the perception of rape as a deviant behavior constitutes acceptance of a “rape myth” that fallaciously assumes such offenses are rare.<sup>1</sup> Since rarity or commonality can only be meaningfully ascribed by a comparison to other events, it may be useful to compare rape to other kinds of criminal victimization. A sample of women in the United States reported by the National Violence Against Women Survey were about six times more likely to be assaulted non-sexually than to be the victim of rape or attempted rape (Tjaden and Thoennes 2006). The National Crime Victimization Survey indicates a nonsexual assault rate for female victims about ten times higher than for all forms of sexual assault, but a rate of robbery victimization that is about the same as rape (Catalano 2005).

Estimates of the prevalence and social correlates of rape in American society can be made come from three sources of data: official reports to justice system authorities, surveys of national probability samples, and surveys of specific populations such as college students (Menard 2005). The most commonly used official data is the FBI’s Uniform Crime Reports (UCR), which recorded 94,635 reports to police of rape and attempted rape of female victims of all ages (FBI, 2004). The largest and most notable national victim survey is the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), designed and reported by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS). Since the NCVS only interviews

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<sup>1</sup> Criminologists use the concept of deviant behavior, and theories of deviance, to explain measures of delinquency that are far more commonly self-reported (marijuana use, cheating on exams, shoplifting) than was Hefley’s self-report measure of rape.

victims twelve years or older, but includes male victims, direct comparisons of summary report data are imprecise. For 2004, the survey estimated (extrapolating the sample size to the population) 200,780 sexual assaults (almost 90 percent of which involved female victims); rapes and attempted rapes accounted for 115,570 of these offenses (Catalano, 2005).

The figures from both official data and the NCVS thus suggest rape victimization among females in the U.S. at well under one percent annually. This estimate of prevalence contrasts sharply with other national and subpopulation surveys. An early victim survey with face-to-face interviews of almost 1000 adult women in San Francisco indicated a one-year victimization rate of more than three percent, and a lifetime prevalence totaling more than a third of the sample (Russell 1982). The National Violence Against Women (NVAW) survey used a telephone interviewing system of 8,000 adult women to estimate a one-year victimization rate of just under one percent and a lifetime rate of 17 percent. While far less than the San Francisco study, the estimates were still several times greater than the NCVS (Tjaden and Thoennes 2006).<sup>2</sup> The National Health and Social Life Survey (NHSLs) conducted 3,432 face-to-face interviews with adults 18-59 in a nationally representative sample of households, with an 80 percent response rate. Forced sex (“have you ever been forced by a man to do anything sexually that you did not want to do?”) was measured only by lifetime estimate,

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<sup>2</sup> One reason for the higher victimization rate may be the NVAW’s random digit dialing method of contacting participants. While the targeted households were nationally representative across U.S. Census regions (Tjaden and Thoennes 2006), the sample suffered from the challenge of traditional telephone surveys, in which only a small and possibly biased proportion of the attempted contacts results in an interview. The BJS contracts with the Census Bureau to conduct the NCVS, the latter creating a targeted probability sample of 40,000 to 50,000 nationally representative households which are then pursued by telephone as well as face-to-face as with an enumeration, making response rates (usually very high, over 85 percent) proportions of the entire targeted sample (telephone conversation with Shannan Catalano, PhD, BJS statistician and author of annual NCVS reports, 2007)

with 32.8 percent of women reporting that they had ever been sexually forced (Laumann, Gagnon, Michael, and Michaels 1994).

Studies of rape victimization among subpopulations have been conducted almost entirely with college women, and generally reveal prevalence estimates much higher than the national surveys (Koss, Gidycz, and Wisniewski 1987; Muehlenhard and Linton, 1987; DeKeseredy and Kelly 1993; Fisher, Cullen and Turner 2000), likely due to the higher victimization risk for women at ages concentrated among the sample. Most notable among studies of sexual victimization of college women was a project funded by the National Institute of Mental Health that applied the Sexual Experiences Survey (SES) to over 3,000 female college students across over 30 institutions. Nearly two percent reported having been raped in the previous year, while 15 percent reported having been raped since they were 14 (Koss et al., 1987).

Another study with a comparable sample size across over 40 institutions in Canada matched the one-year rate of female rape victimization, with a rate of six percent since leaving high school (DeKeseredy and Kelly 1993). A four-year longitudinal study of several hundred adolescent girls found that slightly more than one-fifth had experienced sexual coercion by a date or boyfriend; slightly more than half of these reported having been raped, while the rest had experienced some form of “unwanted touching.” An additional eight percent reported having been raped by a family member or older family friend (Vicary, Klingaman, and Harkness 1995). Finally, the National College Women Sexual Victimization (NCWSV) survey, which utilized the largest sample of college women (over 4,500), revealed a 2.8 percent rape or attempted rape victimization rate since the beginning of the academic year, which was about seven

months (Fisher, Cullen, and Turner 2000).

One difficulty in comparing the victimization prevalence between studies is that they contain wide variation in their operational definitions of rape (Menard 2006). The national study of the sexual victimization among college women (mentioned above) measured twelve individually defined categories: completed rape, attempted rape, completed sexual coercion, attempted sexual coercion, completed sexual contact with force or threat of force, completed sexual contact without force, attempted sexual contact with force or threat of force, attempted sexual contact without force, threat of rape, threat of contact with force or threat of force, threat of penetration without force, and threat of contact without force (Fisher et al. 2000). A recent self-report assessment of offenders among college men included whether the respondent had had sex with a woman who had been drinking and was either unable to consent or simply did not resist or say she did not want sex (Hefley 2006).

The Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) uses a single definition: "the carnal knowledge of a female forcibly and against her will" (FBI 2006: 27) but notes that the definition includes attempts to commit rape by force or threat of force. Another national survey asks respondents if they have ever been forced to do something sexually against their will (Laumann et al. 1994). Similarly, the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) counts as a rape instances in which respondents were "forced or coerced to engage in unwanted sexual activity" whether attempted or completed (ICPSR 2007, A4: 5). In these surveys, a precise range of behaviors that might qualify as force or coercion is generally not defined, allowing for a degree of interpretation by the victim, since fear, verbal threats, and other less overt forms of

coercion are not as easily defined or captured by specific survey items.

### Age and Victimization

While age patterns of violent crime victimization are similar in the case of murder, robbery and aggravated assault, neither of these indicates as pronounced a decline with age as does rape. Tables and figures 1.1 and 1.2 show rates of age-specific female victimization, per 1,000 women 12 or older in each age category. The mean of women in the country during the period indicated was 40.9 years (median 39), while the mean (and medians) of violent crime victims were: 26.6 (23) for rape, 34.6 (30) for murder, 29.9 (26) for robbery, and 27.8 (25) for aggravated assault (Perkins 1997).

All four violent offenses listed in table and figure 1.1 indicate a general peak in victimization for teenagers and a gradual decline across the life-span, but this pattern is more pronounced for rape and aggravated assault offenses than for robbery and murder. To better distinguish between rape and aggravated assault, each age-group rate can be expressed as a proportion of the 18-21 rate for that offense type. Since the 18-21 rate was the highest for all four offenses, these proportionate rates are comparable in table and figure 1.2, which shows a more pronounced peak and decline pattern for rape than for the other three offenses.

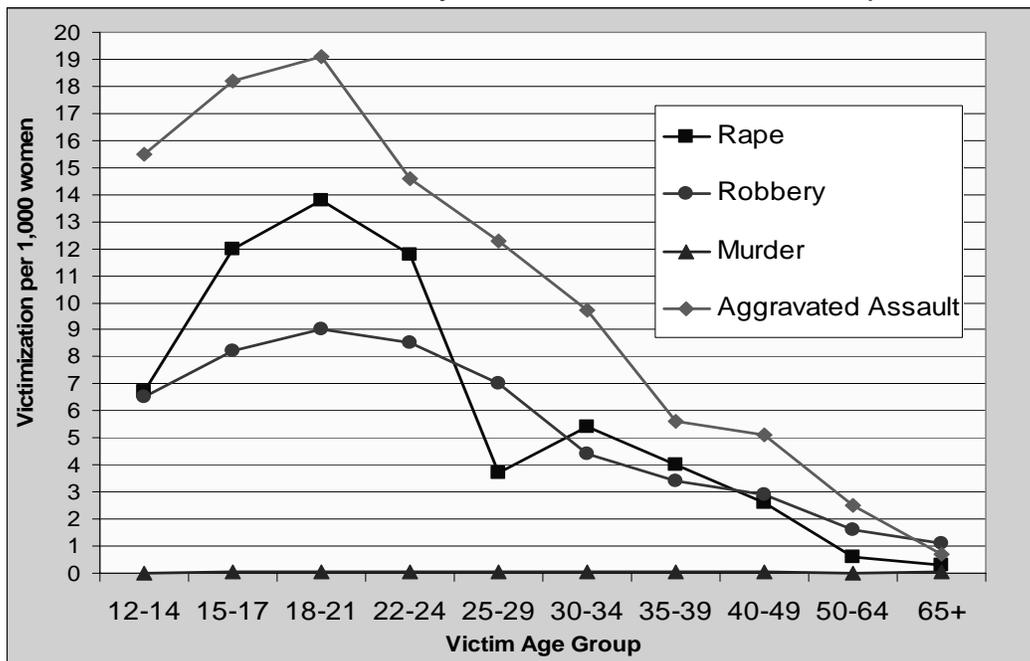
Presently, explanations for the rape-victim age distribution, including those that are examined in this study, have tended to utilize either routine activities or evolutionary (sociobiological) perspectives in conceptualizing offenders' victim selection (Schwartz and Pitts 1995; Mustaine and Tewksbury 2002; Shields and Shields 1983; Thornhill and Thornhill 1983). Since each has implications regarding offender motivation and the nature of the crime itself, particularly the relative role of sexuality, debate has become

fierce between feminist theorists (who tend to favor a routine activity explanation) and evolutionary theorists (Thornhill and Palmer 2000).

**Table 1.1 Age-specific rates of victimization per 1,000 women in each category, for the National Crime Victimization Survey, 1992-1994<sup>3</sup> and UCR for murder (Perkins 1997).**

Age	All Violent	Rape	Murder	Robbery	Aggravated Assault
12-14	28.7	6.7	.02	6.5	15.5
15-17	38.4	12.0	.04	8.2	18.2
18-21	41.9	13.8	.07	9.0	19.1
22-24	35.0	11.8	.07	8.5	14.6
25-29	23.0	3.7	.07	7.0	12.3
30-34	19.5	5.4	.07	4.4	9.7
35-39	13.0	4.0	.05	3.4	5.6
40-49	10.7	2.6	.04	2.9	5.1
50-64	4.8	.6	.02	1.6	2.5
65+	2.1	.3	.03	1.1	.7

**Figure 1.1 Age-specific rates of victimization per 1,000 women in each category, for the National Crime Victimization Survey, 1992-1994 and UCR for murder (Perkins 1997).**



Sociobiologists have even accused feminists of failing to recognize the age distribution at all, claiming that the latter, in support of a position that rape is primarily non-sexually motivated, promote the notion that women's risk of victimization is

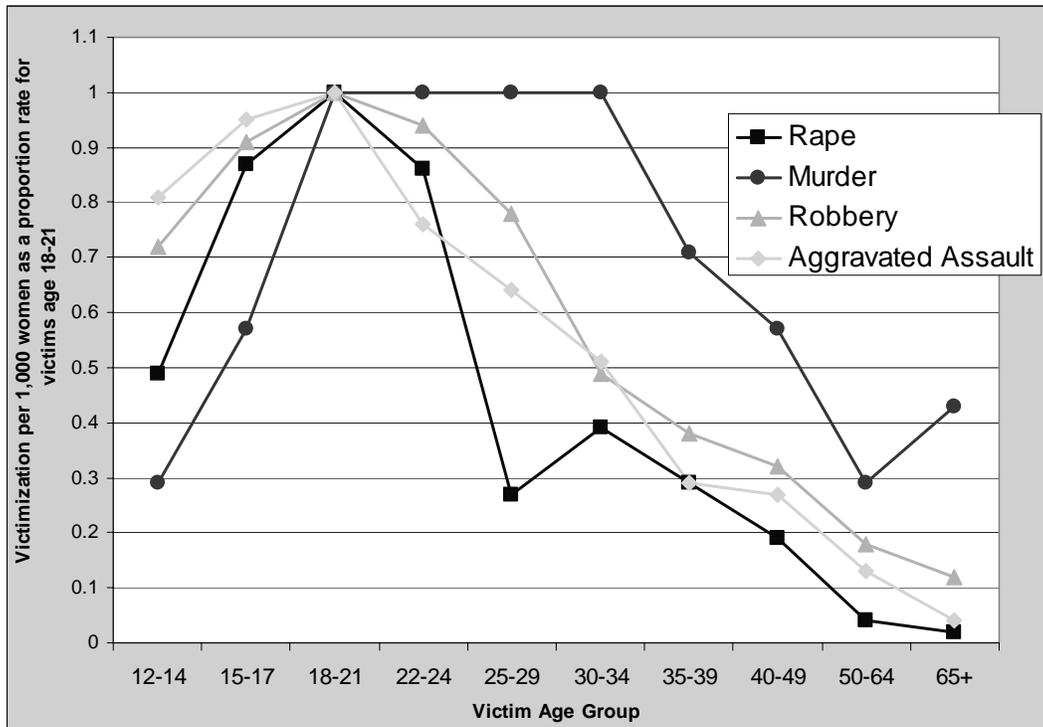
<sup>3</sup> The NCVS interviewed N=234,080 (half female) between 1992 and 1994. However, the rates per 1,000 women reflect an extrapolation to the population, as computed and published by the BJS, not the rates per the sample. As murder is not included in the NCVS, the murder rates shown reflect the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) for the same period, 1992-1994, as reported by Perkins, 1997.

unrelated to age. While this is not entirely the case for the most often cited works that employ the feminist perspective, some popular sources on the subject of rape do promote

**Table 1.2. Ratio of age-specific rates of victimization per 1,000 women in each category, to the highest rate category (18-21). For example, women 50-64 had 4% the rape victimization rate (and 13% the aggravated assault victimization rate) as women 18-21.**

Age	All Violent	Rape	Murder	Robbery	Aggravated Assault
12-14	0.68	0.49	0.29	0.72	0.81
15-17	0.92	0.87	0.57	0.91	0.95
18-21	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
22-24	0.84	0.86	1.00	0.94	0.76
25-29	0.55	0.27	1.00	0.78	0.64
30-34	0.47	0.39	1.00	0.49	0.51
35-39	0.31	0.29	0.71	0.38	0.29
40-49	0.26	0.19	0.57	0.32	0.27
50-64	0.11	0.04	0.29	0.18	0.13
65+	0.05	0.02	0.43	0.12	0.04

**Figure 1.2 Ratio of age-specific rates of victimization per 1,000 women in each category, to the highest rate category (18-21).**



such a disregard of the age data (Freese 2001). A report from the London Rape Crises Center alerts readers to the “myth that ‘only certain types of women get raped.’ This is not true. Over the past five years the London RCC has been contacted by or on behalf of women and girls of all ages” (London Rape Crisis Centre 1984: 4). One widely used

contemporary criminal justice textbook, seeking to help students debunk the “cultural myths” (p. 42) about rape, presents each “fallacy” and “fact” in a table that includes the fallacy “Only young attractive women are raped,” (44) followed by the fact “Women of all ages and appearances have been victims of rape” (Schmallegger, 1997). The California Coalition Against Sexual Assault presents “rape myths” on its website that support the popular “not sex” perspective. One of these is the “Myth” that “Only certain types of women get raped. It could never happen to me” which is countered by the “Fact” that “any woman can be raped.” (Greensite 2007).

Why would such popularly legitimized sources about the crime of rape, while they are unquestionably correct that women of all ages have been rape victims, so conspicuously avoid the more subtle and meaningful observation that age is negatively related to risk of victimization?

## Chapter 2

### Feminist and Sociobiological Perspectives

The answer to the question posed at the end of the previous chapter relates to the theoretical debate about rapists' motivations that most notably began with journalist Susan Brownmiller's landmark work *Against Our Will* (1975). While not all feminists in recent decades have endorsed precisely the same perspective as Brownmiller, or as each other, a feminist theory of rape can be loosely characterized as proposing that rape is the result of social traditions of male dominance in familial, political and economic activity that is reflected and reinforced in men's and women's sexual relations. Thus, men rape women in order to demonstrate and reinforce their power over them, and to inflict pain, suffering and humiliation that will keep women intimidated (and so restricted in lifestyle choices). Furthermore, in the feminist theory, men learn to engage in this activity by the social construction of patriarchal societal values that justifies and endorses such behavior (Ellis 1989). Brownmiller's (1975) original conceptualization stated that

Man's discovery that his genitalia could serve as a weapon to generate fear must rank as one of the most important discoveries of prehistoric times, along with the use of fire and the first crude stone axe. From prehistoric times to the present, I believe, rape has played a critical function...it is nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation by which ALL MEN keep ALL WOMEN in a state of fear" [original emphasis] (p. 14-15).

From this framework, feminist theorists have argued that sexuality is secondary, or even entirely absent, from the offender's motive; that he is not primarily seeking sexual gratification, or perhaps not even seeking it at all, so that "the central insight of the feminist theory of rape identifies the act as a crime of violence committed against women as a demonstration of male domination and power" (Brownmiller and Mehrhof: 382). Referring specifically to fraternity gang rape, but generally characterizing a feminist view of single-offender rape as well, another theorist puts it more explicitly, that "the sexual

act is not concerned with sexual gratification but with deployment of the penis as a concrete symbol of masculine power” (Sanday 1990: 10).

### Early Ubiquity of the “Not Sex” Paradigm

The conceptualization of rape as an act motivated more (or entirely) by gender-power dynamics than by the offenders’ seeking sex has become a common assertion in popular sources of information about rape. The criminal justice textbook mentioned in the introduction also presents as a “rape fallacy” that “rape is motivated by the need for sexual gratification” (Schmallegger 1997: 44); on the side of the table listing corresponding “facts” to counter each fallacy, the author states that “most rapists appear motivated by the need to feel powerful” (p. 44). Penn State University’s Health Services division provides an online Sexual Assault Awareness (2005) website, which likewise portends to help students dispel their fallacious mythology, presenting a series of rape myths and facts that include: “MYTH: Rape is a sexual crime, impulsively committed by a man for sexual gratification. FACT: Rape is a crime of violence and aggression. Its intent is to overpower, degrade, and humiliate the victim.” A criminology textbook in the early 1980s asserted that “rape has about as much to do with sex as a bank robbery has to do with cashing a check” (Sanders 1983: 258 as cited in Brown, Esbensen, and Geis 1996).

While the Penn State website provides no academic citation, the influence of feminist theory is unmistakable, as it is in Schmallegger (1997), which provides only Groth (1979) as the source of its fallacy and fact assertions. Additionally, the California Coalition Against Sexual Assault (also mentioned in the introduction) asserts that “women are raped because misogynist men take out their aggression on women in

general” and counters the purported “Myth” that “Men rape women because they are sexually aroused or have been sexually deprived” with the “Fact” that “Men rape women to exert control and confirm their power” (Greensite 2007).

The “not sex” perspective, despite claims that feminist theory has moved past it (Freeze 2000), still strongly permeates standard academic and activist discourse. One popular textbook titled “Sex Crimes” (recently in its third edition) includes in a list of “Rape Myths” the statement “It Can’t Happen to Me,” with a description that typifies the “not sex” assertion:

Accepting the myth that rape victims are always young and attractive, many believe that they are unlikely victims because they are too old, too thin, too heavy, or otherwise unattractive. But rape is a crime of violence, not sex. Sexual attractiveness is not a selective trait used by most rapists when they are stalking their victims (Holmes and Holmes, 2002: 179).

While Holmes and Holmes do not offer evidence for their claims about rapists’ victim selection, Groth’s (1979) well-known study of several hundred convicted sex offenders in Connecticut helped to support the feminist perspective with qualitative data in the form of offender interviews, in which rapists appear to describe motives pertaining to the expression of anger, the desire to exert power or control, or the desire to inflict pain. Groth then classified these descriptions into respective typologies, consisting of the anger rapist, the power rapist, and the sadistic rapist, which are now commonly recognized and listed in popular criminology texts (Brown, Esbensen, and Geis 1996; Siegel 2004). Offenders’ blocked quotations throughout the book indicate varying descriptions of anger, confusion, and compulsion, from which the author concludes that “Rape is always a symptom of some psychological dysfunction...which results from an emotionally weak and insecure individual’s inability to handle the stresses and demands of his life” (p. 5). In closer support of a “not sex” view of offender motivation, the author also asserts that

“rape is in fact servicing primarily nonsexual needs. It is the sexual expression of power and anger... motivated more by retaliatory and compensatory motives than by sexual ones” (p. 2). Many of the rapists’ recounting of their offenses cited in blocked quotes depict feelings of confusion, hurt and injustice to themselves, feelings of compulsion (as if some unknown person or force were taking them over), claims of not remembering part or all of their offenses, and sensations of disgust with their actions once completed. These kinds of descriptions are also characteristic of the Techniques of Neutralization that offenders of all kinds employ to distance themselves from moral accountability (Sykes and Matza 1957).<sup>4</sup> An offender who simply told the interviewing psychologist that he wanted sex from a woman and decided to use violence to obtain it might appear more morally reprehensible than one who went on about how hurt, angry, and confused he was, how he didn’t understand the awful compulsion that took him over, how he didn’t even remember most of what happened, and how revolted he felt after he did it.

Regardless of the subjective accuracy of rapists’ interviews or the usefulness of the typologies, Groth’s (1979) support of the “not sex” view of rapists’ motivation is unmistakable, concluding that “rape is never the result simply of sexual arousal that has no other opportunity for gratification” (p. 5) and that “it is not sexual arousal but the arousal of anger or fear that leads to rape” (p. 9). In congruence with other sources that support a feminist explanation of rape motive, Groth opens with a chapter of “Myths and Realities” (p. 1) in which the idea of rape as sexually motivated is condemned as “insidious” and tantamount to blaming the victim.

Additionally, Groth interprets the model of a sexually motivated offender as implying that rapists are sexually deprived, and must use violence to obtain sex as a last

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<sup>4</sup> See Chapter 3 for a fuller discussion of techniques of neutralization applied to rape.

resort. This idea is easily refutable, since known rapists tend to be more generally sexually active than random samples of males (Byers and Eno 1991; Koss and Dinero 1988; Senn, Desmarais, Vergerg, and Wood 2000), and Groth suggests that the alternative must be non-sexual motivation. While the generally higher sexual activity rate for offenders may be used to support a “not sex” perspective of offender motive, officially known rapists, as well as males who indicate on surveys that they have sexually offended, are both more likely than non-offenders to report higher sexual aspirations and frustration with their (perceived) inadequate level of sexual success, despite being more sexually active (Kanin 1983; 1985).

Nonetheless, Groth helped to solidify Brownmiller’s original notion of an offender motivated by anger, control, and cruelty, and likewise expressly draws attention away from the victim age distribution. While acknowledging the proportions of young and old victims in his own data (which, as in other studies, were concentrated in the young age categories), the author stresses that “issues of provocation really are ridiculous when one realizes that victims of rapists include males as well as females and occupy all age categories from infancy to old age” (p. 7).

A book chronicling the mass rape of women in Bosnia during war in the 1990s asserts exactly the kind of “not sex” perspective of rape as Groth proposed a decade earlier. Deriding the suggestion of a sexual motive for rape as a “popular and effective myth” and equivalent to the suggestion that offenders are “involuntary victims” of an “uncontrollable male drive,” the author asserts that “there are good reasons to assume that rapes do not have much to do either with nature or sexuality” (Seifert 1992: 55). Rapes are purported to be sexual only in manifestation, but not to contain any sexual motivation.

Instead, the author insists that “Studies show that rape is not an aggressive manifestation of sexuality, but rather a sexual manifestation of aggression. In the perpetrator’s psyche it serves no sexual purpose but is the expression of rage, violence, and dominance over a woman” (p. 55).<sup>5</sup> In what sense a pursuit of sexual gratification is more an uncontrollable drive than a pursuit of the expression of rage and domination is unclear.

Whether or not the “not sex” perspective is fully endorsed by all feminist theorists, and despite Freese’s (2000) claim that this conception is a straw actor invented by sociobiologists to caricature feminists, the idea of rape not having to do with sex, and being motivated by anger and power more than sexual gratification, has certainly pervaded popular culture. Two anecdotal examples are recalled by the author of this dissertation. The popular TV show *Crime Scene Investigation* contained an episode in which the lead investigator (and the show’s star) remarks to the pathologist during an autopsy of a rape-murder victim that he can’t understand why anyone “believes that rape has anything do to with sex.” The pathologist, in agreement, asserts that if the offender just wanted sex, he could have hired a prostitute. In the movie *The Mexican* (2001), directed by Gore Verbinski and starring Brad Pitt, a character who has abducted a woman is told by his captive that she suspected he would not rape her. When asked why she thought this, she indicates a suspicion that the abductor was probably gay. In apparent exasperation at the woman’s naiveté, he lectures her that “first of all...it’s a crime of anger, not attraction...” While commercial media representations are of course not scientific references, they can serve as an indication of when ideas from academia have diffused into popular consciousness.

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<sup>5</sup> The only “studies” cited are one article from Groth. Does the suggestion of a pecuniary motive for robbery necessarily imply that the pursuit of monetary gain is an uncontrollable drive?

## The Response from Sociobiology

Beginning in the early 1980s, sociobiologists and evolutionary psychologists began proposing their own theoretical perspective of sexual aggression, which rejected the notion that rape is not primarily sexually motivated and instead claimed that “a willingness to employ coercive tactics to achieve copulations” contributed to men’s ability to maximize the number of females they inseminated (Alcock 2001: 209). Thus, men’s propensity to rape evolved in conjunction with the rest of human sexual behavior. Sociobiological explanations of rape focus on the behavior as either an adaptation that males have evolved in order to achieve greater reproductive success, or as a by-product of the relative differences in evolved sexual goals of males and females (Shields and Shields 1983; Thornhill and Palmer 2000; Thornhill and Thornhill 1983).

Supporting the by-product version of the theory, Pinker (2002) proposed that sexuality evolved in a social context where women had to be more carefully selective than did men about sexual partners and promiscuity. This situation led to men evolving an inclination to treat “female reluctance as an obstacle to overcome” (p. 367). Social influences then determine the tactics with which individual males will go about the task, which may include kindness, verbal persuasion, subtle bribery (or direct compensation), or more coercive methods such as encouraging intoxication, blackmail and other threats, and overt physical force. Certain social risk factors may then increase the likelihood of a male using coercion to obtain sex: if he is an outcast and does not fear ostracism, if he is psychopathic and insensitive to others’ suffering, or if he perceives a low likelihood of punishment (such as soldiers or rioters during chaotic events, or perhaps a date-rapist who feels confident the victim will be either too intoxicated to remember or too

embarrassed to tell).

Sociobiology even postulates an evolutionary explanation for why women fear rape and experience profound emotional distress when it occurs. The fitness cost for a women in an ancestral environment being a victim is related to the potentiality of pregnancy. She may have to bear a child without the material support of a partner, lowering her chances of finding a partner in the future, or her current partner may abandon her rather than expend resources to raise a child not his own (Thornhill and Palmer 2000). Even if she does not bear a child, her current partner may treat her with hostility “such is the nature of the evolved male brain, with its adaptive but cruelly paranoid tendencies” (Alcock 2001: 210). All of these disadvantages of being a victim of rape would have favored the natural selection of women who were fearful and incensed toward avoiding such a fate, especially in women of reproductive age, who were found in one study to have higher self-reported levels of emotional distress following victimization than did older women (Thornhill and Thornhill 1990).<sup>6</sup>

The adherents of sociobiology were harshly critical of the feminist perspective, and even suggested that the proposed anger/violence motive was harmful to victims, who would fail to see potential offenders in the nicely mannered young men they sat next to in school (Pinker 2002). A rallying cry for these evolutionary theorists was the inattention previously given to the victim age distribution, a demographic phenomenon which they considered to be firm evidence that rapists select their victims on the basis of sexual attraction. Since reproductive success was thought to be the feedback mechanism behind the evolution of both consensual and violent strategies of mating, the evolutionary theory

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<sup>6</sup> However, the methodology of this study was extensively criticized in Freese (2001). Nonetheless, Warr (1985) also found fear of rape to be higher in younger than in older women after controlling for perceived risk.

of rape contended that rapists would unconsciously choose victims of the most fertile age groups, just as men in general tend to find younger (and consequently more fertile) women attractive (Wilson et al. 1997). Since their theory appeared to predict the victim age distribution, evolutionary theorists amassed citations that supported it and conspicuously trumpeted the results:

We are safe in concluding that young adult females are vastly overrepresented and that female children and post-reproductive-age females are greatly underrepresented in the population of rape victims. This pattern has been shown so many times, across so many settings, by so many methods, that it is established beyond any reasonable doubt (Thornhill and Palmer, 2000, p. 73).

Noting survey data indicating that women of reproductive ages are more likely to want to keep a rape secret, sociobiologists further suggested that the proportion of victims who are young is actually underrepresented (Thornhill and Thornhill 1990).

Evolutionary theorists also claimed that anecdotal evidence from wartime rapes showed a likewise concentration on younger, reproductive-aged women, despite Brownmiller's (1979) description of soldiers' wartime rapes as strongly guided by intentions to hurt and denigrate (Thornhill and Palmer 2000). In the mass rapes of Muslim women by Bosnian Serb soldiers during the conflict in the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s, young women in their teens and twenties were most commonly targeted (Niarchos 1995). Similarly, during the Soviet invasion of Germany toward the final months of WWII in 1945, soldiers would flash lights in the faces of women huddled together in captured bunkers in order to select particular victims, who tended to be younger (Beavor 2002). Likewise, in the Japanese capture of Nanking in 1937, when soldiers raped tens of thousands of Chinese women, at least one woman escaped the attention of assailants by disguising herself as an infirm, elderly woman (Chang 1997).

Additionally, the higher incidence of rape during wartime, as well as during riots

and other periods of disorder, were considered by evolutionary theorists to be a result of increased opportunity with low risk of punishment, suggesting that this higher incidence reflects the “fitness benefit to fitness cost ratio” of impregnating females (Alcock 2001: 210). However, this association can also be explained from a criminological deterrence theory perspective (Gibbs 1975). If rape is viewed as the pursuit of sexual gratification by violent means, then offenses during wartime or during riots are analogous to the robberies and lootings that can also occur with impunity. In a circumstance when punishment (both official and in the form of social disapproval) is not only uncertain to occur but almost certain not to occur, it is not surprising that the violent taking of both valuables and sexual opportunities will increase. The existence of a dehumanizing ideology toward the enemy, which Brownmiller (1975) considered a direct motive for soldiers to hurt and humiliate enemy women, may then be interpreted as a neutralization mechanism, releasing offenders from the guilt they would otherwise have felt in their previous civilian lives, and leaving them free to openly and frequently use violence for sex. Solzhenitsyn (1973) describes an exemplary incident during the Soviet invasion of Germany in the Second World War.

My cellmates...three honest, openhearted soldiers... yesterday on the outskirts of the village broke into a bath where they had noticed two [women] going to bathe. The girls, half-dressed, managed to get away... all of us knew very well that if the girls were German they could be raped and then shot. This was almost a combat distinction. Had they been Polish girls or our own displaced Russian girls, they could have been chased naked... an amusement, no more. (p. 21).

### The Feminist/Evolutionary Debate and the Nature of Sexual Violence

The American Psychological Association’s (APA) 1983 annual meeting included a Fellow’s Address in the Division for Comparative and Physiological Psychology by Delbert Thiessen of the University of Texas. The title of the address, “Rape as a

Reproductive Strategy: Our Evolutionary Legacy,” was printed in the preliminary program and received offended reactions from some of the division’s members. Lila Ghent Braine, Chair of the Department of Psychology at Columbia University, wrote to the division chair that “this title presents sexual violence against women as somehow acceptable or justifiable since rape is merely a reproductive strategy that is part of our evolutionary heritage” (as cited in Sunday and Tobach 1985: 159).<sup>7</sup> Martha Wilson, a professor of psychology at the University of Connecticut, followed in a similar letter that “it seemed offensive to me, somewhat along the lines of a title such as ‘Castrations: an effective method for increasing our enjoyment of opera’” (p. 162). The Association for Women in Psychology made a formal statement that “the title of the talk is offensive to women and men because it implies that sexual violence by men against is acceptable behavior, since it is our quote *legacy* unquote, and can be seen as quote *just a strategy* unquote [sic]” (p. 165). The division chair’s response to these objections was unsympathetic:

It is not surprising to use a provocative title to help increase attendance... as to whether or not Dr. Thiessen’s talk is truly sexist (which I hope it will not be), neither you nor I will know until the actual presentation... at this point, I choose [to] hold in abeyance any possible judgment... my own reaction to his title is not that rape is ‘acceptable or justifiable,’ but, rather, that it may be inevitable... and I shall be shocked if Dr. Thiessen’s view is the former (p.161)

The talk itself apparently descended into an heated argument that ended with Thiessen’s refusal of an invitation to discuss the subject further in another room. Afterward, Irene Frieze, president of the Division of Psychology of Women (Division 35) wrote a letter to Thiessen on behalf of the division, stating that

We find the implicit acceptance of the idea of rape as a reasonable means of having children quite upsetting. We wonder if you would have been equally willing to talk on ‘The holocaust as a population control strategy’ or even ‘Lynching as population

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<sup>7</sup> Page numbers for blocked quotation in the rest of this paragraph reflect Sunday and Tobach (1985).

control'? An equally degrading title might be 'Castration as a reproductive strategy'. Perhaps the enclosed guidelines for Nonsexist Research will provide you with more information about ways of avoiding sexism" (p. 167).

Thiessen's response to the letter from Division 35 was equally or perhaps even more pithy than his critics, accusing Frieze and like-minded members of engaging in a misrepresentation of his theoretical proposal.

The mobilization of Division 35 against my APA presentation was quite a shock and a clear demonstration of sexism on the part of an otherwise perceptive organization. I fear you misunderstand, both my motives and the dimensions of science... What I am seeking is an understanding as to why rape occurs...my aim, in part, is similar to that of most women, namely to be able to reduce the incidence or rape. To reject outright the possibility of a biological interpretation of rape is a sad commentary on your perception of science. Perhaps you believe that a biological approach assumes genetic determinism. This is certainly not the case... To equate my title with the 'Holocaust' or 'Lynching' or any such derogatory association is both nonproductive and uninformed (p. 168).

Soon, arguments began to take on a distinctly right/left ideological tone, as feminist theorists accused the sociobiological perspective of being politically motivated. In an edited book titled "Violence Against Women: A Critique of the Sociobiology of Rape," a reaction to Thornhill and Thornhill's (1983) article and Delbert Thiessen's APA presentation two years earlier, one author claimed that

Sociobiologists have taken Western economic theory and used it to interpret animal behavior. This is not new, Marx pointed out Darwin's application of capitalistic ideas to the animal world in the latter's theory of natural selection...but the end product... is a theoretical, evolutionary justification of Western society's sexual status quo including the sexual double standard, the greater involvement of females in parental care, and ...males propensity to rape (Harding 1985: 41).

In a another chapter, provocatively titled "Homo Economicus as the Rapist in Sociobiology", another pair of authors proposed that rape is a product of gender inequality that itself stems from the competitive and non-egalitarian nature of capitalism.<sup>8</sup> Describing societies in which hunting and gathering activities are "pursued chiefly for collective use and not for commercial exchange" leading to more harmonious social

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<sup>8</sup> Another author stated that "patriarchal capitalism maintains a culture supportive of rape" (Messerschmidt 1986: 136)

interactions where “cooperation and sharing are strongly emphasized in work and ideology” the authors conclude that

such societies tend to be characterized by little or no sexual violence because, under these socioeconomic conditions, relations between men and women are cooperative and compassionate...descriptions of life in these societies are conspicuously devoid of the repeated violence against women expressed in the United States” (Schwendinger and Schwendinger 1985: 96).

The same author further critiqued the sociobiological view of rape as a behavior that evolved to increase reproductive fitness, citing the existence of homosexual, child, elderly, and incestuous victims, as well as non-vaginal sexual assault, rape-murder, and multiple-offender rape. The author asserted that even in cases with a fertile female victim, the likelihood of pregnancy is low, and “even if a child is conceived as a result of rape, chances that the mother will rear it to adulthood seem slim,” due to injury during the offense, possibility of contracting a venereal disease, ostracism in her social group, and the claim that “adolescent girls who are the favored targets of rapists have not matured sufficiently to withstand the rigors of pregnancy, childbirth, and motherhood” (p.50). In rebutting the claim of rape as a reproductive measure, this critique explicitly endorsed a “not sex” perspective of rapist motivation, citing figures of high estimated rates of physical assault (slapping, beating, choking) in rape incidents, and concluded that

In many cases of rape in humans, assault seems to be the important factor, not sex...If the primary purpose of rape is reproduction, why is injury inflicted on the victim? Clearly such injuries adversely affect the victim’s physiological capacity to carry a pregnancy to term and her psychological desire to do so. Secondly, if the primary purpose of the rapist is to sire a child, then the high proportion of group assaults<sup>9</sup> is problematic, since the probability that a particular individual will father a child is lower than if he had raped the woman by himself (Harding 1985: 51).

The idea of violence, and especially violence against women, as behaviors produced by capitalist, male-dominated social structures that were in turn contrary to our

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<sup>9</sup> The proportion cited is several times greater than the proportion I found in either the NCVS or NIBRS datasets

aboriginal origins of egalitarian, collective hunter-gatherers had been given an early theoretical basis by Frederick Engels' (1884; 1978) well-known *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, and brought to the forefront of feminist thinking in the early 1980s by anthropologists Eleanor Leacock and Peggy Sanday (Leacock 1978; 1981; Sanday 1981a; 1981b). Leacock used ethnographic anthropological records, some of which were based on early European colonial (such as those by Jesuit priests) reports of Native American peoples, to describe hunting and gathering "band" societies as sexually egalitarian, and asserted that ethnographic accounts to the contrary reflect either more recent Western influences or Western research bias. While popular among many anthropologists (including Sanday), critiques from a few dissenting anthropologists were sardonic.

Peoples everywhere have origin tales, and anthropologists have already devised several. For Leacock, the Garden was a classless society in which women and men enjoyed autonomy. The Fatal Apple was production of commodities for exchange rather than for use, which in turn ushered in the specialization of labor... and a host of other changes including a loss of women's autonomy (Brown 1978: 256).

There is no way to falsify Leacock's assertion that any observed lack of male-female egalitarianism in band society is the result of biased reporting, or a displacement of the precontact pristine state of affairs with Western culture. The only argument for this assertion... is a deep faith in the paradisaical image of a primordial egalitarian state of grace from which we have of late unfortunately fallen...they are imaginative representations whose validity cannot be supported outside the realm of an abiding faith in their functional utility as myths (Cohen 1984: 406)

Sanday's (1981b) review of 156 societies from the Murdock and White (1969) Standard Cross-Cultural Sample partitioned the societies into "rape-free" and "rape-prone", the former consisting of societies with no or very rare reports of rape, comprising almost half the sample, and the latter being split into those that had a relatively high profile of rape incidence (about one quarter of the total sample, including societies with obviously frequent prevalence, or when rape was used as an official punishment or ceremony) and those in which rape was present but the prevalence was unknown.

Ethnographic content with inter-rater agreement was found for 95 of the societies, and rape prone societies were more likely to exhibit greater gender inequality (including lack of female political and social influence, negative attitudes toward women, and segregation of men and women in social and ceremonial contexts), social acceptance of violence, ideologies of masculine toughness, and warfare (including raiding of other groups to abduct women).

Sanday concluded that rape, like other forms of violence and social conflict, were the products of social conditions, especially gender inequality; societies that did not have a male-dominated social structure lacked the causal framework to induce men to commit sexual violence, and would thus exhibit a more natural state of peaceful cooperation.<sup>10</sup>

Critics were quick to cast doubt the validity of the ethnographic data. Palmer (1989) reassessed 31 of the 45 societies purported to be relatively rape-free, presenting additional statements from the records of original observations indicating various levels of sexual violence, or examining the adequacy of existent descriptions, and concluded that none of these could be said to be rape-free or even to have rare prevalence.<sup>11</sup>

Additionally, Broude and Greene (1976), also using a content analysis of the qualitative

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<sup>10</sup> The California Coalition Against Sexual Assault asserts on its website's "rape myths" page, in reaction to the alleged myth that "men rape women because that is men's nature and biological role" that "there are many societies in which men never rape women," citing that "we now know that rape is not universal" this fact has been well documented by Peggy Reeves Sanday" (Greensite 2007).

<sup>11</sup> Debates about rape in the ethnographic literature are very contentious. In his later book with Thornhill (2000), he attacks Sanday's description of the Mbuti, quoting her statement that this tribe "provides a prototypical profile of a 'rape free' society" and then quoting segments from the same anthropologist cited by Sanday, clearly indicating some commonality of rape (as cited p.141). He also purports to discredit Margaret Mead's famous description that "of the Arapesh know nothing beyond the fact that it is the unpleasant custom of the Nugum people to the southeast... nor do the Arapesh have any conception of male nature that might make rape understandable to them" (as cited p. 142). Palmer cites further descriptions from Mead's ethnography regarding abductions of women who were sexually pursued, but in which the abductor will "not take her at once" but instead wait to see if there will be a battle for her, and asserts that "the behavior Mead describes is rape: Arapesh males forcibly abduct non-consenting women for sexual intercourse, and they complete the rape whenever the consequences are not expected to be too severe" (p. 142).

ethnographic records in the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample, coded 59 percent of all the societies as having absent or rare homosexuality, an observation that casts doubt on the ability of the same data to infer the presence of sexual violence.

Despite these criticisms, Sanday's sample did show significant relationships between the frequency of sexual violence and elements of social structure.<sup>12</sup> In particular, societies that had an obviously high frequency of rape, and in which rape was an accepted part of punishment and other rituals, were more likely to have general male dominance (gender inequality and hyper-masculine ideologies) as well as interpersonal and between-groups violence. An alternative explanation to Sanday's that relates social structure to sexual violence posits that sex ratio and patrilocal residence traditions strengthen male factionalism (fraternal interest groups of familial related men), which in turn promotes violence and ideologies of masculine prowess and subsequently leads to higher levels of sexual violence (Chagnon 1977; Guttentag and Secord 1983; Paige 1974). Using a sample of 135 primitive societies from the Human Relations Area Files, Otterbein (1979) measured patrilocality as an indicator of factionalism, the level of feuding (murder as revenge for previous murder), frequency of rape, and recognized punishment for rape. Patrilocality and feuding were related and predicted higher rates of rape. Furthermore, weak or absent punishment for rape predicted high rape frequency only in non-factional (matrilocal) societies, and all the societies that had no discernable punishment for rape exhibited a high frequency.

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<sup>12</sup> More specifically, the relationship was between measures of societies' members' willingness to talk about sexual violence and elements of social structure. A hypothetical anthropologist from an alien planet who visited Victorian England in 1890 or the United States in the 1940s might likewise get the impression that much less deviance occurred than actually did. This author recalls meeting a woman who grew up in the 1950s and was a college student before she discovered that child molestation existed. She was shocked and in disbelief that such a thing actually took place, not because she lived a society in which it was rare or absent (it was probably as prevalent as today), but simply because it was not openly discussed.

The implication of Otterbien's study is that rape is generally more frequent when there is no punishment, but when men form violent factions that conflict with other men and conduct feuding, then rape prevalence is high regardless of the severity of punishment. If gender inequality and male dominance are also produced by factionalism, then Sanday's observations may reflect a connection between inequality and rape that is a function of the social structural predictors of general conflict and violence.<sup>13</sup>

### The "Rape Culture" and the Question of Sexual Motivation

For Sanday and other feminist theorists, society actually causes rape by producing a "rape culture" whose values and ideologies elicited sexually violent behavior. To the extent that a society lacked this culture (via a more egalitarian social structure), it would be closer to the rape-free societies that she purported to have discovered in ethnographic records. The rape culture concept gained popularity in social sciences from the 1970s through the 1990s. In a popular sociology textbook reader, *Seeing Ourselves: Classic, Contemporary and Cross-Cultural Readings in Sociology*, one author described, in a chapter titled "The Rape Culture," how Western society causes sexual violence:

"American culture produces rapists when it encourages the socialization of men to subscribe to values of control and dominance, callousness and competitiveness, and anger and aggression..." (Herman 1998: 49)

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<sup>13</sup> Sanday defended her ethnography in a chapter of the edited volume "Evolution, Gender, and Rape," a collection of critiques of Palmer and Thornhill (Travis 2003). She cites her extensive fieldwork with the Minangkabau, a large ethnic group in Indonesia, indicating that their cooperative, egalitarian, and nurturing cultural traditions make rape extremely rare: "The Minangkabau never speak directly about sexual abuse, domestic violence, or rape...rather, they convey cultural expectations through proverbs... a man who beats his wife reflects the evil of nature..." (p. 355). "The Minangkabau categorize rape behavior as barbaric, the epitome of the uncivilized. Any form of violence against women is not tolerated in village life. Men who follow this etiquette are in more demand by mothers seeking husbands for their daughters than young men who engage in rough, unseemly behavior" (p. 356). "The Minangkabau social philosophy teaches that aggression weakens rather than strengthens the body's tie to nature and society. This explains why there is no discernible incidence of sexual abuse of domestic violence in the village of my field work" (p. 357).

“Our society is a rape culture because it fosters and encourages rape by teaching males and females that it is natural and normal for sexual relations to involve aggressive behavior on the part of males” (Herman 1998: 52).<sup>14</sup>

In another book titled *Transforming a Rape Culture*, an editors’ forward poses the question “Are we really living in a rape culture?” and answers it by citing several sources of data regarding rates of rape and other sexual assault. Noting the increase in rates by official and survey measures (but ignoring the possibility that increased rates reflect increased reporting), the authors conclude that “rape is a pervasive fact of American life, and its incidence is growing dramatically...we will continue to live in a rape culture until our society understands and chooses to eradicate the sources of sexual violence in this culture” (Buchwald, Fletcher, and Roth 1993: 9).

As indicated in previous descriptions of Chagnon’s (1977) and Paige’s (1974) ethnographic findings, social structure can produce different customs and ideologies about gender relations and general violence. The existence of attitudes that are more conducive toward sexual violence (ideologies about the propriety of male dominance and hyper-masculine toughness), while it may certainly affect the prevalence of rape, does not eliminate the possibility of rape being sexually motivated. Nor does it preclude rape from being a behavior that would be engaged in to some degree even in the absence of any rape culture (simply because men would discover on their own, without being taught through socialization, that they can force women sexually).<sup>15</sup> As Freese (2000) would likely point out, only a very polarized conception of the causal pathway between culture and behavior would posit a strict combination of the idea that societies would be rape-

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<sup>14</sup> Hermann (1998) also insists that “one of the most surprising findings on rape is that the rapist is normal in personality, appearance, intelligence, behavior, and sexual drive. Empirical research has repeatedly failed to find a consistent pattern of personality type... that discriminates the rapists from the nonrapist...” (Herman 1998: 49). See the next chapter for a discussion of this issue.

<sup>15</sup> Note that this proposal does not require a specific evolutionary mechanism. It may simply be the product of the happenstance of sexual dimorphism (Brownmiller (1975) ironically endorses this idea)

free in the absence of gender inequality (and subsequently rape culture) and the .  
“not sex” perspective on offender motive.

Ellis (1989) attempted to reconcile feminist and evolutionary perspectives in a synthesized theory of rape, in which rape was motivated by both sex and the desire to dominate and control:

What is called *sexual behavior* (both in humans and in many other species) is motivated not simply by the sex drive, but also by a second drive – the drive to possess and control... viewing sexual behavior as motivated by two drives instead of one is similar to Maslow's... two-drive theory of sexuality... the close connection between possession and love seems betrayed in such utterances as ‘I want you’ and tell me you’re mine” (59)

This redefined conception of sexual behavior, in order to incorporate the motivations purported by evolutionary and feminist theorists, essentially co-opts the feminist power/domination motive into a larger concept of what is gratifying about sex. Bentham's (1789) hedonistic calculus implies that both sex and possession are sought-after, implicit rewards; Ellis (1989) simply pools both implicit desires into a definition of the former that includes the latter.<sup>16</sup> Felson and Tedeschi (1994) similarly characterize this extra motive as an achievement aspect of sexuality, which they purport is stronger in men because their intended partners (women) are more discriminating, thus making the attainment of sexual access a more esteem satisfying goal.

Nonetheless, the attempt to bring feminist and evolutionary researchers together did not result in much conciliation between feminists and sociobiologists; the evolutionary vs. feminist controversy over the motives of rapists, and the consequent

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<sup>16</sup> The author of this dissertation anecdotally recalls an incident in which a U.S. military officer in Okinawa was criticized for remarking that a group of his marines should have hired a prostitute instead of raping a young woman, as they had been accused of doing. While a “not sex” perspective of rape would argue that such a question demonstrates that other motives than sex must be at work in rape, such an argument begs the question of whether consensual sex is not subject to the same scrutiny (if the biological process of sexual release is the only benefit, why are participants so intent on seeking partners at all when they can simply masturbate?). Ellis avoids such inquiries by postulating that sexual behavior (both consensual and violent) is engaged in order to receive two levels of positive reinforcement: the simple, obvious biological reward *and* the equally implicit reward of possession.

implications for interpreting the victim age distribution, peaked in 2000 with the publication of Thornhill and Palmer's (2000) *A Natural History of Rape*. A feminist reaction was swift. The publication of an edited volume titled *Evolution, Gender, and Rape* (Travis, editor 2003) followed the uproar over *A Natural History of Rape* and included derisive chapter headings from contributors with phrases such as "Pop Sociobiology Reborn", "Of Vice and Men," "An Unnatural History of Rape," "Violence Against Science," and "Refuting Biological Determinism" (p. v and vi).

A central issue at stake between the two sides was the question of offender motivation and its reflection through the victim age distribution. Palmer and Thornhill (2000) were especially ridiculing of Groth's (1979: 173) claim that "vulnerability and accessibility play a more significant role in determining victim selection than does physical attractiveness or alleged provocativeness" and Rodabaugh and Austin's (1981: 44, as cited in Palmer and Thornhill 2000: 139) statement that "both the very young and the very old [are] at high risk because of their inability to resist." Pointing out that the age distribution of rape victims is the opposite of what would be predicted by these assertions, the authors call these claims "truly astonishing" given that "females in the age categories *least* likely to be raped are the *most* vulnerable" (p. 139). While the authors may have more fairly pointed out that the quote from Groth appears in a chapter section specifically dealing with the rape of elderly victims, Groth makes similar claims regarding all rapes (1979: 2-3, 7). Furthermore, his own data regarding self-reported offender motivation indicates that sexual gratification may have still played a significant role in rapes of older victims. While less than one-fifth (17%) of the sample of offenders who raped women over the age of 50 stated that their intent was sexual gratification, and

about one-third stated that their intent was an expression of anger, an additional fourth (23%) claimed to be in a blackout at the time of the assault, and the remainder reported robbery or not knowing their motive.<sup>17</sup> Offenders' claims of not remembering violent crimes is not uncommon, both with sexual and nonsexual offenses<sup>18</sup>, but does not tell us that the offender had no motive, or that the motive in the case of rape was not sexual, and those reporting robbery or unknown (one offender in this category stated "She was good-looking, but I don't know why I raped her" (1979: 172)) may well have had a sexual motive. Nonetheless, Groth draws the following conclusion about rape of older adult women on the very next page:

The older woman appears to symbolize an authority figure over whom the offender wants to control and/or an actual woman against whom he wants to retaliate or revenge himself. Sexuality becomes the means through which anger and power are expressed and the means by which he can hurt, humiliate, and degrade his victim. The sexual assault of the older victim clearly reveals rape to be a distortion of human sexuality. It is sexual behavior serving nonsexual need and motives... rape is far more an issue of hostility than of sexual desire (p. 173)

Such claims incited evolutionary theorists to label feminist views of rape as entirely in the vein of the 'not sex' or the 'nothing to do with sex' paradigm with regard to offender motive, which they relentlessly scorned (Palmer 1988; Thornhill and Palmer 2000; Alcock 2001; Freese 2001). Rejecting the argument that rape of older victims is obvious evidence of nonsexual motives, Pinker (2002) retorted that since men sometimes have *consensual* sex with older women, arguing that such acts must be nonsexual "leads to the absurdity that sex itself has nothing to do with sex" (p. 367). Evolutionary theorists also used the growing recognition of date-rape as an argument against their conception of feminist theory:

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<sup>17</sup> Only 12% (20) of the offender sample (who raped adult victims, the age definition of adult not defined) chose victims over the age of 50. Of the 31 victims over the age of 50 (some offenders assaulted more than one victim), 29% were in their fifties, 48 % in their sixties, and 19% in their seventies or older.

<sup>18</sup> For this claim, the author of this dissertation cites his own anecdotal experiences as a correctional case manager, both in discussions with known violent offenders and in reviewing case offense narratives.

Date-rape is a particularly problematic case for the not-sex theory. Most people agree that women have the right to say no at any point during sexual activity, and that if the man persists he is a rapist – but should we also believe that his motive has instantaneously changed from wanting sex to oppressing women? (Pinker 2002: 367)<sup>19</sup>

Also in contrast to Groth's assertion that all rapes were a manifestation of non-sexual pathology were early ethnographic accounts compiled by McDonald (1971), which indicated that some offenders wanted their victims to act as though they were having consensual sex, making demands for affection that including kissing, fondling, and acting "as if she was with her boyfriend" (p. 66). A later qualitative analysis of interviews with 114 convicted rapists indicated that self-reported motive varied. "A number of rapists used sexual violence as a method of revenge and/or punishment while others used it as a means of gaining access to unwilling unavailable women. In some cases, rape was just a bonus added to burglary or robbery" (Scully and Marolla 1985: 251). The narratives from these interviews indicate that the sexual gratification of rape was often a by-product that may as well have been procured once the offender and victim had already come into conflict. When asked how they felt immediately after the offense, less than one in ten indicated any guilt or concern for the victim.

Another qualitative study of convicted rapists restricted the sample to those who had been "predatory," meaning that they had targeted strangers. Offenders indicated a variety of factors that increased their likelihood of selecting a woman as a victim, including youth, middle class (as opposed to lower class) status, being in a situation in which it would be easy to get the victim alone, and physical attractiveness (Stevens 1994).

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<sup>19</sup> Pinker (2002) also makes the intriguing claim that rapists don't typically apply more force than is needed to subdue the victim, and that only about 1 in 20 rape victims report serious physical injury, and only about 1 in 500 is killed. An assessment of rates and/or seriousness of physical injury for rape vs. robbery of female victims could have implications for theories of rape motive.

Meanwhile, Palmer and Thornhill (2000) directed their most bitter criticism toward Brownmiller<sup>20</sup> (1975), quoting the back cover of her (1976) paperback edition, which stated that rape “is not a crime of lust but of violence and power... rape victims are not only the ‘lovely young blonds’ of newspaper headlines – rapists strike children, the aged, the homely – all women.” The authors cite several other such quotes which seem to imply that Brownmiller is unaware of the victim age distribution, such as “the rapist chooses his victim with a striking disregard for conventional ‘sex appeal’ – she may be seventy-four and senile or twelve and a half with braces on her teeth” (p. 338) and “factors such as extreme youth, advanced age, physical homeliness and virginal lifestyle do not provide a foolproof deterrent or render a woman impervious to sexual assault” (p. 348). Despite these statements, Brownmiller appears aware of the greater risk posed to younger women, as she cites one of the few studies available at that time indicating age-specific likelihood of victimization (Amir 1971). However, despite claims that Palmer and Thornhill made her position into a straw actor (Freese 2001), Brownmiller attributes the age-curve phenomena entirely to circumstance, claiming that while “personal preference appears to be immaterial” (p. 348), young women are victimized the most because “of their proximity to those who are most quick to resort to forcible rape” (p. 349).

This assertion, that female rape victims are younger than other female crime victims because of their proximity to the most likely offenders, contrasts sharply with evolutionary theorists’ proposal that offenders prefer and target the young and attractive. The former model, employing a indiscriminately targeting offender who happens to have

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<sup>20</sup> Nonetheless, Brownmiller’s (1975) book is the 11<sup>th</sup> bestselling on Amazon.com with the word rape in the title, while Palmer and Thornhill’s is 25<sup>th</sup>.

more opportunity to get younger women alone than old women alone, utilizes a criminological theory known as Routine Activities. This perspective will become a contending explanation of the rape victim age distribution in conjunction with the “not sex” view, and will typify the difference between a conception of offenders’ motivation being sexual or nonsexual. The next chapter will discuss routine activity, as well as another school of criminological thought that represents a substantial theoretical shift from both feminism and sociobiology.

## Chapter 3

### **Criminological Perspectives: Routine Activities and Social Control**

After considering the contentious clash of ideas about the reasons for rape in society, and especially for the motives espoused in feminist and evolutionary perspectives that cause offenders to commit sexual violence, sociological criminology is left with a challenging task. How does a theory of rape coincide with a theory of criminality in general? If sexual violence cannot be cast in a similar explanation as assault, robbery, and other anti-social behavior, then criminologists would be left with the feminist and evolutionary assertions that rape is uniquely produced, either by a rape culture born of competitive non-egalitarian modernity or by an unconscious drive born of evolutionary adaptations in the ancestral brain.<sup>21</sup> Both ideas are positivist in that they propose a cause of rape, without which there would be no motive for offenders to commit the crime at all. This chapter will first discuss the use of Routine Activities theory in the “not sex” perspective’s proposal of indiscriminate victim targeting and the victim age distribution. I will then discuss issues surrounding the possible use of post-classical classical criminology (control theory) as a more parsimonious alternative to either feminist or evolutionary theory, and propose empirical tests of hypotheses about victim-age predictors generated by the different paradigms.

#### Routine Activity Perspectives

When routine activity theory was introduced in 1979, feminist theorists found it to be a useful addition to the feminist perspective on rape by helping to explain why some women appeared to have greater risks than others, without changing their ideas about

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<sup>21</sup> One or both of these is especially implicated if Hefley (2006) is correct that rape is not to be considered a deviant act.

offenders' motives (Cohen and Felson 1979; Schwartz and Pitts 1995). When feminist theorists examined factors that influenced the likelihood of victimization with regard to victims' age, they tended to focus on lifestyle attributes, such as patterns of situation and place that would put young women, particularly young college women, into close proximity with offenders in "vulnerable situations" (Mustaine and Tewksbury 2002: 90).

One of the earliest studies examining sex offender and victim ages was conducted with police records from Philadelphia between 1958 and 1960, finding 15 to 24 year olds to comprise 66 percent of offenders and 38 percent of victims, with victims over 40 comprising less than 10 percent of the sample (Amir 1971). Brownmiller (1979) noted the age distribution and explained it with a routine activity perspective, before such a perspective on patterns of crime was widely understood. A study of rapes in the city of Buffalo in 1975 revealed a similar pattern: victims between 15 and 24 years old comprised 54 percent of victims. The authors followed Brownmiller in attributing the greater victimization of younger offenders to routine activities, stating that "the reasons for this are quite simple," and proceed to describe the greater day-to-day geographic mobility of younger women and their greater likelihood of living, working, and traveling about by themselves (without family or husband), thus lacking a capable guardian and making themselves more vulnerable (Ploughman and Stensrud 1986: 319). They did not consider an equally simple interpretation of the age-curve later espoused by Wilson et al.'s (1997), that "if men use violence to coercively expropriate sexual opportunities from women who would otherwise not comply, then it might be anticipated that those women whose characteristics tend to be most effective in arousing male sexual interest will incur the greatest risk of sexual assault" (p. 454).

Routine activity theory itself is not concerned with whether offenders are sexually or non-sexually motivated. The theory's contribution pertains to assessing the situational factors that make the crime more or less likely to occur. In the case of the age distribution of rape victims, a routine activity perspective could evaluate the extent to which younger women were perhaps in greater contact with potential offenders, who (like other criminal offenders) tend to be young men also in their late teens and early twenties (Greenfield 1997; Kuznestov et al. 1992; Langan et al. 2003).<sup>22</sup> Such a possibility does not preclude, however, the existence of a sexual motive involving the specific targeting of younger women, as suggested by Wilson et al. (1997). One prominent routine activity theorist makes this point rather crudely by summarizing that "rapists normally are attracted to victims of younger age, reflecting their pursuit of pleasure," following with a dismissive reference to earlier feminist perspectives by noting in parentheses that "for some reason this point is controversial" (Felson 2002: 32).

One study of women's stalking victimizations postulated that, while most crime victims are male, some crimes (rape, stalking, spousal abuse) may be more likely to have female victims partly because women's victimization is not taken as seriously by society or the criminal justice system (Mustaine and Tewksbury 1999). Regardless of the merit of this suggestion, the issue of rational choice and deterrence has some application with regard to the distribution of victim-offender relationships, which can affect the age distribution of victims. An offender might choose to victimize his wife or ex-wife, girlfriend or ex-girlfriend, date or acquaintance not only due to the convenience of opportunity but also because if these victims were to report a rape, the offender can with

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<sup>22</sup> Kuznestov (1992) actually found that rapists, like most criminal offenders, tended to be young men in their teens and twenties, while child molesters were more evenly distributed across the lifespan.

some degree of plausibility claim that the sex was consensual, a claim that would be considerably more suspicious were the victim a stranger.

Nonetheless, these dynamics of routine activity theory could explain the age distribution of rape victims independently of offender motive if the likelihood of victimization were sufficiently predicted by some lifestyle variable (relationship to the offender, behavior patterns, marital status) after controlling for age itself. One plausible application of routine activity to explaining why rape victims are younger than other crime victims is Brownmiller's conclusion that young women are most likely to be in the proximity of offenders, since they are both in the same peer group. This idea becomes even more intuitively attractive when we consider that the majority of rape victims know their attackers at the level of a casual acquaintance or stronger (Amir 1971; Greenfield 1997). Additionally, a routine activities perspective might postulate that younger women are exposed to greater lifestyle risks aside from associations with offenders, such as a greater likelihood of being single, and thus reducing the probability of having a capable guardian present. This "bodyguard hypothesis" is partially supported by a Canadian survey's finding that sexual victimization rates, while showing the characteristic decline with victim age category for both married and unmarried women, are more than twice as high for singles than for married women *at each age category* (18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, >65). However, the rates were calculated based on sexual assault and unwanted sexual touching by men other than husbands, boyfriends, or dates (Wilson and Mesnick 1997). In the NCVS data used for the present study, husbands themselves accounted for 6 percent of all offenders, and boyfriends/ex-boyfriends accounted for 17 percent (ninety percent of the sample was currently unmarried).

Studies designed to test the proposition that younger women are more often raped because they are more likely to associate with offenders have not yielded promising results. NCS data from 1973 to 1982 indicates that female robbery victims are significantly more likely to be raped if they are younger than if they are older (Felson and Krohn 1990). A similar pattern is indicated by the Supplementary Homicide Reports (SHR) from the FBI's homicide data, which reflect circumstances surrounding murders, including offender and victim age and sex, and whether a sexual assault was involved. Of the 564 homicides of female victims between 1976 and 1994 by male strangers who were also raped by the offender, the mean offender age was 26.4 and the mean victim age was 36.9. However, of the 1,289 homicides of female victims in the same time period by male strangers who also stole property from the victim (robbery, burglary, larceny, and auto theft), but did not rape the victim, the mean offender age was 24.7 years, while the average victim age was 51.3 (Shackelford 2002a). By examining only rape-murder and theft-murder by strangers, the author hoped to control for the possible effects of routine activities on the victims' age distribution. A study of rape-murder and theft-murder involving multiple male stranger offenders and female victims indicated the same finding: while the offenders in both cases were young men with the same age distribution, younger women were significantly overrepresented among the rape-murder victims and significantly underrepresented among the theft-murder victims (Shackelford 2002b).

Similar data for England and Wales reveal that while "sexual assault femicides" and "femicides motivated by theft" (p. 454) are both apt to be committed by young men who are strangers to the victim, and are similarly distributed between public places and

victims' homes, the victims' age distribution is again starkly pronounced. Young women in their teens and twenties are at the highest risk for sexual assault femicide, while the average female victims of theft femicide are much older, with elderly women (over 74) having the greatest risk (Wilson et al. 1997). The authors make a direct refutation of the routine activities interpretation of rape victim age distributions:

If the pattern of sexual assault femicide victimization in relation to the woman's age were merely a reflection of age-related variations in vulnerability as a result of routine activities or lifestyle, one might expect similar age patterns to characterize other sorts of femicide victimization, too... (p. 454)

While the fragility and defenselessness of elderly women make them ideal targets for theft-murder, the same vulnerability should make them ideal targets for rape-murder, as well, *if* rapists were age indiscriminate in their selection of victims (Wilson et al., 1997).

### Control Theory Perspectives

In criminology, control theories represent a post-classical return to a model of criminal behavior in which a self-interested actor uses violence or deception to gain desired rewards (Becarria 1789; 1963; Bentham 1789; 1973). Rather than crime being motivated by factors that cause anti-social behavior which wouldn't have occurred otherwise, a control paradigm assumes that the motive for criminal behavior is self-evident, and that causes must be found for *control*, or the refraining from using anti-social means to achieve implicitly rewarding goals (Kornhauser 1978). Social-control theory seeks explanations for restraint in aspects of social integration, such as attachments and commitments (Hirschi 1969), while self-control theory postulates an individual personality dimension, consisting of the ability to delay gratification, that develops to greater or lesser degrees (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990). Each of these perspectives has received some degree of empirical support (Costello and Vowell 1999;

Grasmick, Tittle, Bursik, and Arneklev 1993; Hirschi 1969; McCord 1991; Pratt and Cullen 2000; Rankin and Kern 1994; Sellers 1999).

In the self-control paradigm, the rapist shows a propensity to seek a fast, simple way to procure sexual gratification, which is by the use of violence to forcibly obtain it from the victim; the way that a robber would obtain money or other valuables (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990). Robbery is without doubt a violent crime, as is rape. Robberies of banks, stores, or even persons on the street can be quite overtly violent; offenders yell and curse and victims while brandishing weapons, hit or severely beat victims, or even kill them (Wright and Decker 1997). Much of this violent activity may appear to involve displays of anger by the offender, yet no criminological, feminist, or psychological theory has suggested that robbery is primarily motivated by anger or the desire to feel power and control over the victim. A post-classical perspective postulates pecuniary gain as the offender's primary motive, which is an intrinsic reward for all members of society, whether it is procured by force or voluntary exchange. The social phenomena that requires explanation is why most members do not regularly use violence to obtain it (Hirschi 1969). Likewise, intercourse and other sex acts do not require a different explanation of motive when they are conducted non-consensually and when they are conducted consensually. While almost all men find sex intrinsically rewarding, the question asked by control theorists is again, why most of them do not regularly use violence to obtain it. One self-control theorist indicated that the classical paradigm made the motivation debate irrelevant:

Sexual assault clearly involves immediate, simple gratification of desires. The desire may be sex or it may be power. Regardless the individual with low self-control finds this relatively uncomplicated (if heinous) activity fulfilling. Certainly the act itself does not provide any long-term benefits...the rapists is not an individual entrenched in a subculture, nor is he perfectly socialized within a greater patriarchal system. Instead, the

rapist is someone who is 'insufficiently restrained' by controls...low self-control is not a product of socialization, but rather a consequence or its absence or failure [sic]" (Larragoite 1994: 167).

When Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) applied self-control theory to a discussion of rape, they reported NCS data indicating that about sixty percent of rapes were committed by strangers. This proportion differs substantially from the post 1992 NCVS presented in this study, probably reflecting methodological changes in the survey that took place around that time (see chapter 7). Also, Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) may have gone too far in their assumptions necessary for rape to occur, in which they include "a victim who is attractive to an offender, available to the offender, unwilling to engage in sexual activity, and unable resist" (p. 37). The requirement that the victim be attractive to the offender puts the authors squarely on the side of sociobiologists in their debate with feminists about sexual vs. non-sexual motivation, but control theory also dispenses with the corresponding assumptions about evolved adaptations and byproducts.<sup>23</sup>

More problematic is the requirement that the victim be unwilling to engage in sexual activity, which suggests that offenders only use violence to obtain sex when they would not be able to obtain it from the victim consensually. Recent laboratory studies that measure phallometric arousal in rapists and non-rapists reveal a puzzling caveat for this assumption. Phallometry is a physiological procedure that measures the erectile response of male subjects while they are presented with various stimuli, avoiding reliance on self-report to determine if respondents find certain stimuli sexually arousing. The technique had been used successfully to show that known pedophiles, when looking at images of pubescent and younger children, elicit more than twice the penile response of a

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<sup>23</sup> "Attractive" need not mean that the victim has to be pretty, rather that she be a desired target for the offender. In the context of routine activity, certain types of autos and structures are more attractive to thieves and burglars, attractiveness not necessarily referring to aesthetic appearance.

random control sample of men, despite self-reporting a level of sexual arousal similar to the control group. In other words, while a random sample of men indicated high penile response to pictures of adult women and low penile response to pictures of pubescent and young children (and self-reported the same), pedophiles did the reverse; while they self-reported similarly to the control group, they were really more sexually aroused by the images of children than they were by images of adult women.<sup>24</sup> (Harris, Rice, Quinsey, and Chaplin 1996).

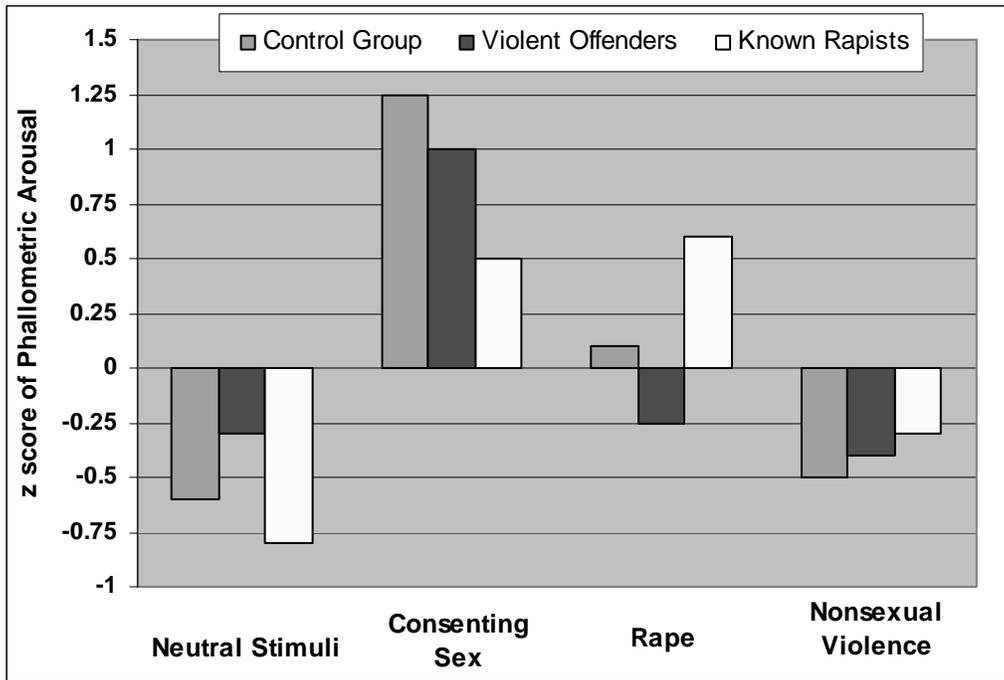
Applying phallometry to known rapists has produced mixed results. An early review of these studies found as many with inconclusive results as positive results (Ellis 1989), but two recent meta-analysis have revealed clear differences between known rapists and control groups (Lalumiere et al. 2005). After listening to stories depicting violent rape scenarios and stories depicting consensual sex episodes, as well as baseline control stories with no sexual or violent content, about 60 percent of rapists show equal or greater arousal to the former than to the latter, while only about 10 percent of control groups do so. Also, known rapists indicated more than twice the penile response to stories of non-sexual violence than did control groups.<sup>25</sup> The authors conclude that “the available evidence strongly supports the conclusion that rapists, as a group... are sexually different from men who do not commit rape and that this difference is large and consistent” (Lalumiere et al. 2005). Figure 3.1 shows the representative results from one of the studies that compared phallometric responses to audio recorded stories played for

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<sup>24</sup> All responses were adjusted for a baseline from a neutral stimuli, such as a landscape photo. The control group of men had the highest penile response with images of adult women, then next with pubescent children (about half of level for adult women), and lowest for young children (about one-fifth of the level for adult women), and their self-reported sexual arousal was almost identical to their penile response. The known child molesters had similar self-report levels as the control group, but their penile response was highest for the pubescent children, closely followed by young children, and lowest for adult women.

<sup>25</sup> Studies that used verbal descriptions of stimuli produced more differences between rapists and non-rapists, as did the use of sexual violence that was emphasized more brutality and suffering.

**Figure 3.1** Phallometric responses of random males (control group, n=19), nonsexually violent offenders with female victims (n=11), and rapists (n=24). Recorded verbal scenarios in female (victim) perspective and voice. From Lalumiere, Quinsey, Harris, Rice, and Trautrimas (2003).



three groups of men. The implication is that some offenders may get a heightened level of sexual arousal from using force than they do from consensual sex. Thus, while a sexual motive may exist for rapists, and while they may target younger women because they find them more sexually attractive, the decision to use violence to force a woman to have sex may not be exactly like the decision to use violence to obtain money in a robbery.<sup>26</sup>

One of control theory's best assets may be its prediction of offender versatility. Since anti-social behavior is purported to be the result of a general propensity toward selfishness, impulsivity, and pursuit of immediate gratification, persons who use violence to obtain sex should also be more inclined to non-sexual forms of criminality, as well as

<sup>26</sup> Another possibility is classical conditioning. Lalumiere et al. (2005) used known sex offenders, who had experience associating violence with sex

analogous behaviors, non-criminal acts that are thrill-seeking, impulsive, callously self-centered, and simplistically pursuant of short-term gains, etc...). Persons arrested for rape have offense history variation assumed by the generality of deviance principle, and known sex offenders score similarly to other criminal offenders on measures of analogous behavior. (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990; Cleary 2002). Overall, it is easier to distinguish between offenders and non-offenders than between rapists and other offenders (Kruttschnitt 1989).

Of those released from prisons in the U.S. (1994) after having served sentences for rape, 83.1 percent had at least one prior arrest for any crime, and 62.9 percent had at least one prior conviction for any crime. Only 28.7 percent had at least one prior arrest for a sex offense (the proportion with one or more arrests for non-sex offenses, with *no* prior sex offense arrests, was thus 54.4 percent), and only 14.6 percent had one or more convictions for a sex offense (the proportion with convictions for one or more non-sex offenses, with *no* prior sex offense convictions, was thus 48.4 percent) (Langan et al. 2003). Pedophiles often have no criminal records, and when they do, their criminal background is substantially less extensive than is the case with offenders who rape adolescent and adult victims (Holmes and Holmes 2002: 99). While offenders who rape adolescents and adults are about as versatile in their offense histories as violent offenders who have not been detected committing sex offenses, pedophiles show less versatility (Simon, 1997). Finally, rates of rape tend to increase and decrease along with the trends of other violent crimes, which suggests a generality of deviance predicted more by a criminological perspective than either a feminist or evolutionary one (Pinker 2002).

### Attitudes as Techniques of Neutralization

What if acceptance of ideas consistent with a “rape culture” predicted sexual violence at the individual level? How would we explain this connection in a classical criminology framework. Sykes and Matza’s (1957) idea of techniques of neutralization, or attitudes adopted to distance the offender from guilt or blame, may be reflected in the extent to which men exhibit rape supportive attitudes and the extent to which they are willing to admit that they actually believe that they used violence to obtain sex. An empirical link between sexual violence and attitudes such as sexism, hostility toward women, and acceptance of rape myths, has been investigated in a number of research designs. Forbes and Adams-Curtis (2001) found significant relationships between aggression in the family of origin and experience with sexual coercion for both males and females, but attitude measures for sexism and acceptance of rape myths were not related to men’s self-reported sexual aggression. A follow-up study claimed that “both sexism and rape myths have been theoretically and empirically linked to sexual coercion” (Forbes, Adams-Curtis, and White 2004: 242) but offer no citations. The abstract claims that sexist attitudes and hostility toward women positively predicted self-reported sexually aggressive behavior in the current study; the abstract explicitly states that “sexism and rape-supporting beliefs were found to be related to each other and to aggressive and sexually coercive behaviors” (p. 236), and indeed these measures were found be correlated. While none of the paper’s tables or descriptive statistics reveal the proportion of males (N=102) who responded positively to the measure of having used sexual coercion, a discussion of the results reveals the proportion as 1.9 percent, indicating that two of the 102 male respondents admitted to having engaged in violent

sexual behavior. While enough to be significant, the authors might have included a word of caution about the tiny proportion.

Hefley's (2006) findings of a relationship between sexual coercion and both sexism and rape-myth acceptance had a stronger sample size and proportion (20% of N=190), but 14 of the 20 percent had only reported to having "had sexual intercourse with a woman who had been taking drugs or drinking and could not or did not resist or say that she didn't want to" (p. 175). The wording of this statement does not require a victim to be unable to resist or say no due to the influence of drugs or alcohol, only that she didn't do so, leaving the respondent free to conclude that a small amount of alcohol (which may not exceed the threshold for ability to consent) still qualifies for a positive response to the question. Even at greater levels of intoxication, a positive response could include incidents in which both partners had been drinking or consuming drugs, and proceeded to have intercourse without explicit statements about consent by either party (a likely occurrence), making it uncertain which party, if either, might have been a rape victim. However, a large enough proportion of male respondents (6%) reporting greater levels of coercion gives confidence to the connection between sexism and rape-myth acceptance, and rape-myth acceptance was also significantly linked to propensity toward rape.<sup>27</sup>

Two recent studies provide stronger confirmations of the relationship between attitudes and sexually coercive behaviors. Burgess (2005) surveyed 368 male college students, 13 percent of which admitted to some level of sexual coercion (texts of the questions used were not presented, however). Interestingly, a much greater proportion

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<sup>27</sup> These involve hypothetical scenarios of whether the respondent would engage in certain sexually coercive behavior if given the opportunity; these measures enjoy much higher positive responses than the measures of actual behavior.

indicated a proclivity to sexual aggression. Nearly half the sample admitted some likelihood (at least “possible but not likely” or greater, with nearly one-fifth scoring at “likely” or greater) of forcing sex on a woman if he were assured of no penalty.<sup>28</sup> Using factor analysis with a Rape Attitudes and Beliefs (RABS) scale, the strongest attitude predictor of past and future sexual aggression was a factor called *justifications*, which indicated beliefs that women welcomed sexual violence and were not harmed by it. The next best predictor was a factor called *blame*, with item loadings that indicated a feeling of reverse-victimization by women’s sexual provocations and a belief that men were often unjustly accused of rape<sup>29</sup>. The third best predictor, called *tactics*, included approval of men’s using alcohol and other dishonest means to obtain sex, such as falsely professing love and commitment. Weaker but still significant predictors were factors for acceptance of traditional gender roles and desire for social status. Unfortunately, these factors were not included together in a model to determine their influences when controlling for the others.

Walker, Rowe, and Quinsey (2007) recently used a Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) scale to explore the link between sexual aggression and attitudes in men from both a college-student and community sample. The scale’s psychometric support and external validity had been well supported, and measured commonly loading ideologies toward acceptance and support of authority (less likely to perceive infringement on civil liberties), suspicion of and desire to “crack-down” on deviant groups and behaviors, and support for conventional social traditions such as disciplinary parenting styles and fundamentalist religious beliefs (Altemeyer 1981; 1988). A new dependent measure, the

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<sup>28</sup> A similar result had been found previously by Malamuth (1981).

<sup>29</sup> This factor had the highest correlation between male and female participants (an additional sample of 368 female students was surveyed).

Aggressive Sexual Behaviors Inventory, replaced the previously established Sexual Experiences Survey (Koss, 1988; Koss and Oros, 1982; Koss and Dinero 1993), wording inquiries about sexual coercion in neutral ways that were less likely to sound condemning to respondents. Nearly 10 percent of men admitted to behaviors considered rape or attempted rape, and an additional fifth admitted to other coercive sexual contact (unwanted touching). Authoritarianism and a measure of disbelief in rape victims' claims were the strongest predictors of sexual coercion, but acceptance of traditional sex roles and acceptance of rape myths were also correlated with sexual coercion.<sup>30</sup>

The studies described above, as well as other that are not reviewed in detail here (Malamuth, Koss, Tanaka, and Sockloskie 1991; Osland, Fitch, and Willis 1996; Rapaport and Burkhart 1984), appear to establish an empirical connection between offender attitudes and inclination toward sexual violence. What has been somewhat elusive is an empirical confirmation of which kinds of attitudes are predominant in leading to sexual aggression (since measures of authoritarianism, sex role ideology, and rape myth acceptance may co-vary), and the directionality of causation. If men who adopt more rigid and aggressive ideologies about authority and social control are more likely to engage in sexual coercion, is this due to their subsequent sexism and rape myth acceptance,<sup>31</sup> or are all of these responses part of a dimension of naïve, aggressive, and callous attitudes that typify a generality of criminal offender? Furthermore, if men who believe sexist myths about rape are more likely to engage in sexual coercion, is this because their attitudes have led them to think that their behavior is acceptable and thus

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<sup>30</sup> Unfortunately, the author's factor analysis did not include an indication of which predictors remained significant while controlling for the others.

<sup>31</sup> Walker et al. (2007) found a strong correlation between Right Wing Authoritarianism and sex role ideology as well as rape myth acceptance.

made them more willing to act accordingly, or is it because they constructed these attitudes to justify behavior toward which they were already inclined? Such questions are fundamental to sociological criminology, as they exemplify the difference between positivist and post-classical conceptions of motive for criminal behavior.

While Sutherland (1939; 1978) proposed that favorable attitudes about committing offenses are learned socially, and that these attitudes lead causally to the commission of offenses, a post classical response is that such attitudes may simply be the result of either the offender's attempt to neutralize the offense, or a general correlate to a larger range of criminal behavior and deleterious attitudes.<sup>32</sup> In the context of the studies of attitudes and rape proclivity discussed above, we might hypothesize that the college men who admitted to various levels of sexual coercion may be more likely to engage in other deceptive, inconsiderate, and violent behaviors, and likewise that those who have engaged in a wide variety of anti-social behaviors (not just sexual aggression) might also be more likely to have more of these attitudes. Excuses and justifications are a common feature of offenders' descriptions of their rape offenses (Scully and Marolla, 1984), and in a classical criminological perspective, these men would be more likely to shoplift, steal their roommates possessions, cheat on exams, drive while intoxicated, engage in bullying and verbal abuse, lose their temper and engage in physical assault in disputes, and likewise hold a host of simplistic, uninformed, and self-serving attitudes that distance themselves from moral accountability and make light of others' suffering. Sexism and acceptance of rape myths fall squarely into this range.

Also in the range of analogous attitudes posited by a post-classical criminological

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<sup>32</sup> However, differential attitudes about accepting general criminal offending are very difficult to find, and not strongly predictive of behavior (Warr and Stafford, 1991).

perspective is the inclination to deny, when asked, having committed any offense at all, either by knowingly lying or by adopting self-serving definitions of their actions that exclude offenders from recognizing them as rape. In Forbes et al.'s (2004) college student survey (N=263), 19.1% of women reported that they had been physically threatened by a man attempting to elicit sexual activity, but only 1.9% of men reported having made such threats. Furthermore, 22.3% of women said that a man had used actual physical force to coerce sexual activity from them, but only 1.9% of men said that they had ever used such force. Finally, 13.4% and 3.4% of women said that they had been almost raped and actually raped, respectively, but no male participants said that they had ever engaged in these levels of force (Forbes et al. 2004). Either lying or denial by adopting neutralizing definitions of offenses imply that offenders must be doing *something* to avoid condemnation by a more mainstream disapproval of sexual violence.<sup>33</sup> Denial can also include the attitude observed among the offenders interviewed by Scully and Marolla (1985), who continued to believe that their victims had wanted and enjoyed their victimizations.

Attitudes denying the inappropriateness of coercion are even reflected to a degree in women's attitudes. Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh (1988) found that about two-fifths of a sample of 610 undergraduate women, and three-fifths of those who were sexually experienced, had used "token resistance" at least once in the past. Token resistance was defined as the respondent agreeing that they had experienced the following: "you were with a guy who wanted to engage in sexual intercourse and you want to also, but for some reason you indicated that you didn't want to, although you had every intention and were willing to engage in sexual intercourse. In other words, you indicated 'no' when

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<sup>33</sup> For a lengthy discussion of the rape victimization / self-reporting gap, see Kolivas and Gross (2006).

you meant ‘yes’” (p. 874). This circumstance contrasted with saying no and meaning no, and saying no and meaning maybe. The college women who were most likely to indicate that they had done this were also more likely to endorse agreement with statements that this behavior is common, that dating relationships are adversarial, and that it is acceptable for men to use coercion to gain sexual access. Fear of appearing promiscuous accounted for several times as much of the variance in self-reported token resistance as did the desire to manipulate a relationship or control a partner.

The post-classical criminological perspective asks whether the connection between anti-social behavior and attitudes (in this case, between sexually coercive behavior and both rape-myth acceptance and gender role ideology) is part of a larger dimension of lower control in which deleterious attitudes act as analogous correlates to, and neutralization techniques for, sexual violence. Thus, the central question for control theory is whether general measures of anti-social attitudes and behavior are available, and if they have they been associated with sexual aggression? The few studies assessing this question indicate some support for a generalized aggressiveness that extends to sexual behavior. Lalumiere and Quinsey (1996) used survey items designed to assess “mating effort” (age at first intercourse, number of partners, number of casual relationships, preference for partner variety and casual sex), general anti-sociality (early behavioral problems, a psychopathy scale measuring selfish/callous acts and attitudes, a general thrill-seeking scale, susceptibility to boredom, and disinhibition), hostility toward women, sex role attitudes, and rape-myth acceptance. The strongest predictors of self-reported sexual coercion were general anti-sociality and mating effort, which also

correlated with each other.<sup>34</sup> The authors conclude that more generally antisocial men have greater aspirations for casual sexual activity (having sex early in relationships, seeking many partners, manipulating partners, and avoiding commitment), pursue such activity more intently, and likewise are more likely to have used violence to obtain sex.

### Theoretical Implications and Hypotheses

While sociological criminologists have remained largely outside the feminist vs. evolutionary theory debate, control theory's post-classical orientation may offer a more parsimonious alternative to both feminist and evolutionary perspectives on rape offense patterns. However, a post-classical criminological paradigm would be compatible with results that indicated both the influence of routine activity and youth-targeting, and would not need to postulate special positivist motivations that distinguish rape from other kinds of anti-social behavior.

Early feminists' intent was to counter popular notions of blaming the victim or denying that rape was possible without women's complicit cooperation or encouragement (Brownmiller 1975). Purging sexuality from the offender's motive and making a new reified truth of the contention that rape was not sex helped to dispel fallacious and insensitive claims about rape as an understandable crime of passion (Groth 1979). The feminist movement was also intent on helping to bring fairer and more sympathetic treatment to victims, reforming legal statutes dealing with rape, and increasing awareness about the seriousness of the offense. In these endeavors, feminists had largely succeeded; by the 1990s, overtly blaming victims and treating the topic of rape jokingly was far less

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<sup>34</sup> Frustratingly, the authors use a factor analysis that does not indicate the significance of each dimension's contribution to sexually coercive behaviors while controlling for the others. The study did not discern, for example, if rape myth acceptance or hostility toward women significantly predicted sexually coercive behavior after controlling for antisociality and mating effort.

acceptable than it had been several decades earlier (Larragoite 1994; Palmer 1988). However, by substituting the patriarchal social structure's "rape culture" and its subsequently manifested motivations of anger and power as the causes of rape, feminists absolved offenders as fully as did the chauvinist attitudes that they had been trying to condemn. Rape was no longer a deviant behavior, but a normative one for societies whose rape culture produced offenders that raped in order to act out their anger and their learned (but likely unconscious) desire to dominate, hurt, and humiliate women (Hefley 2006).<sup>35</sup> The positivist structure of the new paradigm precluded offenders from moral accountability as fully as did chauvinist ideology. Now, the patriarchal social structure and its supportive culture created the phenomena of rape by instilling attitudes conducive to its commission. The new paradigm, as put by the title of a psychiatrist's article about feminist psychotherapy for male offenders, was that "The patriarchy made me do it" (Satel 1997).

The anti-feminist sociobiological perspective, which put sex back to the forefront of the offender's motive but purported a new construct, the biologically evolved drive to resort to violence to maximize mating fitness, to create the behavior, likewise externally localized a positivistic cause of rape. Despite dire warning about not engaging in a "naturalistic fallacy," that "is" does not mean "ought" and that they were by no means excusing offenders' actions, sociobiologists seemed to be attributing sexual violence to a

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<sup>35</sup> Hefley (2006) notes that Buss (1996) claims evolutionary motives to be subconscious at the micro level (the individual offender), but that he suggests a feminist perspective of the rape culture's positive influence on offending constitutes a conspiracy, while indeed it may be subconscious as well. This point exemplifies the positivist foundation of both theories, as macro-level constructs *cause* rape by producing micro-level motives in offenders, motives that would not exist if not for the underlying constructs. Sociobiology contends that the rapist is attempting to increase reproductive success, but doing so unwittingly, cognizant only of his desire for many sexual partners, a desire that was instilled in his psyche by natural selection. Feminism purported that the rapist is acting out his anger and his compulsion to dominate and hurt women, unaware that he is doing so as a result of his socialization by the rape culture, which instilled these desires in order to express and maintain the patriarchal subjugation of women.

subconsciously transmitted biological inclination for which the offender could not be responsible. A post-classical criminological perspective dispenses with all underlying constructs that create behaviors which would otherwise be theorized to not exist. This perspective does not purport that biology and social structure do not play important roles in the regulation and prevalence of violent behavior, but that neither is needed to explain the *existence* of violent behavior.<sup>36</sup> Violence can be used to acquire resources, attain power, and to fulfill sexual ambitions (whether or to what extent these ambitions include domination, possession, or other gratifications that may be linked with sexuality, both consensual and violent; recall Ellis' (1989) expanded definition of sexuality).

Thus, while feminist theory suggests nonsexual motives and indifference in victim selection (making victim selection solely the result of contact by routine activity) and evolutionists suggest sexual motives (with victim selection being specific and demographically targeted), both camps purport hypothetical constructs to cause offending. For evolutionary theorists, evolved inclinations in men's subconscious minds drive them to commit rape, while for feminists, the power dynamics of a patriarchal social structure create a rape culture that drives men to commit rape. However, both theories take a positivist stance; something must *cause* offenders to offend. The post-classical criminological perspective avoids the assumption of causal constructs by assuming a sexual motive without any need to explain why the offense happens, instead purporting a self-evident existence of all violent and fraudulent acts, of which rape is just

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<sup>36</sup> Sanday's (2003) description of the Minangkabau as a peaceful, rape-free society with extremely little sexual violence certainly reflects social structural and cultural differences with Chagnon's (1977) Yanamamo, where rape and other forms of violence are visibly common to ethnographers. Further, the fact that even the infrequent sexual violence that anthropologists like Sanday have observed in more rape-free societies is committed overwhelming by men and not women may reflect biological gender differences in potential for aggression (although I suspect that this last point will be very objectionable to a lot of sociologists).

another variant.

While a few studies have attempted to test feminist and evolutionary predictions about the victim age curve directly (Schackelford 2002) and through meta-analyses (Ellis 1989; Thornhill and Palmer 2000), no studies have examined the victim age distribution across levels of offenders' age and victim-offender relationship in order to assess the extent to which younger victims may be targeted or selected by circumstance. Furthermore, no studies have compared survey and official data for differences in patterns of rape offenses across victim age, offender age, and type of victim-offender relationship in order to assess the relative likelihood younger victims being targeted. This paper will attempt to evaluate the empirical implications of feminist, evolutionary, routine activity, and control theory explanations of rape victimization by comparing demographic characteristics of victims and offenders in both survey and official reporting data.

A number of hypotheses can be developed that will help to assess the relative explanatory power of these theories in predicting the demographic patterns of victims and offenders. In constructing these hypotheses, I am making inferences about what each theory proposes to be the primary motive of rape offenders, and am doing so while cognizant of the fact that social scientific theories are not always internally homogeneous, and that not all theorists who would identify themselves as feminist, evolutionary, or social/self control would necessarily endorse each hypothesis' assumptions about the respective theory. For example, feminist and routine activity theory are proposed to be used together to suggest a model of rape incidents in which offenders are indiscriminate in their victim selection, and in which victims are young

because of the proximity of younger women to the offender. Not every conception of feminism would endorse the proposal of offenders as indiscriminately targeting, and many routine activity theorists might protest that sexual motive is not precluded by a relationship between situation and victimization likelihood. Nonetheless, in the context of the theoretical discourse presented thus far, theoretical camps such as “feminist/routine activities,” “evolutionary,” and “post-classical control” will be used to depict the differences in paradigms about offender motive and victim selection implicated in the most divergent versions of these theories.

A feminist perspective, via routine activity theory, suggests that rape victims are younger than other crime victims because (1) rape victims are more likely to know their attackers than are the victims of other violent crimes, such as robbery, and (2) their attackers are usually young men. In other words, young male offenders are more likely to rape victims who are close, convenient, and most likely to be in situations that place them alone with the offenders: wives, girlfriends, dates, acquaintances, daughters and step-daughters. Before taking offender age into account:

*Hypothesis 1: A feminist/routine activity perspective on rape-victim age distribution predicts that a larger proportion of rape victims should know their attackers than is the case for robbery or assault victims who were not raped in the same incidents. Additionally, victim age distribution should be similar between rape, robbery, and assault within categories of victim-offender relationship.*

*Hypothesis 2: A feminist/routine activity perspective predicts that the age distribution of female victims raped by strangers should be older (more representative of the general population), and have greater variance, than the age distribution of female victims raped by offenders known to the victim.<sup>37</sup>*

*Hypothesis 3: Conversely, the evolutionary and control theory perspectives predict that the age distribution of victims should be similarly young for those raped by strangers and*

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<sup>37</sup> We must tentatively assume that that age doesn't correlate with factors that make female strangers better or worse targets, such as marriage (see Ploughman and Stensrud, 1986), strongly enough to influence the relationship between victim age and victim-offender relationship.

*those raped by offenders known to the victim.*

While a feminist/routine activity perspective on rape-victim age distribution suggests that victims are selected according to opportunity (proximity to the offender in convenient circumstances), without regard to youth as a proxy for sexual attractiveness, evolutionary and control theory perspectives suggest that offenders prefer and specifically target younger women. Since offenders tend to be young men, and the pool of women that offenders know (their wives, girlfriends, dates, and acquaintances)<sup>38</sup> should be closer to their own ages than the pool of women who are strangers, then:

*Hypothesis 4: A feminist/routine activity perspective predicts that victims should be closer to the age of their attackers when raped by known offenders than when raped by strangers. Offender age ought to be a significant predictor of victim age in the case of acquaintance and intimate partner rapes. In the case of stranger rapes, since victim-targeting is indiscriminate, offender age should not predict victim age.*

*Hypothesis 5: An evolutionary perspective predicts that offenders who are strangers to their victims should rape victims of about the same age as offenders who know their victims, regardless of the offenders' age. As in the previous hypothesis, offender age should not predict victim age for stranger rape. Likewise, acquaintance and intimate partner rapes may have a correlation between offender age and victim age simply because routine activity provided convenient victims more likely to be near the age of the offender.*

Consider an approach that integrates routine activity with control theory. Disregard motivations proposed by feminist (anger, power) and evolutionary (adaptive mating strategies) theories and assume that (1) offenders would prefer, all other things being equal, to rape a younger woman than an older one, since offenders are sexually motivated and (2) the demographic outcomes of rape victimization are simultaneously influenced by routine activity, with younger victims in greater proximity to potential offenders. In this case:

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<sup>38</sup> Daughters, step-daughters, and girlfriends' daughters are eliminated from the analysis of hypotheses 4 and 5 because they are less likely than other known victims to be close in age to their offenders.

*Hypothesis 6: Younger offenders should be more likely than older offenders to rape women they know, since all offenders prefer young victims and these victims are more likely to be intimate partners and acquaintances of younger offenders. Conversely, older offenders should be more likely than younger offenders to rape women who are strangers (who would tend to be younger than the ones they know). In other words, the distribution of offender ages should be higher among stranger offenders than among acquaintance and intimate partner offenders.*

The assumptions of evolutionary and control theory perspectives suggest that robbery and kidnapping incidents should be more likely to include a rape offense when the victim is younger, while a feminist (via routine activities approach to victim selection) perspective predicts a more even distribution of victim ages across such offenses (see Shackelford, 2002ab). Controlling for victim-offender relationship by comparing only incidents involving strangers:

*Hypothesis 7: Both evolutionary and control theory perspectives predict that robbery and kidnapping incidents involving female victims and male offenders who are strangers should be more likely to include a rape offense when the victim is younger than when she is older. Victim age should predict likelihood of a rape offense being included in the incident*

*Hypothesis 8: A feminist indiscriminate-selection perspective predicts that victim age should be uncorrelated with likelihood of being raped when female victims are robbed by male offenders who are strangers.*

## Chapter 4

### **Data and Methods I: The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS)**

This study utilizes two data sets, one representing official reporting of crime in the United States and the other representing victimization surveying. The National Incident Based Reporting System, 2004 is a part of the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports and contains variables about victims and offenders not available in the traditional UCR system (see below). The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), 1992-2004, comprises 13 years of victim survey data compiled by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS). I downloaded the applicable data files for both sources from the Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) and performed file restructuring and data recoding to obtain incidents with rape and attempted rape offenses. All data handling, including recoding, descriptive and inferential statistics, were conducted with the Statistical Analysis Software (SAS) system (see Appendix A and Appendix B for procedural notes). This chapter reviews the history and features of each of these datasets, explains the compilation of the samples used in the current study, and provides descriptive statistics of the measures in the samples.

#### The NCVS: Brief Description and History

In response to rising crime and social unrest, President Lyndon Johnson convened the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice in 1965, which quickly noted that official crime statistics were insufficient for developing an understanding of criminal activity (Rennison and Rand 2007). The currently available UCR, as the only source of national crime levels, did not address the "dark figure of crime," (Biderman and Reiss 1967) could reflect biased law enforcement activity, and

lacked important information about characteristics of the victims, offenders, and offenses. The commission established the Law Enforcement Assistance administration (later to become the Office of Justice Programs), within which a National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service (later to become the Bureau of Justice Statistics) would contract with the Census Bureau to conduct the first National Crime Survey (NCS) in 1972 (Rennison and Rand, 2007).

A redesign of the survey in 1992 would change the name to the National Crime Victimization Survey (1992). The NCVS uses a rotating panel of about 50,000 households and 100,000 individuals, in biannual interviews for three and a half years (Menard, 2005). The Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) continues to contract the Bureau of the Census for administration of the survey. The Census Bureau pre-selects the samples of households, so that response rates, 91 percent of households and 86 percent of individuals in 2004, reflect proportions of the original targeted sample. (Perkins 1997; Catalano 2004). This design makes the survey's response rate superior to traditional "random number" dialing methods, such as used by the National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAW), which are subject to large proportions of contact failures (personal communication in April, 2007 with Shannan Catalano, BJS statistician)

Prior to the redesign in 1992, the NCS had been criticized for not explicitly asking respondents about sexual assault. After questions about whether respondents had been beaten, shot, stabbed, threatened, and so forth, the survey asked if anyone had physically assaulted them in any other way, but did not specifically mention rape or any other sexual violence (Koss 1992; 1996). After the redesign in 1992, the revised NCVS interview procedure asked about sexual assault in two places. First, along with other types of

violent assaults, interviewees are asked:

Other than any incidents already mentioned, has anyone attacked or threatened you in any of these ways (exclude telephone threats) – (a) with a weapon, for instance, a gun or knife – (b) with anything like a baseball bat, frying pan, scissors, or stick – (c) by something thrown, such as a rock or bottle – (d) Include any grabbing, punching, or choking, (e) any rape, attempted rape or other type of sexual attack – (f) any face to face threats – OR (g) any attack or threat or use of force by anyone at all? Please mention it even if you are not certain it was a crime. (ICPSR 2007, A4: 5)

The survey then follows up with an additional inquiry several steps later:

Incidents involving forced or unwanted sexual acts are often difficult to talk about. (Other than any incidents already mentioned,) have you been forced or coerced to engage in unwanted sexual activity by – (a) someone you didn't know before – (b) a casual acquaintance – OR (c) someone you know well. (ICPSR 2007, A4: 5)

The detailed incident report then incrementally prompts the interviewee to identify whether the attack involved “verbal threat of rape, “verbal threat of sexual assault other than rape”, “unwanted sexual contact with force (grabbing, fondling, etc...)”, “unwanted sexual contact without force (grabbing, fondling, etc...)” or “forced or coerced sexual intercourse including attempts” (ICPSR 2007, A4: 4-5). These changes were essential to establishing the validity of the survey’s measurement of sex crime prevalence. In the first several years after the redesign, the reporting rate for rape more than doubled (Kinderman, Lynch, and Cantor 1997). Also, the proportion of rapes by strangers in the present NCVS dataset (1992-2004) reflects a substantial decrease (now about one-fifth) since Goffredson and Hirschi (1990) cited the older NCS with more than one-half of rapes committed by strangers.

The new NCVS is not without limitations of its own. Gag factors may still restrict the survey’s ability to capture the full prevalence of rape offenses, since most respondents are interviewed by telephone and may have other household members (some of whom may be the offenders in recent incidents) present when they answer questions about victimization (Menard 2006). Nonetheless, the survey remains the most extensive and

well-known survey on criminal victimization, and is used in the present study to examine rape offenses as described in the next section.

#### The Current NCVS Sample: Rape Subset 1992-2004

The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), 1992-2004, offers a rape subset file that has already been extracted to contain incidents with rape offenses. The process of obtaining this file differed from the preliminary analysis in that the former required downloading of all incidents and the manual recoding by offense type to extract incidents with rape offenses. The rape subset file contained 801 sexual assault incidents among 722 individual victims age 12 or older. Of these, 751 involved female victims, representing 677 individual victims. Some of the victims reported 2, 3, 4, or even 5 incidents during the previous 6-month period. To avoid skewing age and Victim/Offender Strength-of-Relationship (SOR) data with possibly related offenses among victims who were attacked repeatedly (possibly by the same offender, such as an abusive husband or boyfriend), only the first offense per victim was used. Of these 677 records, 420 were coded as rapes, 226 as attempted rapes, 22 as unspecified sexual assaults, and 9 had missing data. The 22 unspecified and the 9 missing were discarded, leaving 646 records. Of these 646, single offender incidents accounted for 590, while 49 involved multiple offenders. Since multiple offender rapes were relatively infrequent, and the coding of data regarding offender age victim-offender relationship were not congruent between the two (multiple offender records contain multiple indications of offender age and victim-offender relationship, only the single offender cases were considered. Of these 590 cases, 33 had missing data on offender age or victim-offender relationship, making the total N=557 for the analysis. Subset specifications and recoding

procedures for the NCVS are available in Appendix A.

The primary dependent variable in the analyses will be victim age, which is the only interval level variable retained in the NCVS dataset. Unfortunately, the survey records offender age in categorical increments that are not equivalent in range and overly broad: 15-17, 18-20, 21-29, and 30+). Victim-offender relationship is assessed in the survey with successive questions, first ascertaining if the victim had ever seen the offender before the attack, then if the offender was a casual acquaintance or someone she knew well, then if he was a friend, family member, etc... For this study, victim-offender relationship reflects four categories that represent similar proportions of the sample and reflect distinct differences in victim-offender exposure and opportunity. These categories are Stranger, Acquaintance, Intimate Partner, and all other Friends & Family.

Eleven control variables are included in the analyses. Variables related to the victim's marital status, education, race, employment status, and student status were selected to represent characteristics that could potentially mediate the relationship between victim's age and the likelihood of being targeted as a victim via routine activity. Qualities of the offender and offense incident that may co-vary with victim-offender relationship and the respective ages of victim's and offenders include whether the rape was attempted or completed, whether the victim incurred physical injuries, the offender's race, whether he had a weapon, whether the offense occurred in a public or private location, and whether the victim reported the offense to police.

The NCVS 1992 -2004 subset rape subset file, recoded as described above, is the only dataset in the study that contains control variables reflecting both the routine activity and offense characteristics, and is used to build regression models for predicting victim

age in tests of hypotheses 3, 4, and 5. This dataset is also used in conjunction with the NIBRS data to test hypothesis 2.

Descriptive Statistics: NCVS Recoded Rape Subset 1992-2004

Figure 4.1 illustrates the sample’s distribution of victim age in two-year increments. The mean victim age was 26.72, which reflects the absence of victims under the age of 12 and the positive skew of the histogram (median was 24.0, std 10.98), and reflects a similar age distribution for victims that was compiled by Perkins (1997). Note that the first, second, and third modal categories are 18-20, 15-17, and 21-23.

**Figure 4.1 NCVS 1992-2004 Victim Age Distribution, N=557**

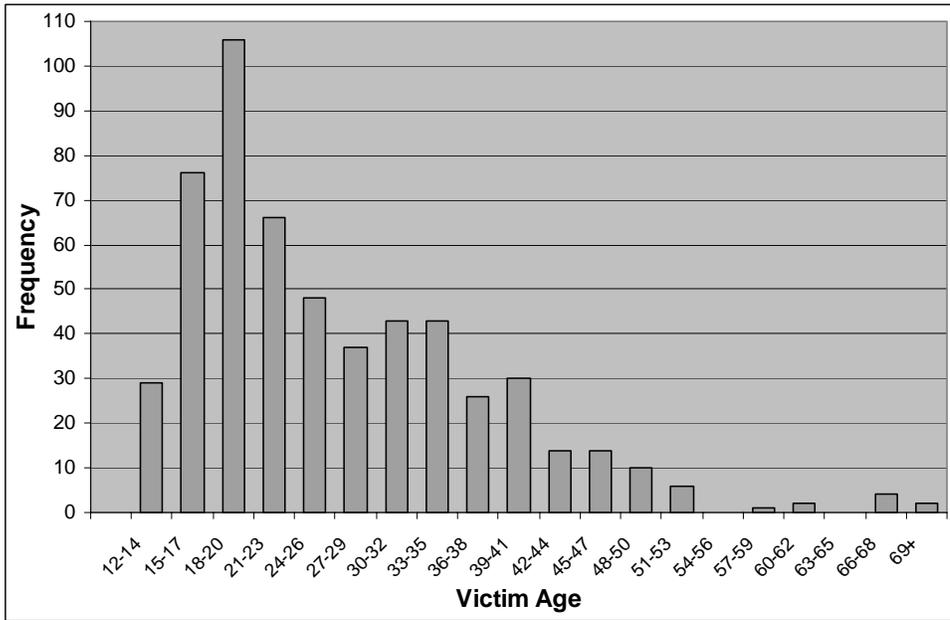
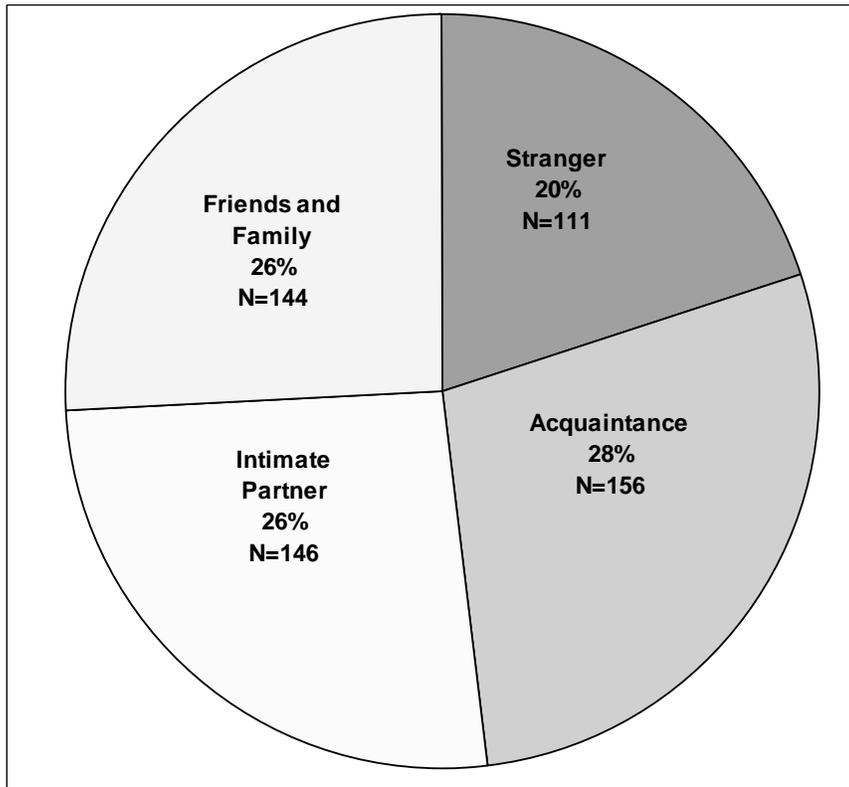


Figure 4.2 shows the proportion of victim-offender relationship in the sample. Well-Known offenders, including intimate partners and family members, are proportionately more represented than when Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) cited pre-redesign NCS figures, in which half of rape offenses were committed by strangers. Conversely, however, the proportion of offenses committed by strangers is higher than in national surveys with smaller samples (Laumann et al. 1994; Tjaden and Theonnes

2006)<sup>39</sup> and substantially higher than in surveys of college women (Fisher 2000; Koss et al. 1987). The category for intimate partners includes husbands (N=33), ex-husbands (N=21), as well as current and former boyfriends (N=92). In the Friends and Family

**Figure 4.2 NCVS 1992-2004 Distribution of Victim Offender Relationships, N=557**

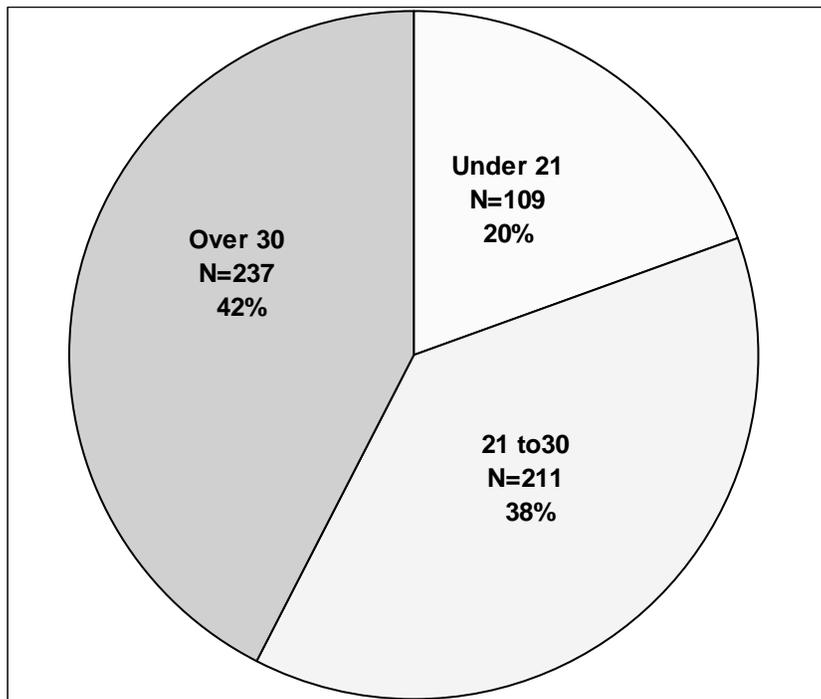


category, 79 were listed as friends and another 35 as “other non-relatives,” with the remainder comprised of parents and step parents (N=7), siblings (N=11), “other relatives” (N=9), roommates (N=5), schoolmates (N=1), and neighbors (N=6).

<sup>39</sup> The proportions differ in particular from Laumann et al. (1994), which Hefley (2006) cited as exemplary of nationally representative survey’s and congruent with subpopulation surveys. This survey asks only about lifetime experiences, and the presentation of victim-offender relationship doesn’t clarify if the proportions reflect all incidents for victims with multiple lifetime victimizations. The total proportion of the sample reporting ever being sexually forced is 21.6 percent of 3,432 (N=377), but the relationship proportion chart cites N=204 (after subtracting 68 with multiple offenses). The 46 percent consisting of “someone with whom the respondent was in love” may reflect either repeat-offender partners if the chart reflects all incidents, or greater likelihood of older-victims’ being raped by partners if the chart reflects most recent incident for each victim (see the correlation between age and partner-offenders in the current study). Finkelhor and Yllo (1990) cite their own and previous studies of women that asked for lifetime responses, and likewise obtained higher proportions of intimate partners and smaller proportions of strangers, from which they concluded that husbands were the most common offenders.

Figure 4.3 displays the ordinal categories of offender ages as compiled by the NCVS. The large and uneven age groups into which the survey records offender age give the appearance of a negative skew with older offenders as the most numerous. This distortion is due to the increasing range of each successively older category. If victims were grouped in this way, the distribution would be similar.

**Figure 4.3 Offender Age Distribution, NCVS 1992-2004, N=557**



The eleven control variables are represented in table x. The victim's marital status was recoded into three categories: victims who are currently married, victims who were once married but are no longer married (divorced, widowed, separated), and those who were never married. These categories are chosen to account for the possible differences in routine activity of being married, not married, or formerly married, with respect to the presence of a guardian as well as the presence of a potential offender, that may co-vary substantially with age. Victim education is coded into an ordinal variable with four levels: less than high school, high school graduate, some college, and college

graduate. The inclusion of education may control to some extent the variation that age may have with social class, especially if routine activity allows a conflict model of victim selection to place younger victims more at risk because they associate with more likely offenders (see Felson and South 2000). Most of the victims were not college graduates, the modal category being some college and high school graduate, respectively, reflecting

**Table 4.1 NCVS 1992-2004 Descriptive Statistics of Control Variables, N=557**

		Number	Percent
Victim Marital Status	Married	52	9.3%
	Divorced, Widowed, Separated	172	30.9%
	Never Married	335	60.1%
Victim Education	Less than high school	156	28.0%
	High school graduate	176	31.6%
	Some college	199	35.7%
	College graduate	18	3.2%
	Missing	8	1.4%
Victim Race	White	408	73.2%
	Nonwhite	149	26.8%
Victim employed at time of offense	Yes	298	53.5%
	No	259	46.5%
Victim a university student	Yes	48	8.6%
	No	509	91.4%
Offense Type	Rape	360	64.6%
	Attempted Rape	197	35.4%
Offender Race	White	371	66.6%
	Nonwhite	186	33.4%
Offender had a weapon	Yes	62	11.1%
	No	495	88.9%
Incurred Physical Injuries	Yes	155	27.8%
	No	402	72.2%
Offense occurred in a public area	Yes	126	22.6%
	No	431	77.4%
Reported to Police	Yes	189	33.9%
	No	368	66.1%

the large proportion of teenagers and college-age women in the sample.

Other control variables were available that may have relationships with age distribution of victims were whether or not the victim was employed, whether she was a university student, and whether she reported the offense to police. About half the victims were employed, and about one in twelve victims was a university student. Most victims that reported their offense to the NCVS stated that they the police were never alerted. The NCVS questionnaire makes this inquiry by asking whether the police were alerted or made aware of the offense, so the “yes” category here reflects those cases in which a police report was the result of some other than victim contacting police (ICPSR 2007).

The remaining control variables reflect characteristics about the offense that might also affect the relationship between victim age, victim-offender relationship, and offender age. Victims incurred physical injuries in slightly over one-fourth of the offenses. The survey asks if any injury that required treatment, even self-treatment, was sustained, so the victim did not have to obtain professional medical care in order to answer yes (ICPSR, 2007). About one-third of the offenses were attempted rapes, the rest completed rapes. Two-thirds of the offenders were white, about one in nine used a weapon in the offense, and more than three-fourths attacked their victims in a private location. The survey asks about location of the offense in successively contingent questions, beginning with whether the offense happened in or around one’s home or dwelling (including hotel and dorm rooms), then with whether the offense happened in someone else’s home or dwelling. A negative answer to both of these categories is coded here as a “public area”. All other locations (business, automobiles, schools and other public buildings, and all outdoor areas) have been coded as being not being in public

areas. Distinguishing location of the offense in this way may help to relate the routine activity of victim-offender proximity in the case of the largest relationship categories: intimate partners, acquaintances, and friend and family.

## Chapter 5

### **Data and Methods II: The National Incident Based Reporting System (NIBRS)**

The second dataset in the study represents official reporting of crime in the United States. The National Incident Based Reporting System, 2004 is a part of the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports and contains variables about victims and offenders not available in the traditional UCR system. I downloaded the applicable data files from the Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) and performed file restructuring and data recoding to obtain incidents with rape and attempted rape offenses. All data handling, including recoding, descriptive and inferential statistics, were conducted with the Statistical Analysis Software (SAS) system (see Appendix B for procedural notes related to the NIBRS). This chapter reviews the history and features of the NIBRS, explains the compilation of the samples used in the current study, and provides descriptive statistics of the measures in the samples.

#### The UCR and NIBRS: Brief History and Description

The International Association of Chiefs of Police convened a Committee on Uniform Crime Reports in 1927 to combine state and local records of crime into a national level system of official crime reporting. The first year of the UCR program was in 1930, in which 400 agencies in 43 states reported crime data to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The traditional UCR program uses police reports to compile all offenses known to law enforcement agencies for seven "index crimes" comprising Part I, and then compiles arrests for these crimes as well as additional crimes listed in Part II (Barnett-Ryan 2007; FBI 2004).

Official reporting of rape under the traditional UCR program has had several

limitations. Clearly, the set of offenses reported cannot be representative of all offenses committed, since many victims do not make contact with the justice system. In the case of rape, reporting rates are especially pertinent as the National Crime Victimization Survey estimates that less than half of rape victims (who report their victimizations to the survey) actually report the incidents to police (Catalano 2006). Also, the definition of rape as “the carnal knowledge of a female forcibly and against her will” appears to exclude offenses involving unwanted sex resulting from more subtle coercion, although attempts and threats of force are included (FBI 2004: 27). Another long-noted problem with the UCR is the hierarchical counting rule, which includes only the first listed offense in each incident (Menard 2005; Addington 2007). While the first listed offense is usually the most serious, occasionally a kidnapping or robbery offense is listed before a rape.<sup>40</sup> Lastly, the UCR figures reflect organizational dynamics of police departments, how they handle rape victims and how agencies are distributed; while 95 percent of police departments in Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSA) participate in the UCR, these proportions are smaller for non-MSA’s (85 percent) and rural areas (83 percent) (Menard, 2006).

In 1984, a conference on the future of the UCR program was held to discuss recommendations by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) for redesigning the reports into a modernized system that would contain more detailed information and eliminate the hierarchical rule. By 1989, the FBI was equipped to handle receipt of data in the new format, called the National Incident Based Reporting System (NIBRS), which contains information by incident on 46 “Group A” offenses (including the original eight index

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<sup>40</sup> In the present NIBRS data, this was the case in about one out of ten rapes that were included in incidents that also involved kidnapping or robbery. Fortunately, NIBRS allows for multiple offenses in each incident, so these rape offenses could be included.

crimes) in 22 categories, with victim, offender, offense, and arrestee information linked in separate files that can be matched by incident identification codes (FBI 2004; ICPSR 2007; Addington 2007). The arrestee segment file then adds “Group B” offenses, which are only recorded when an arrest is made (Maxfield 1999).

The new reporting system hasn’t significantly changed the prevalence of official crime in the nation. A BJS study compared traditional UCR and NIBRS in over 1,000 agencies and found that rates for violent and non-violent offenses were only one and two percent higher, respectively (Rantala and Edwards 2000). The primary advantage of the redesign has been to capture offenses that would otherwise been hidden by the hierarchical structure of UCR data, and to provide access to variables such as victim and offender ages, race, victim-offender relationship, and other details at the offense reporting level<sup>41</sup> (Chilton and Jarvis 1999). As of 2007, 23 states are entirely NIBRS certified and an additional 22 states are in testing and developmental phases with plans to switch to the NIBRS in the future (BJS 2007). Currently, data compiled from the new system is collapsed hierarchically to combine with UCR collected data for the publication of national offense rates in the FBI’s *Crime in the United States* annual report. Thus, the national total of 94,635 rapes offenses reported to police in 1994 reflects both traditional UCR and NIBRS reports (FBI 2004).

#### NIBRS 2004 Sample with Rape Offenses

The data from the National Incident Based Reporting System (NIBRS) 2004 had to be downloaded in three separate files: the offense file, the victim file, and the offender file, each with over three million records. Extracting rape and attempted rape offenses from the offense file reduced the number of observations to 22,621 incidents that

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<sup>41</sup> The traditional reporting system has race for offenders, but only in the arrest segment.

contained a rape offense (offense code '11A'). Even if more than one victim reports an 11A within the same incident, only one offense segment file record will exist for 11A associated with that incident, although other types of offenses that were also reported within the incident will receive separate offense segment files. Merging this extract with the victim file, by incident identification (a combination of reporting agency number and incident number) produced 23,407 victimizations that were contained in the 22,261 incidents above (each victim segment file record being a victim that reported being raped in one of the 22,261 incidents). Of these, 640 of the incidents contained two or more rape victims. Merging the offender segment file produced 25,750 offender segment records (each record is an offender) that were associated with the 22,621 incidents.

Of the 23,407 victimizations, those who reported two or more offenders associated with the 11A offense (2,326 victims did so) were deleted, leaving 21,081 victimizations with one offender for each victimization, although 1,667 of these had other offenders associated with the incident, but not the 11A offense. Of the 21,081 single rape-offender victimizations, deleting records for female offenders and offenders of unknown gender left 19,476. Of the 19,476, deleting records for missing data on victim age, offender age, and victim-offender relationship left 17,490. Since the comparison data set (NCVS) only contains victims and (perceived) offenders twelve years or older, I removed victims under twelve from the NIBRS file, leaving 15,331 of the remaining 17,490, and also removed the few offenders perceived to be less than twelve, resulting in the final recoded data set that will be used for analysis, N= 15,310. Subset specifications and recoding procedures for the NIBRS are available in Appendix B.

This dataset contains many of the variables available in the NCVS, including age

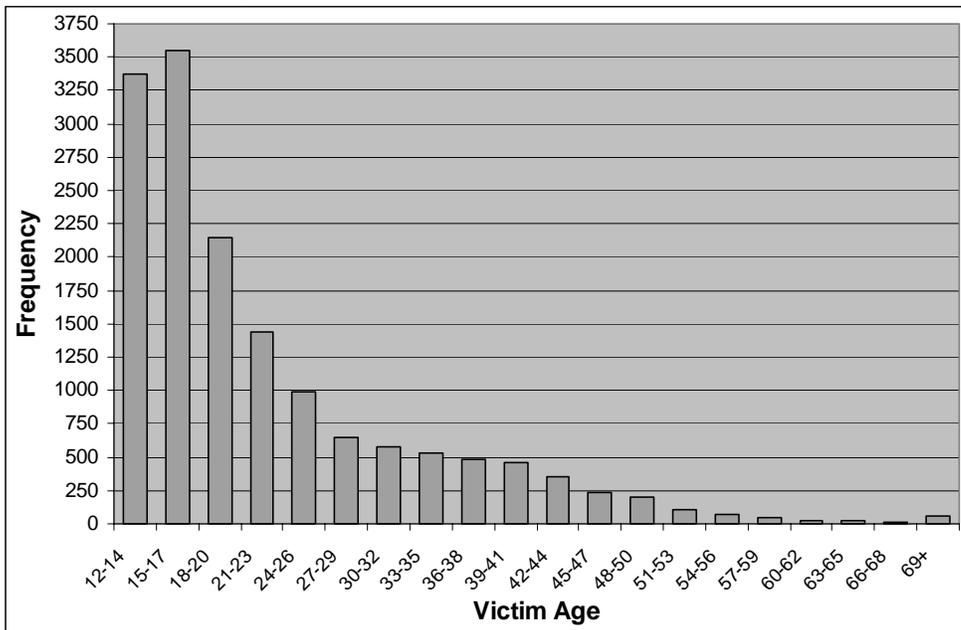
and race of the victim and offender, victim-offender relationship, whether the offense was attempted or completed, whether the victim sustained physical injuries, whether the offender had a weapon, and the location of the offense. However, characteristics of the victim, such as marital, employment, and educational status, were unavailable. These data's primary advantage over the NCVS is that offender age is coded as an interval variable, offering an more accurate comparison across offender age categories.

Therefore, this NIBRS dataset will be used to test hypotheses that can either replicate the models in the NCVS (hypothesis 2) exactly or, using the more precise age categories allowable by the interval offender ages, apply a different method to the same question (hypothesis 4), or address an entirely different question (hypothesis 6).

Descriptive Statistics: NIBRS 2004 Recoded Sample with Rape Offenses

Figure 5.1 illustrates the sample's distribution of victim age in two-year increments. The histogram reflects a substantially younger group of rape victims than for the NCVS, either in this sample or as compiled by Perkins (1997), even after victims

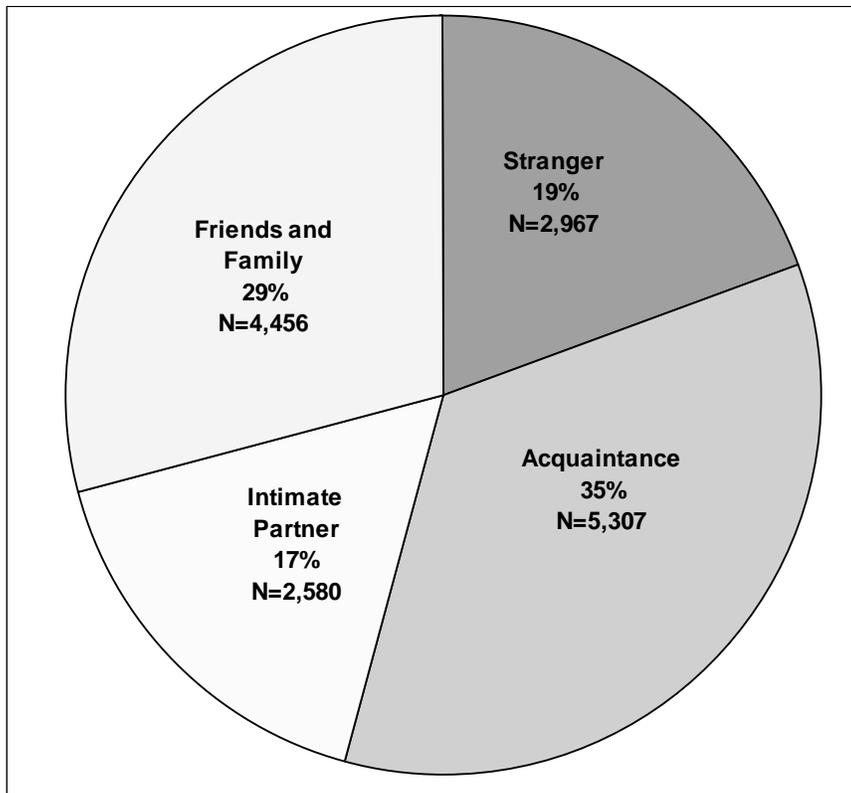
**Figure 5.1 Victim Age Distribution, NIBRS 2004, N=15,310.**



under 12 were removed to make the sample comparable. The mean victim age was 22.42 (median=18.0, std=1079), compared with the victim age mean of for the NCVS sample (26.72). Note that the first, second, and third modal categories are 15-17, 12-14, and 18-20, respectively.

Figure 5.2 shows the distribution of victim-offender relationships in the NIBRS data, broken into the same categories as in the NCVS. Strangers account for about one-fifth of all offenders, while the largest proportion of rape offenses reported to the police are committed by acquaintances (35 percent), followed by friends and family (20 percent). About eight of the 20 percent in the friends and family category are classified as “friends”, an additional ten percent were “otherwise known”, three percent are other family members, four percent evenly split between children and step-children, and one

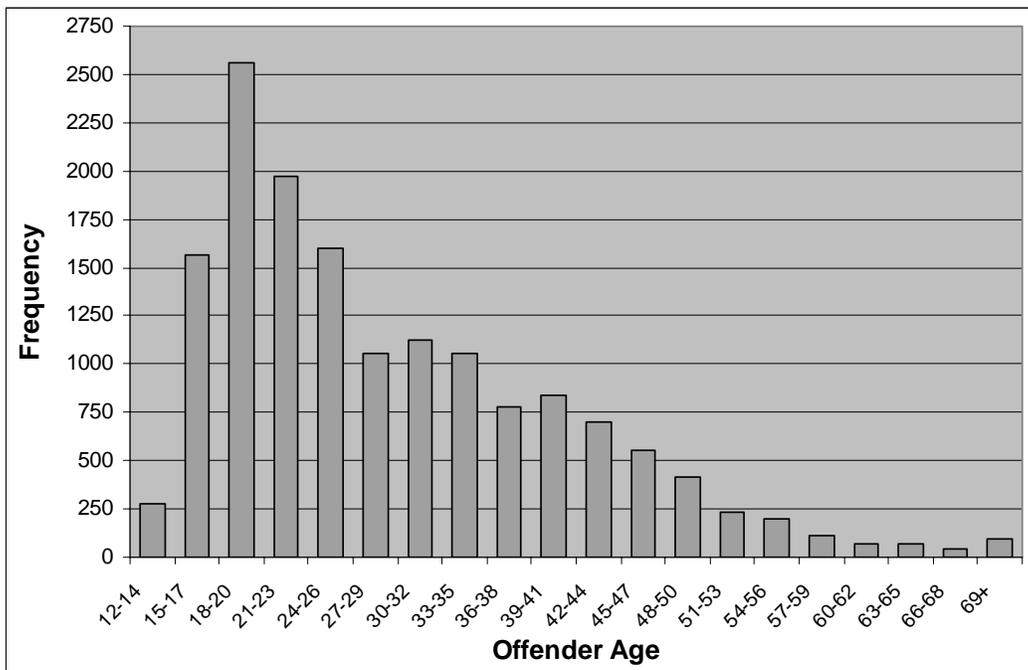
**Figure 5.2 Victim-Offender Relationships, NIBRS 2004, N=15,310**



percent neighbors. Intimate partners comprise the smallest proportion of offenders (17%): about three of the 17 percent were spouses, one percent ex-spouses, and the rest (15 percent) were boyfriends.

Figure 5.3 shows the distribution of offender ages 12 and older in the NIBRS data. Unlike the NCVS, the NIBRS records the offender’s approximate age (as perceived by the victim) at an interval level, making possible a more detailed breakdown in histogram format instead of the simple categorical levels available by the victim survey in figure 4.3. The mean offender age is 29.22 (median=26.0, std=11.9), which is substantially older than mean victims’ ages. However, the first, second, and third modal categories for offenders in table x, 18-20, 21-23, and 24-26, were less than the mean, reflecting the small number of offenders younger than 15 (recall that about one-fifth of victim are under 15) and the resulting positive skew to the offender-age distribution.

**Figure 5.3 Offender Age Distribution, NIBRS 2004, N=15,310**



## NIBRS 2004: Two Additional Samples Using Comparison Offenses

Hypotheses 1, 7, and 8 require the compilation of datasets containing offenses other than rape. Two additional subsets were created from the NIBRS 2004 files: one with incidents that involved a rape, robbery, or aggravated assault, and the other with incidents that involved either robbery or kidnapping. Each of these subsets is described below.

### *NIBRS 2004 Rape, Robbery, and Aggravated Assault*

A total of 4.48 million crime report incidents were recorded in the NIBRS for the period year (2004), of which 255,790 contained rape, robbery, or aggravated assault offenses. Among all the incidents that contained rape, robbery, or aggravated assault offenses, 106,672 had female victims, and 99,259 of these were twelve or older. After matching incidents with the offender segment file, 69,075 records contained offender information (recorded as perceived by the victim) for offenders who were male and twelve or older. Of these, 55,728 incidents contained a single victim and single offender. Variables retained in this dataset included victim age, offender age, offense type, and victim-offender relationship. While incidents may have multiple offenses, incidents were restricted to those with only one of three offense types, producing 14,592 rapes, 6,792 robberies, and 34,344 aggravated assaults. These data are used to test both propositions in hypothesis 1. Since the tables for each proposition will contain cross-tabulated frequency data for offense type and victim-offender relationship, as well as cell mean data for victim age (see chapter: Results), descriptive tables would be redundant and are not presented in this section.

*NIBRS 2004 Robbery and Kidnapping*

A total of 4.48 million crime report incidents were recorded in the NIBRS for the period year (2004), of which 83,746 contained either a robbery or kidnapping. Female victims were present in 28,439 of these cases, of which 15,841 were attacked by strangers. After matching the incidents to the offender segment file, 13,356 incidents contained offender information for offenders who were male. Of these, 8,304 involved a single victim and single offender, and 6,209 had an offender age value of 12 or older.<sup>42</sup> Variables retained for analysis include offense type (robbery or kidnapping), victim and offender ages, victim-offender relationship, and whether or not a rape offense was included in the incident. Most of the incidents involve robbery (5,295), while only 1,065 contain kidnapping, and only 306 of all the incidents in the sample included a rape offense along with either the robbery or kidnapping. These data are used to test hypotheses 7 and 8. Since the tables for the analyses will include cross-tabulated frequency data for victim and offender age, as well as for offense type, separate descriptive tables would be redundant and are not presented in this section.

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<sup>42</sup> (1,890 had missing data on offender age; the NIBRS dataset with rape, robbery, and kidnapping described in the preceding section eliminated cases for missing offender age in the coding step that merged the offender and victim segments).

## Chapter 6

### Comparisons Between the NCVS and NIBRS Datasets

The NCVS and the NIBRS reflect general differences between the two primary sources of crime information: official reports and victim surveys. A brief review of several issues in the divergence of these sources will illustrate the need to consider the results of both in criminological research. This need is especially pertinent in the examination of detailed information about victims and offenders, which prior to the NIBRS was unavailable in traditional UCR reporting with the exception of the Supplemental Homicide Reports (Chilton and Jarvis 1999). In recent years, such information about victims, offenders, and the circumstances surrounding criminal incidents can be compared between the victimization survey and police reports.

Aside from the obviously different origin of the data, one structural difference that can affect the comparability of the data is that the NIBRS is not as nationally representative as the NCVS. The NIBRS only covers about one-fourth of all police reporting, the rest is still reported in traditional UCR form. Also, newer jurisdictions and police departments tend to be more likely to have updated to the NIBRS than older institutions. A large proportion of the NIBRS certified agencies are in newer, suburban areas, while many urban police departments such as in New York City and Los Angeles still report in hierarchical UCR format and are not represented in the NIBRS data files. As a result, “in sharp contrast to the NCVS, the NIBRS data are more representative locally than they are nationally” (Maxfield 1999: 127).

Other issues in divergence between the two sources have become noted issues in the study of crime indicators. One reason for divergence is that the victimization survey,

since it is residence based (the Census Bureau selects the sample based on households), samples an incomplete target population. Households sampled include residences, college dorms, rooming houses and religious group dwellings, but do not include military barracks, merchant vessels, correctional institutions, or the homeless. Persons who are not as easily linked to households may show up in police reports but not in the victimization survey (Cook 1985; Maxfield 1999). Persons who are less associated with households may have more unstructured time in their lives, and may tend to spend more of it on the streets and in situations that are in high risk of victimization.

On a local level, official reporting can be skewed by movements in the nonresident population. Jurisdictions with large commuter populations (Manhattan, Washington, D.C) and tourist populations (Las Vegas, Orlando) can have greatly overstated crime rates when the resident population is used in the denominator. Cities that incorporate a large portion of their suburban metropolitan areas (Houston, Indianapolis) will be much less inflated (Maxfield 1999).

Despite these discrepancies, the two measures do tend to exhibit convergence in temporal fluctuations and in geographic correlates (income, population density) in time-series and cross sectional comparisons, and (McDowall and Loftin 2007), and adjustment for changes in the proportion of victim survey respondents who say that they reported their victimizations to police indicates similarity in crime rate trends between 1973-1985 for robberies and burglaries (Blumstein et al. 1991). The ability of the NCVS to partition incidents between those in which the respondents state that they alerted police, and those in which they did not, allows for specific comparisons along demographic dimensions of the victims, offenders, and offense details. For example, assaults

committed by male offenders are more likely to be reported to police than are assaults committed by female offenders (Thompson et al. 1999; Steffsmeier et al. 2006).

If the extrapolated national crime estimates of the NCVS were truly an accurate indicator of crime incidence, then the proportion of incidents in which survey participants stated that they called the police should roughly match the number of police reported crimes in the combined UCR and NIBRS. However, when this adjustment is made, official reporting exceeds the victimization survey for rape, robbery, and assault (Catalano 2007). Some participants who are interviewed in the victimization survey must have reported incidents to the police about which that they did not inform the survey interviewer. For rape offenses, this may be at least partially due to some victims' likelihood to call authorities in the immediate traumatic aftermath of the offense, but over time develop either uncertainty about the nature of the incident or an aversion to talking about it. This outcome might be especially likely to occur if the justice system fails to make an arrest or pursue charges (Grove and Geerken 1985).

#### Selected Comparisons of Variables in the NCVS 2004 and NIBRS 1992-2004

A number of the variables that are of primary interest in the present study contrast between the two data sources, including the victim age, offender age, and victim-offender relationship. Table 6.1 shows the proportions of victim ages for rape offenses in each dataset. While the general age-curve pattern is similar between the two reporting methods, rape incidents of younger teens are much more likely to come to the attention of police than they are to be reported to NCVS interviewers. This difference may reflect the likelihood of younger teens' victimizations to be reported to police by their parents, while the NCVS conducts interviews of each individual in the targeted households.

**Table 6.1 Victim Age Comparison, NCVS 1992-2004 and NIBRS 2004**

		Reporting Method	
		Police Report NIBRS 2004	Victim Survey NCVS 1992-2004
Victim Age	12-17	6,915 (45%)	105 (19%)
	18-23	3,578 (23%)	172 (31%)
	24-29	1,639 (11%)	85 (15%)
	30-35	1,115 (7%)	86 (15%)
	36-41	945 (7%)	56 (10%)
	42-47	591 (4%)	28 (5%)
	48-53	308 (2%)	16 (3%)
	54 and older	(1%)	8 (2%)
		15,310 (100%)	557 (100%)

Table 6.2 shows the relative age distributions of offenders in rape incidents. The age categories are coded as they appear in the NCVS. Although the NIBRS provides offender age as an interval level variable, these were collapsed to make them equivalent with the victim survey (although the NIBRS offender ages are used in interval format for the analyses in the next chapter). Victim survey and official reports reflect a similar age distribution, with younger offenders slightly more represented in police reports than in the survey, likely related to the larger proportion of younger victims in the NIBRS.

**Table 6.2 Offender Age Comparison, NCVS 1992-2004 and NIBRS 2004**

		Reporting Method	
		Police Report NIBRS 2004	Victim Survey NCVS 1992-2004
Offender Age	12-14	274 (2%)	5 (1%)
	15-17	1,564 (10%)	32 (6%)
	18-20	2,562 (17%)	72 (13%)
	21-29	4,627 (30%)	211 (38%)
	30 or older	6,283 (41%)	237 (42%)
		15,310 (100%)	557 (100%)

If victim-offender relationship were dichotomized to strangers and non-strangers, then victim survey and police reports would match almost exactly. Figure 6.3 shows the

distribution of victim-offender relationships in the two sources. The datasets differ only with regard to categories of known offenders. Police reports reflect a somewhat higher proportion of casual acquaintances and friends/family members, but a substantially smaller proportion of intimate partners, than the victimization survey. The difference probably reflects a lesser likelihood of victims to contact authorities when their attacker is an intimate partner.

**Table 6.3 Victim-Offender Relationship Comparison NCVS 1992-2004, and NIBRS 2004**

		Reporting Method	
		Police Report NIBRS 2004	Victim Survey NCVS 1992-2004
Victim – Offender Relationship	Stranger	2,967 (19%)	111 (20%)
	Casual Acquaintance	5,307 (35%)	156 (28%)
	Friends, relatives, neighbors, co-workers, etc...	4,456 (29%)	146 (27%)
	Intimates: Husbands, Boyfriends & Ex's	2,580 (17%)	144 (26%)
		15,310 (100%)	557 (100%)

A number of the control variables described in chapters six and seven are equivalent between the two data sources and are presented in Table 6.4. While most of these variables contain roughly equal proportions in the victim survey and police reports,

**Table 6.4 Selected Control Variables Comparison, NCVS 1992-2004 and NIBRS 2004**

		Reporting Method	
		Police Report NIBRS 2004 (N=15,310)	Victim Survey NCVS 1992-2004 (N=557)
Control variables available in both the NCVS and NIBRS	Attempted rape (not completed)	775 (5%)	197 (35%)
	Offender had a weapon	1,095 (7%)	62 (11%)
	Nonwhite victim	3,634 (24%)	149 (27%)
	Nonwhite offender	5,561 (36%)	186 (33%)
	Victim sustained injuries	4,048 (26%)	155 (28%)
	Offense occurred in a public location (not in a home)	4,010 (26%)	126 (23%)

one variable contrasts starkly between the two. The proportion of rapes to attempted rapes was much greater in the NIBRS than in the NCVS. Only one in twenty police

reports was an attempted rape,<sup>43</sup> while one in three surveyed victimizations was an attempted rape. Most likely, victims are less inclined to report an attempted rape to police than they are to tell a survey interviewer.

#### A Two-Way Comparison: Offender Race and Victim-Offender Relationship

One comparison from the two data sets used in this study is particularly notable in helping to illustrate the usefulness of applying multiple measures of crime. The distribution of victim and offender race and the distribution of victim-offender relationship are presented in Table 6.5. Police reports indicate that rape incidents involving nonwhite offenders are more likely to be strangers (26.5%) than those involving white offenders (15.3%). Before comparing to the victimization survey, several interpretations are available. We might conclude that perhaps incidents involving nonwhite offenders are just as likely to be strangers as are incidents involving white offenders, but are perhaps more likely to result in a police report. Or, since rape is primarily an intra-racial crime (Felson and South 1990), we might imagine that a lesser likelihood of nonwhite victims to report their victimizations to police in the case of known offenders, thus exaggerating the proportion of nonwhite offenders in the stranger category.

If the association between offender race and victim-offender relationship were due to reporting differences, we would expect the victimization survey to reflect a more consistent distribution of offender race across relationship categories. However, the NCVS data are not only similar for the stranger category, the proportion of strangers for the offender race categories is even more skewed (in the same direction). A Chi-square

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<sup>43</sup> The proportion in the overall UCR (combining traditional UCR with NIBRS) is 8.4 percent (FBI, 2004), a bit higher than in the NIBRS overall, but still much lower than in the NCVS.

(2 x 5) for the NCVS is 24.07 (df=3, p<.0001), while the respective chi-square for the NIBRS is 349.39 (df=3, p<.0001). To explain the relationship between offender race and victim-offender relationship, a researcher might now be inclined to consider routine

**Table 6.5 Comparison of the NCVS 1992-2004 and NIBRS 2004, Percentage of Offenders at Each Level of Victim-Offender Relationship, by Offender Race (cell frequencies in parentheses)**

	Victim Survey – NCVS 1992-2004			Police Report – NIBRS 2004		
	White Offender	Nonwhite Offender	All Offenders	White Offender	Nonwhite Offender	All Offenders
Stranger	14.6 (54)	30.6 (57)	19.9 (111)	15.3 (1,493)	26.5 (1,474)	19.4 (2,967)
Acquaintance	28.3 (105)	27.4 (51)	28.0 (156)	34.2 (3,336)	35.4 (1,971)	34.7 (5,307)
Intimate Partner	30.4 (113)	17.8 (33)	26.2 (146)	18.6 (1,813)	13.8 (767)	16.9 (2,580)
Friend/Family	26.7 (99)	24.2 (45)	25.9 (144)	31.9 (3,107)	24.3 (1,349)	29.0 (4,456)
All relationships	100.0 (371)	100.0 (186)	100.0 (557)	100.0 (9,749)	100.0 (5,561)	100.0 (15,310)

activity influences in the exposure of victims to offenders across race and victim-offender relationship. Such an examination is beyond the scope of this study, but the data used here exemplify the value of comparing multiple measures of crime.

## Chapter 7

### Results I: National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS)

Results of inferential statistics for the tests of hypotheses in Chapter 3 are presented here for those hypotheses (2, 3, 4, 5) to which the NCVS data is applied. Results from the NIBRS will be presented in the next chapter. Each results chapter will begin with results of selected bivariate tests of treatment and control variables, followed by tests of specific hypotheses.

#### Bivariate Analyses

Before considering the statistical tests for specific hypotheses, the data are worth examining for simple bivariate relationships. These preliminary correlations help to build an intuitive familiarity with the interactions of the test and control variables used in the later ANOVA and regressions, as well as identify points of covariance.

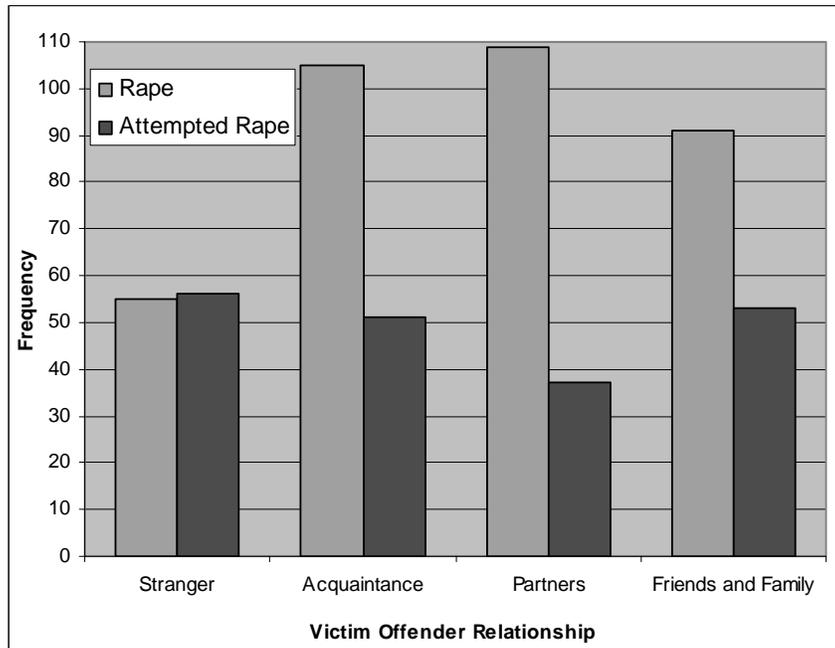
Table 7.1 shows the correlation matrix for variables in the NCVS analyses. A few of the relationships are noteworthy. The strongest connection was between victim's age and offender's age; younger offenders tend to have younger attackers, and vice versa. Older victims are also more likely to be married or formerly married, and are more likely to be raped by an intimate partner than are younger victims. Older offenders were more associated with married, formerly married, employed, and educated victims, likely because offender age was strongly associated with the offense being committed by an intimate partner, including ex-husbands and boyfriends. The likelihood of being raped by an acquaintance or by a friend/family member is greater for younger victims, while age does not appear to be related to being raped by a stranger. Strangers were more associated with the use of weapons, the incursion of injuries, public locations, being



reported to police, and being an attempted rape. Acquaintances were more associated with younger, never married victims, university student victims, and younger offenders. The victims of intimate partners were more likely to be married, white, older, employed, raped in a home or dwelling, and were less likely to report the crime to police.

Before considering the tests of hypotheses, three of the bivariate relationships are particularly noteworthy and warrant further examination. Figure 7.1 illustrates the association between victim-offender relationship and offense type. Slightly more than half of offenses against strangers were attempted rapes, while this proportion drops to about one-third of offenses for acquaintances and to about one-fourth for intimate partners. This patterns confirms prior findings that rapes by boyfriends and ex-boyfriends were the most likely to be completed, followed by friends, then classmates, then acquaintances and strangers (Fisher et al. 2000). Victims may be more resistant to unknown offenders, or unknown offenders may not be as confident in completing the

**Figure 7.1 Victim-Offender Relationship and Offense Type, NCVS 1992-2004, N=557**



offense as those who know their victims. Table 7.2 shows the chi-square analysis for the bivariate relationship (18.08,  $p=.0004$ ).

**Table 7.2. Chi-Square for Victim-Offender Relationship and Offense Type**

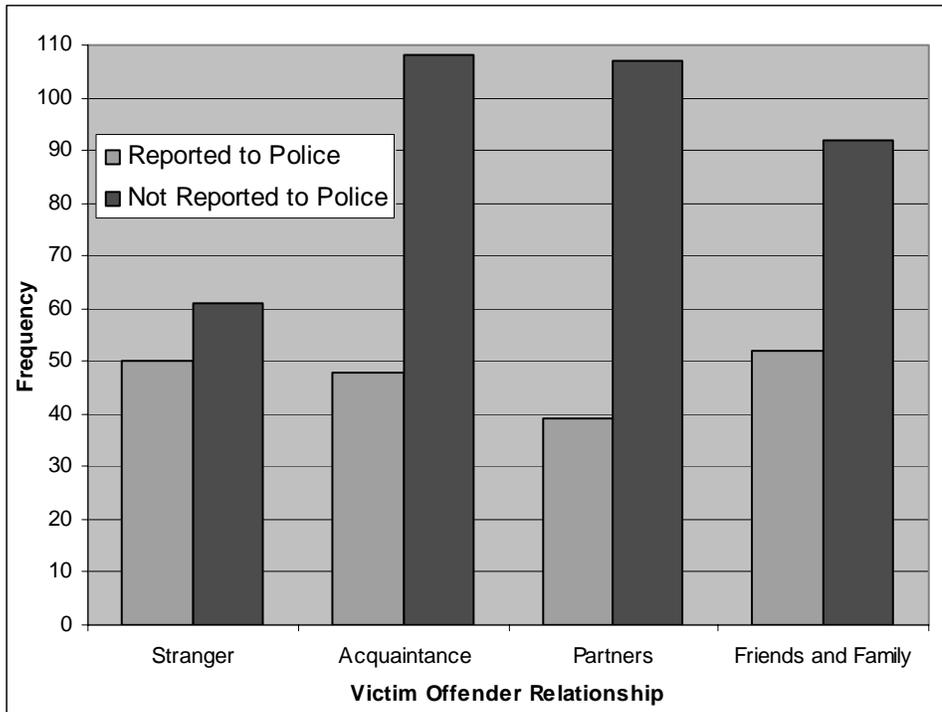
	Stranger	Acquaintance	Partner	Friends/Family	Total	Row %
Rape	55	105	109	91	360	64.63
Attempted Rape	56	51	37	53	197	35.37
Total	111	156	146	144	557	
Column %	19.93	28.01	26.21	25.85		
<hr/>						
Statistic		DF	Value	Prob		
Chi-Square		3	18.0845	0.0004		
Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square		3	17.9434	0.0005		
Mantel-Haenszel chi-Square		1	5.0178	0.0251		
Phi coefficient			0.1802			
Contingency Coefficient			0.1773			
Cramer's V			0.1802			

N=557

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Figure 7.2 illustrates the association between victim-offender relationship and official reporting. Rape is most likely to be reported when committed by a stranger and least likely to be reported when committed by an intimate partner. Almost as many stranger-rapes were reported as not reported, while the proportion of reported rapes drop to about one-third for acquaintances and to somewhat less than one-third for intimate partners. This dynamic may help to explain why strangers are so much more likely to fail to complete rapes than are intimate partners; for the latter, a lower completion rate and a lower reporting rate might reflect the influence of victim-offender relationship on offenders' and victims' attitudes about the moral turpitude or legal certainty of rape. Whether the offense was reported to police did not vary with either victim age or offender age, but will become relevant later in this study in considering the difference between the survey and official data. Table 7.3 shows the Chi-Square for the four levels of victim-offender relationship and the two categories of reporting (10.51,  $p=.0147$ ).

**Figure 7.2 Victim-Offender Relationship and Police Reporting, NCVS 1992-2004, N=557**



**Table 7.3 Chi-Square for Victim-Offender Relationship and Victim's Reporting, NCVS 1992-2004, N=557**

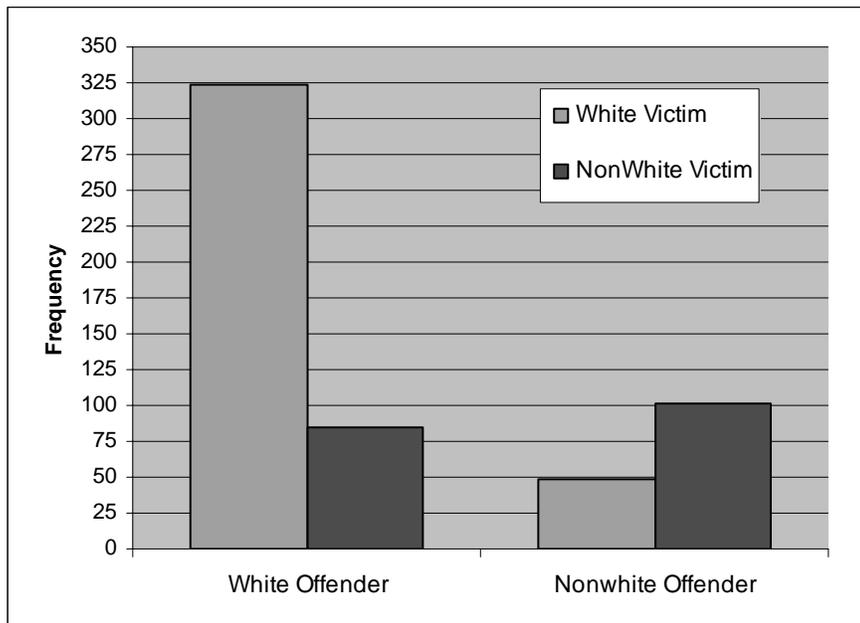
	Stranger	Acquaintance	Partner	Friends/Family	Total	Row %
Reported to Police	50	48	39	52	368	66.07
Not Reported to Police	61	108	107	92	189	33.93
Total	111	156	146	144	557	
Column %	19.93	28.01	26.21	25.85		
Statisitic		DF	Value	Prob		
Chi-Square		3	10.5106	0.0147		
Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square		3	10.4043	0.0154		
Mantel-Haenszel chi-Square		1	1.9002	0.1681		
Phi coefficient			0.1374			
Contingency Coefficient			0.1361			
Cramer's V			0.1374			

N=557

Finally, figure 7.3 shows the strong relationship between victim and offender race, confirming the results of other national studies that find rape to be a primary intra-racial crime (Fisher et al. 2000; Koss et al. 1987; Tjaden and Thoennes 2006). In addition to the high likelihood of intra-racial victims and offenders, these data confirm

similar findings by Felson and South (1990) that the minority of interracial offenses were disproportionately representative of nonwhite offenders; white offenders were four times more likely to have a white victim than a non-white victim, while nonwhite offenders were only twice as likely to have a nonwhite victim as a white victim. Table 7.4 shows the Chi-square test for the 2 x 2 matrix of victim and offender race (108.17,  $p < .0001$ ).

**Figure 7.3 Race of Victim and Race of Offender, NCVS 1992-2003, N=557**



**Table 7.4 Chi-square for Victim and Offender Race**

	White Offender	Nonwhite Offender	Total	Row %
White Victim	323	48	371	66.61
NonWhite Victim	85	101	186	33.39
Total	408	149	557	
Column %	73.25	26.75		
Statisitic	DF	Value	Prob	
Chi-Square	1	108.1736	<.0001	
Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square	1	104.6717	<.0001	
Mantel-Haenszel chi-Square	1	106.0729	<.0001	
Phi coefficient	1	107.9794		
Contingency Coefficient		0.4407		
Cramer's V		0.4033		
		0.4407		
N=557				

### Tests of Hypotheses 2 and 3

The NCVS is used to test four of the eight hypotheses indicated in Chapter 3.

These hypotheses propose relationships regarding victim age, victim-offender relationship, and offender age that are well-suited to application of the survey data.

Hypotheses 2 and 3 are each the null form of the other, as predicted by feminist-indiscriminate offender and the evolutionary-targeting offender, respectively.

*Hypotheses 2: A feminist/routine activity perspective predicts that the age distribution of female victims raped by strangers should be older (more representative of the general population), and have greater variance, than the age distribution of female victims raped by offenders known to the victim.*

*Hypotheses 3: Conversely, the evolutionary and control theory perspectives predict that the age distribution of victims should be similarly young for those raped by strangers and those raped by offenders known to the victim.*

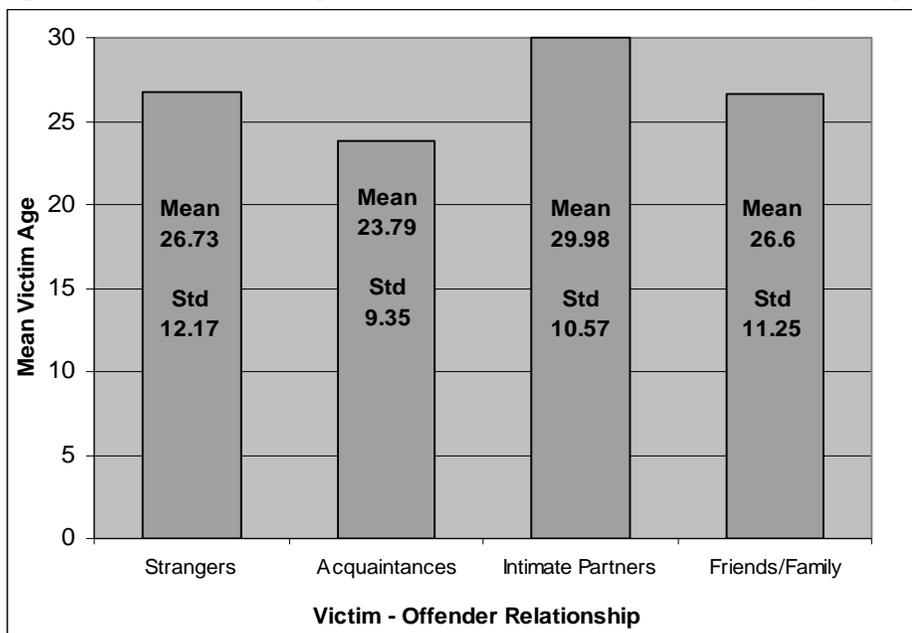
The first hypothesis predicts that a comparison of victim age distributions should reveal differences across victim-offender relationship, and furthermore that the victims of strangers should be older and have a wider distribution across ages than the victims of acquaintances and intimate partners. The second hypothesis predicts that no difference should be observed in the victim age distributions across victim-offender relationship.

Figure 7.4 illustrates the mean victim age across each level of victim-offender relationship. While the mean victim age for strangers is older than for acquaintances, it is younger than for intimate partners and the same as for friends and family.

First, consider the initial question of equal victim-age distributions across all the levels of victim-offender relationship. Table 7.5 shows the results of the Analysis of Variance ANOVA for group means ( $F=8.27$ ,  $p<.0001$ ) and indicates that the differences between victim-offender relationship categories are significantly different. Hypothesis 2 is thus partially confirmed with regard to the comparison between strangers and

acquaintances, but partially disconfirmed with regard to the comparison between strangers and intimate partners and between strangers and friends/family. Women raped by strangers were older than women who were raped by acquaintances. However, women raped by strangers were younger than women raped by their husbands and boyfriends, and they were about the same age as those raped by friends and family members. Additionally, hypothesis 2 appears to be disconfirmed with regard to the victim-age variance of strangers vs. other categories. The results of the Levene's test for equal variance, also shown in table x., indicate that the variances of the victim-age distribution are equal for all four categories. That is, the distribution ages for victims raped by strangers is not more spread out than is the distribution of ages for victims raped by any category of known offender.

**Figure 7.4 Mean Victim Ages across Victim-Offender Relationship Categories**



Hypothesis 3 is the null prediction of the ANOVA test, which must be rejected by the F-test significance. However, if the three non-stranger categories of victim-offender

relationship are combined, the respective means are 26.729 for strangers (median=22, std=12.17) and 26.726 (median=24, std=10.68) for non-strangers; a t-test comparison for means shows no difference in mean victim age between strangers and

**Table 7.5. One-Way ANOVA for mean victim-ages across Victim-Offender Relationship**

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	F Value	Pr > F
Model	3	2881.08022	8.27	<.0001
Error	553	64189.44042	116.0749	
Corrected Total	556	67070.52065		

	R-Square	Coeff Var	Root MSE	Victim Age Overall Mean
	0.042956	40.31	10.77381	26.72711

Source	DF	Type I SS	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Victim-Offender Relationship	3	2881.080224	960.3601	8.27	<.0001

Levene's Test for Homogeneity of Victim Age Variance  
ANOVA of Squared Deviations from Group means

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
REL	3	254364	84787.9	1.2	0.3103*
Error	553	39180186	70850.2		

\*We accept the null hypothesis that the variances are equal, since Levene's test was not significant (reject the proposal that the variances are different).

non-strangers ( $t=-0.00$ ,  $p=.998$ ). If we consider hypothesis 2 a “random victim selection” perspective, and conversely consider hypothesis 3 a “younger-victim targeting” perspective, the latter would be entirely supported by a simpler analysis that combined all the non-stranger categories, while both perspectives would be partially supported by the ANOVA, depending on which non-stranger category was considered.

This caveat presented by the victim-offender relationship categories in the ANOVA may be better understood by considering the results of the Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression presented in table 7.6. While the F-test in the ANOVA only tells us if there is significant between-groups variation among the four categories, the regression analysis can tell us about more specific comparisons. In model 1, the dummy variables for acquaintance and intimate partner are significant predictors of victim age (in

comparison to the omitted level: strangers) in the directions predicted by the group means. Including routine activity variables that reflect demographic characteristics of the victim in model 4 reduces the acquaintance and intimate partner predictors to insignificance, and including routine activity variables that reflect circumstances of the

**Table 7.6 NCVS 1992-2003, N=557, OLS Regression: Parameter Estimates and Significance Levels for Predictors of Victim Age<sup>44</sup>**

		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Intercept		<b>26.955</b> <b>&lt;.0001</b>	<b>13.803</b> <b>&lt;.0001</b>	<b>27.51</b> <b>&lt;.0001</b>	<b>14.04</b> <b>&lt;.0001</b>	<b>27.76</b> <b>&lt;.0001</b>	<b>14.177</b> <b>&lt;.0001</b>
Victim-Offender Relationship	<i>(Offender is Stranger)</i>						
	Offender is Acquaintance	<b>-3.37</b> <b>.0073</b>			-1.518 .1042	<b>-3.599</b> <b>.005</b>	-1.555 0.106
	Offender is Intimate Partner	<b>2.846</b> <b>.0234</b>			0.295 .7530	2.275 .094	0.196 .849
	Offender is Friend/Family	-0.344 .7956			0.694 .4769	-0.868 .5323	0.497 .629
Routine Activity Characteristics of the Victim	<i>(Victim is Never Married)</i>						
	Victim is Married		<b>13.445</b> <b>&lt;.0001</b>		<b>13.322</b> <b>&lt;.0001</b>		<b>13.433</b> <b>&lt;.0001</b>
	Victim is Divorced, Widowed, Separated		<b>12.675</b> <b>&lt;.0001</b>		<b>12.374</b> <b>&lt;.0001</b>		<b>12.352</b> <b>&lt;.0001</b>
	Education		<b>3.835</b> <b>&lt;.0001</b>		<b>3.852</b> <b>&lt;.0001</b>		<b>3.791</b> <b>&lt;.0001</b>
	Victim is Nonwhite		<b>1.559</b> <b>.0444</b>		1.453 .0609		1.493 .082
	Victim is University Student		<b>-4.710</b> <b>.0002</b>		<b>-4.513</b> <b>.0003</b>		<b>-4.422</b> <b>.001</b>
	Victim Employed		-0.961 .1822		-0.961 .1837		-0.898 .223
Routine Activity Circumstances of the Offense	Offender had a weapon			0.776 .610		0.665 .658	-0.866 .438
	Victim sustained treated injuries			0.787 .492		1.145 .314	0.355 .673
	Offense was in a public area			<b>-2.883</b> <b>.010</b>		<b>-2.375</b> <b>.037</b>	-0.849 .319
	Rape was attempted but not completed			0.196 .842		0.359 .716	0.452 .536
	Offender was Nonwhite			<b>-1.949</b> <b>.051</b>		-1.712 .087	-0.204 .804
	Offense was reported to police			0.421 .696		0.408 .702	0.368 .642
	R-squared	.0420	.4846	.019	.4907	.056	..4928
Adjusted R-Squared	.0368	.4789	.008	.4822	.041	..4785	

<sup>44</sup> Models with education use N=549 due to missing data

offense in model 5 reduces the intimate partner predictor to insignificance. When considered with both sets of control variables in model 6, hypothesis 2 is disconfirmed and hypothesis 3 is confirmed. The relationship between victim age and victim-offender relationship is spurious and explained by routine activity; controlling for characteristics of the victim and circumstances of the offense leaves victim age independent of whether victims know their attackers.

The victim age difference between strangers and acquaintances, and between strangers and intimate partners, appears to be a function of the offenders' age distribution (recall from the correlation matrix that offender age is negatively associated with acquaintances and positively associated with partners) and the routine activity influences of the victim's marital and student status.

#### Tests of Hypotheses 4 and 5

Hypotheses 4 and 5 deal with the influence of offender age on victim age across categories of victim-offender relationship. The hypotheses reflect an agreement between the two perspectives with regard to the expected results, but with different conceptions of how the victim age distribution is produced by offenders' motives and subsequent behavior.

*Hypothesis 4: A feminist/routine activity perspective predicts that victims should be closer to the age of their attackers when raped by known offenders than when raped by strangers. Offender age ought to be a significant predictor of victim age in the case of acquaintance and intimate partner rapes. In the case of stranger rapes, since victim-targeting is indiscriminate, offender age should not predict victim age.*

*Hypothesis 5: An evolutionary perspective predicts that offenders who are strangers to their victims should rape victims of about the same age as offenders who know their victims, regardless of the offenders' age. As in the previous hypothesis, offender age should not predict victim age for stranger rape. Likewise, acquaintance and intimate partner rapes may have a correlation between offender age and victim age simply because routine activity provided convenient victims more likely to be near the age of the*

*offender.*

Note that the two hypotheses above make similar predictions about the relationship between offender age and victim age across categories of victim-offender relationship, but for different reasons. In an indiscriminate selection model, offenders rape women regardless of age, so offenders who are strangers to their victims wouldn't be more likely to rape a victim closer to their own age than they would a victim much older or younger. Offender age and victim age *would* correlate in the case of acquaintance and intimate partner rapes, since victims and offenders in these relationships tend to be closer in age than are strangers. If we assume that offenders target younger victims, regardless of the offenders' own ages, the conclusion is the same; while most stranger offenders would be close to their victims' ages simply because offenders tend to be young in general, those who are older ought to still target younger women, eliminating any correlation between offenders' and victims' ages in stranger rapes.

A regression model that uses offender age to predict victim age at each level of victim-offender relationship should reveal no relationship for strangers and a significant relationship for the other categories. Table 7.7 shows the results of OLS regression analyses for predicting victim age at each level of victim-offender relationship. While offender age was a significant predictor of victim age for all the models, the respective r-squares reflect noticeable differences in effect size. In the bivariate models (models 1A, 2A, 3A, 4A), offender age explains a greater proportion of the variance in victim age for any of the categories of known offenders, between 32 and 43 percent, than for strangers (14 percent). When the control variables are considered, these differences in the

**Table 7.7 OLS Regression: Parameter Estimates and Significance Levels for Predictors of Victim Age NCVS 1992-2003, N=557<sup>45</sup>**

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Offender is Stranger		Offender is Acquaintance		Offender is Intimate Partner		Offender is Friend or Family	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
	-1.836	2.176	-3.814	2.256	<b>-.8996</b>	-1.922	-9.089	-2979
	.789	.714	.250	.415	<b>.013</b>	.609	.056	.479
<i>(Victim is Never Married)</i>								
Victim is Married		<b>13.536</b>		<b>7.201</b>		<b>2.256</b>		<b>9.977</b>
		<b>&lt;.0001</b>		<b>&lt;.0001</b>		<b>&lt;.0001</b>		<b>&lt;.0001</b>
Victim is Divorced, Widowed, Separated		<b>14.519</b>		<b>10.002</b>		<b>7.201</b>		<b>7.921</b>
		<b>&lt;.0001</b>		<b>&lt;.0001</b>		<b>&lt;.0001</b>		<b>&lt;.0001</b>
Education		<b>3.632</b>		<b>2.412</b>		<b>10.002</b>		1.157
		<b>.0026</b>		<b>.0003</b>		<b>.0003</b>		.1586
Victim is Nonwhite		-1.372		1.779		2.412		3.331
		.4770		.1659		.1659		.0491
Victim is University Student		-1.518		-2.781		1.779		-3.482
		.7819		.0740		.0740		.0806
Victim Employed		-3.564		-0.166		-2.781		0.355
		.0703		.8780		.8780		.7761
Offender had a weapon		-3.601		0.224		-0.167		<b>-4.255</b>
		.1325		.8916		.8916		<b>.0469</b>
Victim sustained treated injuries		0.639		0.359		0.225		-0.894
		.7598		.7690		.7690		.5808
Offense was in a public area		-2.919		-0.981		0.359		0.899
		.1273		.3783		.3783		.6303
Rape was attempted but not completed		<b>3.739</b>		-0.338		-0.981		0.672
		<b>.0399</b>		.7463		.7463		.6164
Offender was Nonwhite		2.821		-0.997		-0.338		-1.764
		.1306		.3938		.3938		.3150
Offense was reported to police		<b>4.375</b>		0.035		0.035		-0.372
		<b>.0361</b>		.9769		.9769		.7964
Offender Age Category	<b>5.563</b>	2.022	<b>5.637</b>	<b>2.892</b>	<b>7.264</b>	<b>2.892</b>	<b>7.264</b>	<b>4.535</b>
	<b>&lt;.0001</b>	.0954	<b>&lt;.0001</b>	<b>&lt;.0001</b>	<b>&lt;.0001</b>	<b>&lt;.0001</b>	<b>&lt;.0001</b>	<b>&lt;.0001</b>
Sample Size	N=111	N=109	N=156	N=155	N=146	N=144	N=144	N=141
R-squared	.1423	.5568	.3194	.5954	.4338	.5743	.4338	.5743
Adjusted R-Squared	.1344	.4961	.3115	.5573	.4301	.5573	.4301	.5359

explanatory power of the models shrink considerably (55.7 percent for strangers vs. 59.5 percent for acquaintances, 57.4 percent for both partners and friends/family). However, when the control variables are considered, the predictive value of offender age drops below significance (2.02, p=.094), but remains high for each of the categories of known offenders. Both hypotheses 4 and 5 appear to be confirmed. However, the separate

<sup>45</sup> Models with education use N=549 due to missing data

models do not tell us whether the significant parameter estimates for offender age in the three non-stranger models are each different from the non-significant parameter estimate for offender age in the stranger model.

To examine offender age's prediction of victim age across levels of victim-offender relationship more closely, the regression analysis in table 7.8 includes interaction terms between offender age and each of the dummy levels of victim-offender relationship. First, consider the results of model 1. The correlation matrix revealed a simple bivariate relationship between victim age and offender age. Why this is so would be answered similarly by both an indiscriminate selection and a younger victim targeting perspective; most victims know their attackers as acquaintances and intimate partners, and these relationships are more likely to be closer in age to each other. Thus, both perspectives predict that the correlation between offender and victim ages would be a function of victim-offender relationship. However, model 1 reveals that it is offender age that mediates the initial relationship between the victim-offender relationship categories and victim age. Once controlling for offender age, acquaintance victims are no longer younger than stranger victims, and intimate partner victims are no longer older than stranger victims, while offender age remains a strong predictor of victim age. Model 2 shows this relationship remaining even after measures of routine activity are considered. Models 3 and 4 address the question of whether offender age predicts victim age better in the case of acquaintances and intimate partners than in the case of strangers.

Each of the interaction terms indicates the extent to which the ability of offender age to predict victim age is dependent on that level of victim-offender relationship (as compared with strangers, the omitted category). For example, since the interaction term

**Table 7.8 NCVS 1992-2003, N=557, OLS Regression: Parameter Estimates and Significance Levels for Predictors of Victim Age<sup>46</sup>**

		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
	Intercept	<b>-6.195</b> <b>.009</b>	0.283 .898	-3.258 .518	1.242 .771
Victim-Offender Relationship	<i>(Offender is Stranger)</i>				
	Offender is Acquaintance	-1.573 .1404	-1.160 .2017	-0.014 .998	1.033 .837
	Offender is Intimate Partner	1.829 .0843	0.112 .9071	-5.396 .374	-0.984 .845
	Offender is Friend/Family	-0.877 .4340	-0.114 .9062	-5.831 .389	-5.532 .320
Offender Age	Offender Age	<b>6.416</b> <b>&lt;.0001</b>	<b>3.341</b> <b>&lt;.0001</b>	<b>5.835</b> <b>&lt;.0001</b>	<b>3.123</b> <b>.0002</b>
Victim-Offender Relationship x Offender Age	<i>(Stranger x Offender Age)</i>				
	Acquaintance x Offender Age			-0.327 .781	-0.450 .649
	Intimate Partner x Offender Age			1.389 .231	0.223 .818
	Friend/Family x Offender Age			0.965 .455	1.046 .327
Routine Activity Characteristics of the Victim	<i>(Victim is Never Married)</i>				
	Victim is Married		<b>11.360</b> <b>&lt;.0001</b>		<b>11.331</b> <b>&lt;.0001</b>
	Victim is Divorced, Widowed, Separated		<b>9.822</b> <b>&lt;.0001</b>		<b>9.843</b> <b>&lt;.0001</b>
	Education		<b>2.825</b> <b>&lt;.0001</b>		<b>2.839</b> <b>&lt;.0001</b>
	Victim is Nonwhite		1.032 .2036		1.064 .191
	Victim is University Student		<b>-3.804</b> <b>.0014</b>		<b>-3.819</b> <b>.001</b>
	Victim Employed		-0.967 .1648		-0.931 .184
Routine Activity Circumstances of the Offense	Offender had a weapon		-1.172 .2668		-1.203 .226
	Victim sustained treated injuries		0.795 .3176		0.857 .283
	Offense was in a public area		-1.054 .1901		-1.032 .202
	Rape was attempted but not completed		0.520 .4505		0.579 .403
	Offender was Nonwhite		-0.057 .9411		0.068 .931
	Offense was reported to police		-0.258 .7315		-0.306 .684
	R-squared	.3198	.5482	.3232	.5502
	Adjusted R-Squared	.3148	.5346	.3146	.5340

<sup>46</sup> Models with education use N=549 due to missing data

for acquaintances is not significant, offender age is no better a predictor of victim age in the case of acquaintances than in the case of strangers. The same result holds for intimate partners and friends/family, and when routine activity control variables are included.

### Summary of Hypotheses Testing

Using raw data on age and victim-offender relationship, it appears that an indiscriminate victim selection paradigm is partially supported, but only for the comparison between acquaintances and strangers, and only with regard to mean victim age (not with regard to unequal variance). Controlling for routine activity measures, no support could be found for an indiscriminate selection paradigm (in which the young age distribution is a result of youthful victims being more readily available through victim-offender relationship). Victim-offender relationship retained no ability to significantly predict victim age after routine activity measures were included in regression models. Rape victims are equally young in the case of stranger rapes, acquaintance rapes, intimate partner rapes, and rapes by friends and family members.

Neither the feminist indiscriminate selection paradigm nor the evolutionary young-targeting paradigm was able to predict the relationship between victim and offender ages. Both perspectives proposed, for different reasons, that offender age should not predict victim age in the case of stranger-rapes, and yet offender age remained a strong predictor of victim age for each category of victim-offender relationship (including strangers) even after controlling for routine activity measures. Furthermore, offender age was no better a predictor of victim age for any of the non-stranger categories when compared with the stranger category. This result indicates that offenders appear to

prefer victims closer to their own age just as much when they target a complete stranger as when they target an acquaintance, intimate partner, or friend/family member. While not indiscriminate selection, the preference and targeting is not simply for young victims, as the evolutionary perspective would predict, but rather for victims closer to the age of the offender. This result is unexpected and not explained by either perspective.

## Chapter 8

### Results II: National Incident Based Reporting System (NIBRS)

Results of inferential statistics for the tests of hypotheses in Chapter 6 are presented here for those hypotheses (1, 2, 4, 6, 7, and 8 ) to which the NIBRS data are applied. As in the previous chapter, these chapter will begin with results of selected bivariate tests of treatment and control variables, followed by tests of specific hypotheses.

#### Bivariate Analyses

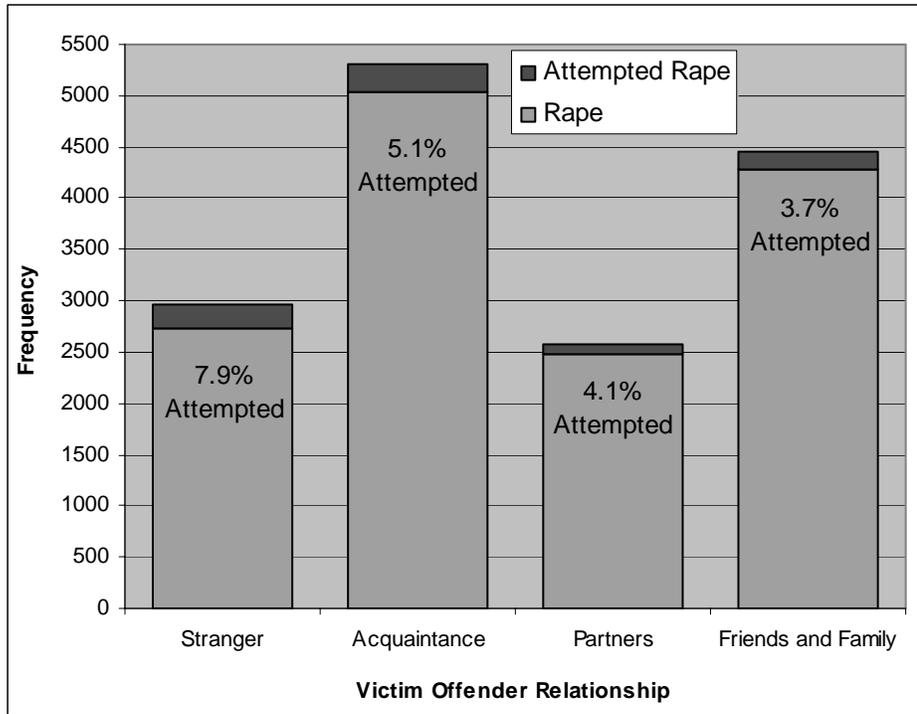
Before considering the statistical tests of specific hypotheses, these data are analyzed for the same bivariate relationships as was the NCVS dataset. Table 8.1 shows the correlation matrix for variables used in the NIBRS. Several relationships are noteworthy. Victim age (unlike in the NCVS), correlates with victim-offender relationship categories. Stranger rapes were more associated with older victims, while each of the three known offender categories were negatively correlated with victim age. Stranger rapes were also associated with older offenders, although the effect size is small (but significant). Strangers were more likely to be nonwhite, to have a weapon, to attack their victims in a public location, and for the rape to be attempted (especially compared with intimate partner offenders).

Figure 8.1 illustrates the distribution of victim-offender relationship in the complete dataset, as well as the proportions of rapes and attempted rapes in each relationship category. Although attempted rape comprises a much smaller proportion of offenses in the NIBRS than in the NCVS, the pattern of attempted to completed rapes across relationship categories is similar. Intimate partners and friend/family members



were the most likely to complete a rape offense, followed by acquaintances, and lastly by strangers. Table 8.2 shows the results of the chi-square procedure for cell frequencies.

**Figure 8.1 NIBRS 2004 Victim-Offender Relationship and Offense Type**



**Table 8.2 Chi-square test, Victim Offender Relationship and Offense Type, NIBRS 2004**

	Stranger	Acquaintance	Partner	Friends/Family	Total	Row %
Rape	2734	5037	2475	4289	14535	94.94%
Attempted Rape	233	270	105	167	775	5.06%
Total	2967	5307	2580	4456	15310	
Column %	20.10	35.68	17.81	30.05		

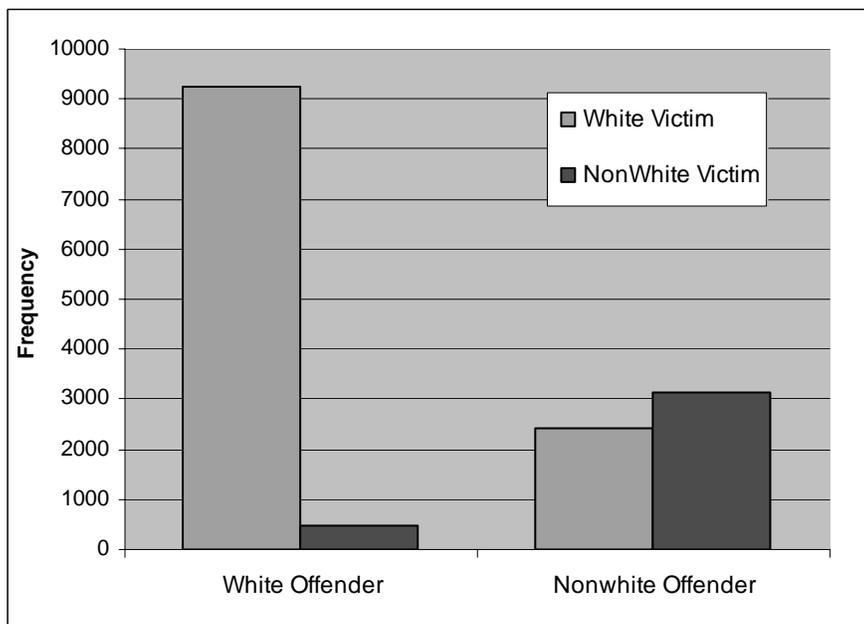
Statistic	DF	Value	Prob
Chi-Square	3	69.4013	<.0001
Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square	3	64.6639	<.0001
Mantel-Haenszel chi-Square	1	56.83	<.0001
Phi coefficient		0.0673	
Contingency Coefficient		0.0672	
Cramer's V		0.0673	

N=15,310

Figure 8.2 below shows the distribution of victim and offender races, confirming the intra-racial nature of rape offenses (Fisher et al. 2000; Koss et al. 1987; Tjaden and Thoennes 2006. Like the NCVS data presented in Chapter 7 and findings by Felson and

South (1990), the likelihood of white offenders raping nonwhite victims was the smallest of the four possible combinations. This pattern was even more pronounced in the NIBRS. White offenders were almost twenty times more likely to have a white victim than a nonwhite victim, while nonwhite offenders were only 1.7 times more likely to have a nonwhite victim than a white victim. Table 8.3 shows the results from a Chi-square for cell frequencies with victim and offender race.

**Figure 8.2 Race of Victim and Offender, NIBRS 2004**



**Table 8.3 Chi-Square for Victim and Offender Race, NIBRS 2004**

	White Offender	Nonwhite Offender	Total	Row %
White Victim	9262	2414	11676	76.26
NonWhite Victim	487	3147	3634	23.73
Total	9749	5561	15,310	
Column %	63.67	36.32		
Statistic	DF	Value	Prob	
Chi-Square	1	5207.473	<.0001	
Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square	1	5300.0613	<.0001	
Mantel-Haenszel chi-Square		5207.1329	<.0001	
Phi coefficient		0.5832		
Contingency Coefficient		0.5038		
Cramer's V		0.5832		

N=15,310

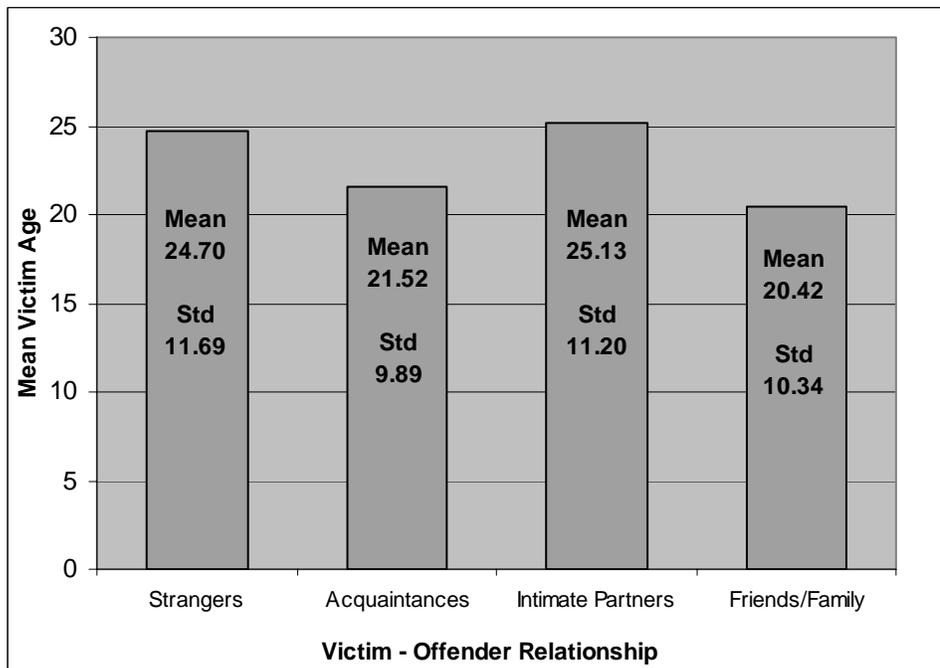
## Tests of Hypotheses 2, 4, and 6

This section uses the NIBRS 2004 dataset to test three of the eight hypotheses indicated in Chapter 3. These hypotheses propose relationships regarding victim age, victim-offender relationship, and offender age that are suited to application of the official report data.

*Hypothesis 2: A feminist/routine activity perspective predicts that the age distribution of female victims raped by strangers should be older (more representative of the general population), and have greater variance, than the age distribution of female victims raped by offenders known to the victim.*

This hypothesis is tested with the same ANOVA procedure used to test it with the NCVS data in Chapter 7. Recall from the correlation matrix that victim age associated positively with stranger-offenders, appearing to partially confirm hypothesis 2. Figure 8.3 displays the mean victim ages in each category of victim-offender relationship. The figure indicates that stranger rapes do involve, on average, older victims than in

**Figure 8.3 Mean Victim Ages across Victim-Offender Relationship Categories, NIBRS 2004, N=15,310**



acquaintance rapes or rapes by offenders who are friend/family members, but not intimate partners. This pattern is similar to the NCVS results, and the one-way ANOVA presented in table 8.4 for cell means shows that the victim-age distribution is different across the categories. While strangers appear to have only a slightly higher standard deviation than the other victim-offender categories, the Levene test for equal variance indicates that the distributions are indeed significantly different (although significance for such a small difference may be indicative of the large sample size).

**Table 8.4 One-Way ANOVA for mean victim-ages across victim-offender relationship, NIBRS 2004, N=15,310**

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	F Value	Pr > F
Model	3	56503.345	167.19	<.0001
Error	15306	1724263.506	112.653	
Corrected Total	15309	1780766.850		

R-Square	Coeff Var	Root MSE	Victim Age Mean
0.031730	47.33	10.61380	22.42391

Source	DF	Type I SS	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Victim-Offender Relationship	3	56503.34486	18834.44829	167.19	<.0001

Levene's Test for Homogeneity of Victim Age Variance  
ANOVA of Squared Deviations from Group means

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
REL	3	3424918	1141639	13.95	<.0001
Error	15306	1.2522E9	81808.6		

The OLS regression in table 8.5 reveals that the pattern observed in the bar graph for means in figure 8.3 is significant: acquaintance and friend/family rape victims are significantly younger than stranger rape victims, while intimate partner rape victims are significantly older than stranger rape victims. The hypothesis appears to be confirmed

for two categories of non-stranger rape (acquaintances and friends/family), but disconfirmed for intimate partner rape.

**Table 8.5 OLS Regression: Parameter Estimates and Significance Levels for Predictors of Victim Age**

		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	Intercept	9.74 <.0001	24.699 <.0001	11.381 <.0001
Victim-Offender Relationship	<i>(Offender is Stranger)</i>			
	Offender is Acquaintance		-3.175 <.0001	-2.116 <.0001
	Offender is Intimate Partner		0.429 0.1337	1.074 <.0001
	Offender is Friend/Family		-4.284 <.0001	-4.723 <.0001
Offender Age	Offender Age	.434 <.0001		0.444 <.0001
	Sample Size (N)	15,310	15,310	15,310
	R-squared	.230	.032	.269
	Adjusted R-Squared	.230	.032	.268

*Hypothesis 4: A feminist/routine activity perspective predicts that victims should be closer to the age of their attackers when raped by known offenders than when raped by strangers. Offender age ought to be a significant predictor of victim age in the case of acquaintance and intimate partner rapes. In the case of stranger rapes, since victim-targeting is indiscriminate, offender age should not predict victim age.*

Table 8.6 shows the pattern of average victim age in each category of victim-offender relationship and offender age.

**Table 8.6 Mean Victim Age by Offender Age Category and Victim-Offender Relationship, NIBRS 2004, N=15,310**

		Offender Age Category				
		<=20	21-30	31-40	41-50	Over 50
Stranger	<b>Mean Victim Age</b>	<b>18.1</b>	<b>25.3</b>	<b>35.4</b>	<b>45.2</b>	<b>61.7</b>
	(N)	(664)	(1,151)	(670)	(339)	(143)
Acquaintance	<b>Mean Victim Age</b>	<b>17.7</b>	<b>24.7</b>	<b>35.3</b>	<b>44.9</b>	<b>58.2</b>
	N	(1,714)	(1,955)	(886)	(557)	(215)
Intimate Partner	<b>Mean Victim Age</b>	<b>17.9</b>	<b>24.8</b>	<b>34.9</b>	<b>44.6</b>	<b>56.7</b>
	(N)	(811)	(784)	(547)	(346)	(92)
Friends and Family	<b>Mean Victim Age</b>	<b>17.3</b>	<b>24.8</b>	<b>35.5</b>	<b>44.8</b>	<b>59.1</b>
	(N)	(1,121)	(1,233)	(963)	(674)	(375)

While victim age appears to vary positively with offender age, little variation exists across categories of victim-offender relationship, although the results of the two-way ANOVA presented in table 8.7 indicate significant main effects for both offender age and relationship, as well as a significant interaction term. Thus, victim age is predicted by both victim-offender relationship and offender age, and the way that each of these predictors relates to victim is dependent on the other.

**Table 8.7 Two way ANOVA for mean victim-ages across Offender Age and Victim-Offender Relationship, NIBRS 2004, N=15,310**

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Model	4	470297.583	117574.396	1373.15	<.0001
Error	15305	1310469.267	85.624		
Corrected Total	15309	1780766	1780766.850		
R Square	0.264098				
Coeff. Var	41.265				
Root MSE	9.2533				
Source	DF	Type I SS	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Victim Offender Relationship	3	56503.3449	18834.4483	230.30	<.0001
Offender Age Category	1	413794.2384	413794.2384	5059.60	<.0001
V/O Relationship* Off Age C	3	59010.8036	19670.2679	240.51	<.0001
Source	DF	Type III SS	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Victim Offender Relationship	3	22029.9491	7343.3164	89.79	<.0001
Offender Age Category	1	429469.2198	429469.2198	5251.26	<.0001
V/O Relationship* Off Age C	3	59010.8036	19670.2679	240.51	<.0001

To examine these relationships more specifically, consider the results of the OLS regressions in tables 8.8 and 8.9. In models 1 through 4 of table 8.8, offender age significantly predicts victim age at each level of victim-offender relationship, but the effect size is greatest for intimate partners, next greatest for acquaintances, and least for strangers. The models suggest, but do not confirm conclusively, that offender age is a better predictor of victim age for acquaintances and for intimate partners than for strangers. To determine whether the effect of offender age was significantly greater for each of the categories of acquaintance, intimate partner, and friends/family as compared

**Table 8.8 OLS Regression I: Parameter Estimates and Significance Levels for Predictors of Victim Age, NIBRS 2004, N=15,310**

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Offender is Stranger		Offender is Acquaintance		Offender is Intimate Partner		Offender is Friend or Family	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Intercept	14.409 <.0001	11.934 <.0001	8.039 <.0001	7.194 <.0001	1.114 .002	1.001 <.0062	11.09 <.0001	9.803 <.0001
Offender Age	0.343 <.0001	0.336 <.0001	0.488 <.0001	0.479 <.0001	0.841 <.0001	0.821 <.0001	0.301 <.0001	0.303 <.0001
Offense was in a public place		1.577 <.0001		0.534 .037		-0.472 .170		0.992 .006
Offender had a weapon		1.072 .076		1.197 .012		0.749 .147		1.444 .0215
Victim was nonwhite		-1.581 .001		0.294 .367		0.500 .215		-2.605 <.0001
Offender was nonwhite		2.507 <.0001		0.259 .362		-0.297 .4227		2.822 <.0001
Victim sustained injuries		2.689 <.0001		2.533 <.0001		2.123 <.0001		2.683 <.0001
Rape was attempted		2.282 .002		2.089 .0001		0.211 <.0001		2.329 <.0001
Sample Size (N)	2967	2967	5307	5307	2580	2580	4456	4,456
R-squared	.118	.152	.301	.318	.672	.681	.147	.1744
Adjusted R-Squared	.118	.151	.301	.317	.672	.679	.147	.1731

with strangers, interaction terms were created for the OLS regressions and are presented in table 8.9. The interaction terms in models 1 and 3 can be interpreted as the extent to which offender age predicts victim age better for the indicated victim-relationship category than for strangers. For example, the significant coefficient for the acquaintance x offender age interaction term in model 1 indicates that offender age is a significantly better predictor of victim age in the case of acquaintance rape than in the case of stranger rape. The interaction term for intimate partners likewise shows that offender age is a better predictor of victim age than is the case for strangers, while the interaction term for friend/family indicates that offender age is a significantly (not strongly) worse predictor of victim age for friend/family than for strangers.

**Table 8.9 OLS Regression II: Parameter Estimates and Significance Levels for Predictors of Victim Age, NIBRS 2004 N=15,310**

		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	Intercept	14.4 <.0001	20.518 <.0001	12.650 <.0001
Victim-Offender Relationship	<i>(Offender is Stranger)</i>			
	Offender is Acquaintance	-6.371 <.0001		-5.632 <.0001
	Offender is Intimate Partner	-13.296 <.0001		-12.141 <.0001
	Offender is Friend/Family	-3.322 <.0001		-2.683 <.0001
Offender Age	Offender Age	0.341 <.0001		0.338 <.0001
Interactions Victim-Offender Relationship x Offender Age	<i>(Stranger x Offender Age)</i>			
	Acquaintance x Offender Age	0.145 <.0001		0.140 <.0001
	Intimate Partner x Offender Age	0.498 <.0001		0.480 <.0001
	Friend/Family x Offender Age	-0.042 .016		-0.035 .041
Routine Activity Circumstances of the Offense	Offense was in a public area		0.727 .0002	0.822 <.0001
	Offender had a weapon		2.169 <.0001	1.191 <.0001
	Victim was nonwhite		-0.886 .0003	-0.929 <.0001
	Offender was nonwhite		1.724 <.0001	1.392 <.0001
	Victim sustained injuries		3.746 <.0001	2.541 <.0001
	Rape was attempted		3.039 <.0001	1.996
	Sample Size (N)	15,310	15,310	15,310
	R-squared	.308	.040	.326
	Adjusted R-Squared	.307	.039	.325

To further examine the proposition of victim-offender relationship predicting victim and offender age correlation, I created a new variable for a supplemental analysis by taking the absolute value of the difference between the victim and offender ages. This calculation is only possible in the NIBRS dataset, where both variables are recorded in interval form (recall that the NCVS records offender age in broad categories). Table 8.10 shows the mean victim-offender age differences for each level of relationship. The cell means imply that stranger rapes have a slightly greater victim- offender age difference

than do rapes of acquaintances and intimate partners, and a one-way ANOVA for group means (not displayed) found the between-category variation to be significant ( $F=343.22$ ,  $p<.0001$ ).

**Table 8.10 Mean Victim-Offender Age Difference (absolute value) for each relationship category. NIBRS 2004, N=15,310**

	Victim-Offender Relationship			
	Strangers	Acquaintances	Intimate Partners	Friends and Family
Mean Victim-Offender Age Difference	10.2	8.1	5.3	12.3
(N)	2,967	5,307	2,580	4,456

However, the friends and family category contains a greater difference in age between victims and offenders, which is confirmed by the OLS regression presented in table 8.11. Acquaintances and intimate partners are each negatively predictive of age difference (compared to strangers), while friends and family are positively related to age difference (compared to strangers). If we compare the difference between strangers with acquaintances and intimate partners, then the first statement of hypothesis 1 appears to be confirmed. The friends and family prediction, while contrary to the hypothesis, may reflect the unique combination of victims and offenders of disproportionate ages that associate with each other in family structures.

**Table 8.11 OLS Regression for Prediction of Victim-Offender Age Difference. NIBRS 2004, N=15,310.**

	DF	Parameter Estimate	Standard Error	T – Value	Prob. > t
Intercept (Stranger)	1	-2.09509	0.21616	-9.69	<.0001
Acquaintance	1	-4.86384	0.25384	-19.16	<.0001
Intimate Partners	1	-2.13495	0.22344	-9.56	<.0001
Friends & Family	1	10.21267	0.17311	58.99	<.0001
R-squared	0.0630				
Adj. R-squared	0.0628				

*Hypothesis 6: Younger offenders should be more likely than older offenders to rape women they know, since all offenders prefer young victims and these victims are more likely to be intimate partners and acquaintances of younger offenders. Conversely, older offenders should be more likely than younger offenders to rape women who are strangers*

*(who would tend to be younger than the ones they know). In other words, the distribution of offender ages should be higher among stranger offenders than among acquaintance and intimate partner offenders.*

Table 8.12 shows descriptive statistics for offender age across victim-offender relationship categories, while figures 8.4 and 8.5 display the distribution of offender ages across levels of victim-offender relationship and the distribution of victim-offender relationships by offender age category. Recall from the correlation matrix that offender age (as an interval variable) is positively correlated with being a stranger and with being a friend/family member, and negatively correlated with being an acquaintance and with being an intimate partner. These relationships are reflected by the central tendency measures in table 8.12, and similarly represented by the distribution patterns for strangers, acquaintances, and intimate partners figure 8.4.

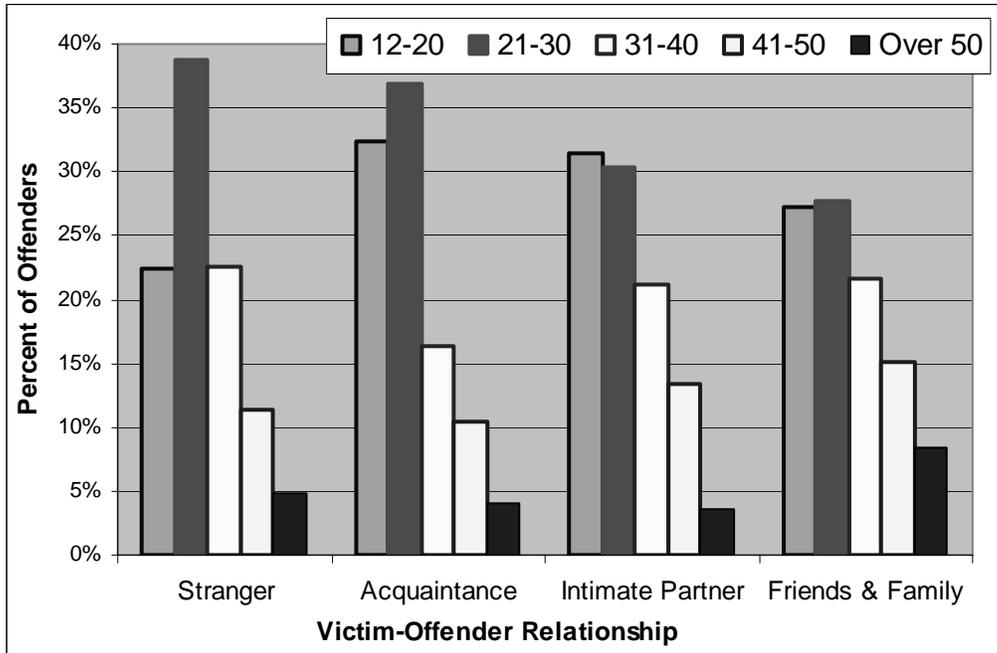
**Table 8.12 Means and Medians for Offender Age, NIBRS 2004, N=15,310**

	Offender Age		
	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation
Stranger	30.00	27.00	11.69
Acquaintance	27.61	24.00	11.10
Intimate Partner	28.55	26.00	10.92
Friends/Family	30.99	28.00	13.16

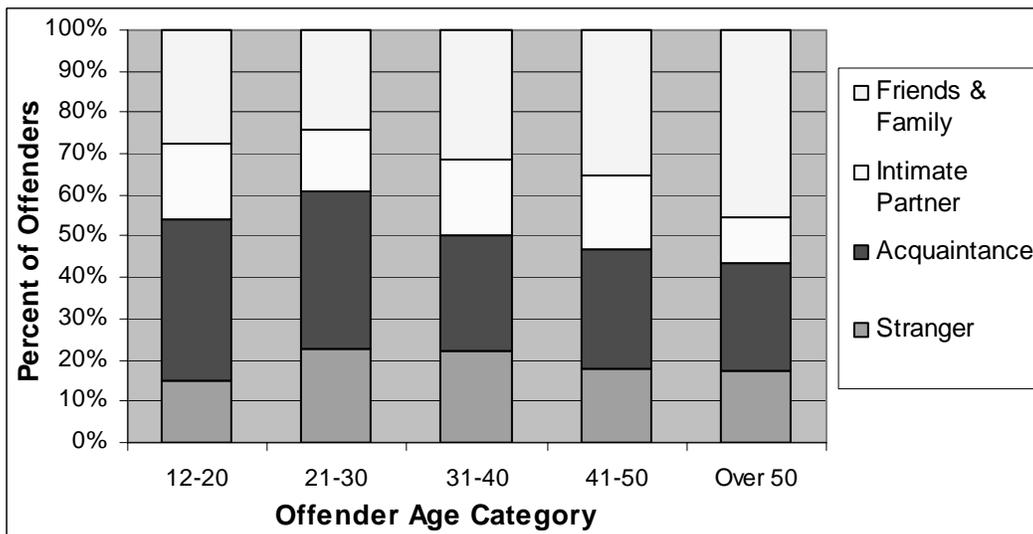
The youngest category of offenders is more represented among acquaintances and intimate partners than among strangers, while the next two offender age categories are slightly more represented among strangers. However, the oldest offenders are most represented among friends/family, and differences in the middle age categories are small. The slight positive skew in the figure is reflected in table 8.12 by medians that are all smaller than their respective means. Means and medians also reflect the slightly younger age of acquaintance and intimate partner offenders, compared with stranger and friend/family offenders.

Figure 8.5 indicates that offenders over 20 years old are somewhat more likely to rape strangers than are offenders younger than 20, but this pattern reverses with the oldest offender age categories. Table 8.13 provides cell frequencies for the data graphically depicted in figure 8.5.

**Figure 8.4 Age Distributions of Offenders, by Victim Offender Relationship, NIBRS 2004, N=15310**



**Figure 8.5 Proportions of Victim-Offender Relationship, by Offender Age Category, NIBRS 2004, N=15,310**



While the chi-square test in table 8.14 finds a significant relationship between offender age category and victim-offender relationship, a pattern as predicted by the hypothesis cannot be found. Even collapsing the relationship categories into stranger and non-stranger would leave the hypothesis unconfirmed, since the proportion of strangers would increase from offenders 12-20 to offenders 21-30 and 31-40, but then decrease again with yet older offenders. Collapsing the relationship categories to stranger and non-stranger and the offender age categories to 30 or under and over 30 reveals that exactly one-fifth (.191 and .199) of incidents involve strangers in each offender age group.

**Table 8.13 Offender Age Category and Victim Offender Relationship, NIBRS 2004, N=15,310**

	Offender Age Category				
	12-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	Over 50
Stranger	664 (15%)	1551 (23%)	670 (22%)	339 (18%)	143 (17%)
Acquaintance	1714 (39%)	1955 (38%)	866 (28%)	557 (29%)	215 (26%)
Intimate Partner	811 (18%)	784 (15%)	547 (18%)	346 (18%)	92 (11%)
Friends & Family	1211 (28%)	1233 (24%)	963 (32%)	674 (35%)	375 (46%)
Total	4400 (100%)	5123 (100%)	3046 (100%)	1916 (100%)	825 (100%)

**Table 8.14 Chi-Square test for Offender Age and Victim-Offender Relationship, NIBRS 2004, N=15,310**

Statistic	DF	Value	Prob
Chi-Square	12	381.4731	<.0001
Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square	12	378.9810	<.0001
Mantel-Haenszel chi-Square	1	64.6444	<.0001
Phi Coefficient		0.1578	
Contingency Coefficient		0.1559	
Cramer's V		0.0911	

While a directional pattern of offender age and victim-offender relationship is difficult to discern from table 8.13, regressing offender age on victim-offender relationship can determine whether any of the non-stranger categories is predictive of offender age relative to strangers. Table 8.15 indicates that acquaintance and intimate partner rapes involve younger offenders than stranger rapes, while friend/family rapes

tend to involve older offenders than stranger rapes. These relationships remained after controlling for victim age (model 2). However, the effect size for predicting offender age prior to adding victim age is exceptionally weak; only 1.4 percent of the variance in offender age is explained by the victim-offender relationship dummy variables, increasing to 26 percent after adding victim age.

**Table 8.15 OLS Regression for Prediction of Offender Age, NIBRS 2004, N=15,310**

		Model 1	Model 2
	Intercept	30.003 <.0001	16.396 <.0001
Victim-Offender Relationship	<i>(Offender is Stranger)</i>		
	Offender is Acquaintance	-2.388 <.0001	-0.638 .0071
	Offender is Intimate Partner	-1.45 <.0001	-1.691 <.0001
	Offender is Friend/Family	0.989 .0004	3.349 <.0001
Victim Age	Victim Age		
	Sample Size (N)		
	R-squared	.0141	.2552
	Adjusted R-Squared	.0140	.2550

Likewise, a logistic regression predicting whether the victim was known to the offender (using only acquaintances and intimate partners vs. strangers) resulted in offender age being negatively associated with the odds of the victim being known (older offenders mean greater odds of a known victim). The results of the logistic regression are presented in table 8.16. Using only the significance levels of the parameter estimates in tables 8.15 and 8.16, the prediction that stranger rapes involve older offenders than

**Table 8.16 Logistic regression for likelihood of known victim, NIBRS 2004, N=10,854**

Model	Parameter	DF	Estimate	Standard Error	Chi-Square	Pr. Chi-Square	Odds Ratio
M 1	Intercept	1	1.433	.058	602.665	<.0001	
	Offender Age	1	-0.016	.002	72.551	<.0001	.984
M 2	Intercept	1	1.521	.062	607.836	<.0001	
	Offender Age	1	-0.103	.002	21.712	<.0001	.990
	Victim Age	1	-0.010	.002	20.494	<.0001	.990

acquaintance or intimate partner rapes appears to be confirmed, but the weak effect size for the regression suggests that this confirmation is so modest that very little explanatory power exists to support the hypothesis.

### Rape, Robbery, and Aggravated Assault Offenses: Tests of Hypothesis 1

This section uses the NIBRS 2004 dataset to test the first of the eight hypotheses in Chapter 6. These hypotheses propose relationships regarding victim age, victim-offender relationship, and offense type that uses incidents including rape, robbery, and aggravated assault from the offense, victim, and offender segment files. This expanded data, as described in Chapter 6, is ideally suited to testing the proposals in this hypothesis.

*Hypothesis 1: A feminist/routine activity perspective on rape-victim age distribution predicts that a larger proportion of rape victims should know their attackers than is the case for robbery or assault victims who were not raped in the same incidents. Additionally, victim age distribution should be similar between rape, robbery, and assault within categories of victim-offender relationship*

Table 8.17 shows the percentages of victim-offender relationship for each offense type. Rape victims are much more likely to know their attackers than are robbery victims, but actually less likely to know their attackers than aggravated assault victims.<sup>47</sup> Aggravated assault incidents that were reported to police were three-times more represented by intimate partners than rape incidents, and only half as represented by strangers. Many aggravated assault incidents may be due to domestic conflicts (although simple assaults were eliminated), and the larger proportion of rape incidents among intimate partners in the NCVS in contrast to the NIBRS may reflect a greater

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<sup>47</sup> Offenses with more than one of the three offenses were eliminated, so none of the incidents in the sample contained an aggravated assault offense and a rape offense, and no incidents contained a robbery and rape offense, or a robbery and aggravated assault offense.

reluctance of victims to report rape offenses (than nonsexual assaults) by their husbands and boyfriends to police. Using robbery as a comparison offense, the first statement in this hypothesis is strongly confirmed (the Chi-square test in table 8.18 shows a significant relationship between offense category and victim-offender relationship), but becomes uncertain when considering aggravated assault.

**Table 8.17 Percentages of Victim-Offender Relationship, by Offense Type, NIBRS 2004, N=55,728 (cell N's in parentheses)**

	Rape	Robbery	Aggravated Assault	All Offenses
Stranger	19.6 (2,860)	75.7 (5,140)	10.3 (3,530)	20.7 (11,530)
Acquaintance	34.6 (5,051)	8.6 (585)	10.7 (3,675)	16.7 (9,311)
Intimate Partner	17.1 (2,494)	8.1 (547)	59.7 (2,0490)	42.4 (23,531)
Friends & Family	28.7 (4,187)	7.6 (520)	19.3 (6,649)	20.3 (11,356)
Total	100.0 (14,592)	100.0 (6,792)	100.0 (34,344)	100.0 (55,728)

**Table 8.18 Chi-Square test for Offense Type and Victim-Offender Relationship, NIBRS 2004, N=55,728**

Statistic	DF	Value	Prob
Chi-Square	6	23128.4192	<.0001
Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square	6	20399.2426	<.0001
Mantel-Haenszel chi-Square	1	2233.5110	<.0001
Phi Coefficient		0.6442	
Contingency Coefficient		0.5416	
Cramer's V		0.4555	

The second statement in hypothesis 1 concerns the relationship between victim age distribution across offense types. This is perhaps the most important empirical consideration in this study because it reflects the basis for the inquiry about the victim age distribution in rape victimization. Are rape victims really younger, on average, than victims of other kinds of criminal offenses? Table 8.19 shows the mean victim ages for rape, robbery, and aggravated assault across categories of victim-offender relationship.

Rape victims are substantially younger, on average, than robbery or aggravated assault victims in each relationship category and overall. The two-way ANOVA for cell means in table 8.20 shows significant between-cells effects for both relationship and offense

**Table 8.19 Mean Victim Ages for Offense Type and Victim-Offender Relationship, NIBRS 2004, N=55,728**

		Rape	Robbery	Aggravated Assault	All Offenses
Stranger	<b>Mean Victim Age</b>	<b>24.8</b>	<b>37.2</b>	<b>31.6</b>	<b>32.4</b>
	(N)	(2,860)	(5,140)	(3,530)	(11,530)
	Mean Offender Age	30.0	28.8	30.8	29.7
Acquaintance	<b>Mean Victim Age</b>	<b>21.6</b>	<b>31.6</b>	<b>29.3</b>	<b>25.2</b>
	(N)	(5,051)	(585)	(3,675)	(9,311)
	Mean Offender Age	27.6	29.5	30.2	28.8
Intimate Partner	<b>Mean Victim Age</b>	<b>25.1</b>	<b>28.2</b>	<b>31.8</b>	<b>31.1</b>
	(N)	(2,494)	(547)	(20,490)	(23,531)
	Mean Offender Age	28.5	29.8	34.2	33.4
Friends and Family	<b>Mean Victim Age</b>	<b>20.4</b>	<b>35.0</b>	<b>32.6</b>	<b>28.2</b>
	(N)	(4,187)	(520)	(6,649)	(11,356)
	Mean Offender Age	30.7	28.4	30.6	30.5
All Victim-Offender Relationships	<b>Mean Victim Age</b>	<b>22.5</b>	<b>35.8</b>	<b>31.7</b>	<b>28.2</b>
	(N)	(14,592)	(6,792)	(34,344)	(55,728)
	Mean Offender Age	29.1	29.0	32.7	31.3

**Table 8.20 Two way ANOVA for mean victim-ages across Offense Type and Victim-Offender Relationship, NIBRS 2004, N=55,728**

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Model	4	948769.307	237192.327	1584.44	<.0001
Error	55,723	8341814.115	149.701		
Corrected Total	55,727	9290583.422			
R Square	0.102122				
Coeff. Var	41.08941				
Root MSE	12.23525				
Source	DF	Type I SS	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Victim-Offender Relationship	3	337138.5649	112379.5216	755.12	<.0001
Offense Type	1	611630.7423	611630.7423	4109.75	<.0001
V/O Relationship * Off. Type	3	49329.8679	16443.2893	110.49	<.0001
Source	DF	Type III SS	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Victim-Offender Relationship	3	107519.2551	35839.7517	240.82	<.0001
Offense Type	1	549859.8289	549859.8289	3694.69	<.0001
V/O Relationship * Off. Type	3	49329.8679	16443.2893	110.49	<.0001

type, as well as a significant interaction term. Average offender ages are included in each category for comparison. Note that offender age does not appear to vary across offense types as does victim age.<sup>48</sup> Offenders tend to be much closer to the age of their victims, and often younger than their victims, in the case of robbery and aggravated assault than in the case of rape. In rape offenses, the average victim age is substantially younger than the average offender age in every relationship category. To more precisely determine the age difference between rape victims and victims of robbery and aggravated assault, the OLS regression presented in table 8.21 shows individual parameter estimates and levels of significance for prediction of victim age by offense type and victim-offender

**Table 8.21 OLS Regression: Parameter Estimates and Significance Levels for Predictors of Victim Age, NIBRS 2004, N=55,728.**

		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
	Intercept	22.477 <.0001	9.504 <.0001	11.369 <.0001	11.435 <.0001
Offense Type	<i>(Rape)</i>				
	Robbery	13.327 <.0001	13.415 <.0001	12.097 <.0001	12.192 <.0001
	Aggravated Assault	9.209 <.0001	7.639 <.0001	7.759 <.0001	7.777 <.0001
Offender Age	Offender Age		0.445 <.0001	0.446 <.0001	0.445 <.0001
Victim-Offender Relationship	<i>(Stranger)</i>				
	Acquaintance			-2.772 <.0001	-2.731 <.0001
	Intimate Partner			-2.255 <.0001	-2.333 <.0001
	Friend/Family			-1.874 <.0001	-1.849 <.0001
Routine Activity	Victim was nonwhite				-1.25 <.0001
Circumstances of the Offense <sup>49</sup>	Offender was nonwhite				0.295 .020
	Victim sustained injuries				0.5677 <.0001
	Sample Size (N)	55,728	55,728	55,728	55,728
	R-squared	.1237	.285	.289	.292
	Adjusted R-Squared	.1237	.285	.289	.292

<sup>48</sup> Although a two-way ANOVA for offender age means was significant across relationship and offense-type, this appears to reflect very small differences in cell means with significance due to the large sample size.

<sup>49</sup> Public location and Weapon were not captured in this dataset.

relationship. For female victims of robbery, rape, and aggravated assault, offense type accounted for about twelve percent of the variance in victim age; robbery and aggravated assault both significantly predicted older victims and maintained their predictive power after controlling for offender age and victim-offender relationship. Hypothesis 1 is disconfirmed.

#### Robbery and Kidnapping Offenses: Tests of Hypotheses 7 and 8

Hypotheses 7 and 8 were tested using the NIBRS dataset with all robbery and kidnapping offenses (N=6,209) in 2004. The analysis presented by the Chi-square tests in table 8.22 and the logistic regression presented in table 8.23 attempt to predict the relative likelihood of a rape offense occurring in robbery and kidnapping incidents, taking victim age into account. The hypotheses were as follows:

*Hypothesis 7: Both evolutionary and control theory perspectives predict that robbery and kidnapping incidents involving female victims and male offenders who are strangers should be more likely to include a rape offense when the victim is younger than when she is older. Victim age should predict likelihood of a rape offense being included in the incident.*

*Hypothesis 8: A feminist indiscriminate-selection perspective predicts that victim age should be uncorrelated with likelihood of being raped when female victims are robbed by male offenders who are strangers.*

Table 8.22 shows the percentages of victims in robbery and kidnapping offenses with stranger offenders that were also raped in the same incidents. Chi-squares for each row reflect the frequency-relationship between categories of rape (yes, no) in the incident and the category of victim age. Thus, each chi-square reflects a 5 x 2 frequency cross-tabulation that can be constructed from the cell percentages and N's, but the format presented is more intuitive. For example, 8.8 percent of the 1,135 robbery or kidnapping victims (whose attackers were strangers) 12-20 years old were also raped in the same

incidents. Younger victims who were robbed or kidnapped by strangers were significantly more likely to be raped in the same incident in every case except in kidnapping incidents alone, incidents with both kidnapping and robbery offenses, and incidents with offenders over 40. The likelihood of a robbery and/or kidnapping incident to involve a rape offense was especially unlikely when the victim was over 50.

**Table 8.22 Percentages of Incidents that Included a Rape Offense, by Incident Type, Victim and Offender Ages, with Chi-Square for rows Age, NIBRS 2004, N=6,209.**

	All Victim Ages	Victims 12- 20	Victims 21-30	Victims 31-40	Victims 41-50	Victims over 50	Chi Sq for rows
Robbery	1.5 (5,295)	2.7 (710)	1.7 (1,547)	1.8 (1,073)	1.1 (919)	0.4 (1,046)	$\chi^2=17.70$ <b>p=.0014</b>
Kidnapping	21.4 (1,065)	19.7 (453)	23.6 (292)	22.2 (171)	24.5 (106)	14.0 (43)	$\chi^2=3.79$ p=.435
Robbery & Kidnapping	21.9 (151)	28.6 (928)	22.5 (49)	28.1 (32)	16.0 (25)	5.9 (17)	$\chi^2=4.53$ p=.339
Robbery or Kidnapping							
All Offender Ages	4.4 (6209)	8.8 (1,135)	4.7 (1,790)	4.0 (1,212)	3.2 (1,000)	0.8 (1,072)	$\chi^2=89.20$ <b>p&lt;.0001</b>
Offenders 20 or under	2.8 (1,308)	8.2 (268)	2.9 (307)	1.3 (238)	.05 (212)	.04 (283)	$\chi^2=42.03$ <b>p&lt;.0001</b>
Offenders 21-30	4.3 (2,584)	8.23 (474)	4.8 (814)	4.4 (477)	2.8 (398)	0.5 (421)	$\chi^2=35.23$ <b>p&lt;.0001</b>
Offenders 31-40	5.8 (1,434)	11.7 (240)	5.8 (414)	4.9 (328)	5.3 (228)	1.3 (224)	$\chi^2=23.95$ <b>p&lt;.0001</b>
Offenders 41-50	4.7 (728)	6.9 (116)	4.6 (217)	5.0 (141)	4.4 (135)	2.5 (119)	$\chi^2=2.57$ p=.632
Offenders over 50	5.2 (155)	8.1 (37)	5.3 (38)	3.6 (28)	7.4 (27)	0.0 (25)	$\chi^2=2.44$ p=.655

The proposition that rape offenses are more likely to occur with younger victims is also tested by the logistic regression presented in table 8.23. Victim negatively predicted the likelihood of rape in the robbery and [robbery or kidnapping] categories, controlling for offender age. Offender age itself was weakly (but significantly) and

positively associated with likelihood of rape in robbery or kidnapping incidents (see discussion). Both analyses in tables 8.22 and 8.23 appear to confirm hypothesis 7 and to disconfirm hypothesis 8.

**Table 8.23 Logistic Regression for Likelihood of Rape in Robbery and Kidnapping Incidents, Models for Incident Type and Predictors: Victim Age, and Offender Age, NIBRS 2004, N=6,209**

Data Subset	Model	Parameter	DF	Estimate	Standard Error	Chi-Square	Pr. Chi-Square	Odds Ratio
Robbery N=5295	M 1	Intercept	1	-3.1054	0.2986	108.144	<.0001	
		Victim Age	1	-0.0328	0.00906	13.090	<b>0.0003</b>	0.968
	M 2	Intercept	1	-3.0470	0.4430	47.314	<.0001	
		Victim Age	1	-0.0327	0.00906	13.059	<b>0.0003</b>	0.968
		Offender Age	1	-0.00209	0.0117	0.031	0.8588	0.998
	Kidnapping N=1065	M 1	Intercept	1	-1.4133	0.1748	65.371	<.0001
Victim Age			1	0.00428	0.00596	0.516	0.4723	1.004
M 2		Intercept	1	-0.9748	0.2782	12.277	0.0005	
		Victim Age	1	0.00552	0.00600	0.846	0.3575	1.006
		Offender Age	1	-0.0147	0.00741	3.947	<b>0.0469</b>	0.985
Robbery & Kidnapping N=151		M 1	Intercept	1	-0.4473	0.5467	0.669	0.4132
	Victim Age		1	-0.0260	0.0167	2.431	0.1189	0.974
	M 2	Intercept	1	-0.3343	0.8538	0.153	0.6954	
		Victim Age	1	-0.0257	0.0167	2.356	0.1247	0.975
		Offender Age	1	-0.00416	0.0241	0.029	0.8634	0.996
	Robbery or Kidnapping N=6209	M 1	Intercept	1	-1.7403	0.1595	119.008	<.0001
Victim Age			1	-0.0432	0.00532	65.706	<b>&lt;.0001</b>	0.968
M 2		Intercept	1	-2.0998	0.2370	78.468	<.0001	
		Victim Age	1	-0.0432	0.00533	65.636	<b>&lt;.0001</b>	0.958
		Offender Age	1	0.0120	0.00575	4.359	<b>0.0368</b>	1.012

### Summary of Hypotheses Testing

Unlike in the NCVS data, the NIBRS indicated that acquaintance and friends/family significant predicted younger victims than strangers, while partner indicated significant prediction of older victims. The effect size was small, however (similar to the NCVS result), and the most influential routine-activity variables were unavailable.

Offender age predicted victim age significantly more strongly for acquaintance and partner rapes than for stranger rapes, and offender age predicted victim age significantly less strongly for friend/family. The effect size differential was substantial, and regression for prediction of victim-offender age difference confirmed this result; acquaintance and intimate partner significantly negatively predicted the age difference (compared with strangers), while friend/family significantly positively predicted the age difference (compared with strangers). As with the NCVS data, the strong ability of offender age to predict victim age after controlling for victim-offender relationship was unexpected and unexplained by either perspective.

Both chi-square, OLS regression, and logistic regression indicate significant relationships between offender age and victim-offender relationship, such that older offenders appear to be more associated with stranger and friend-family rapes while younger offenders are more associated with acquaintance and intimate partner rapes. However, the effect size was too small to conclude that older offenders are really more likely to rape strangers than are younger offenders.

Lastly, the prediction that female victims of robbery and kidnapping by male strangers would be more likely to be raped in the same incidents if they were younger was largely confirmed.

## Chapter 9

### Discussion

The central empirical issue of this project has been aimed at assessing the most extreme versions of theories that explain offender motive, whether victim selection is indiscriminate and patterned only by routine activity, or highly discriminately preferential for younger victims. In other words, are female victims' ages the result of being in convenient proximity to the most likely offenders, or the result of being intentionally targeted by offenders who would prefer to rape younger women? Using national level demographic data about victims and offenders in rape incidents is imprecise but offers a way to test the hypothetical derivations of each perspective, providing some insight into the discussion of the extent to which offenders' motives are sexual or nonsexual. This chapter will summarize the results of empirical tests, discuss their implications to theoretical perspectives, and suggest avenues for future research.

#### Summary of Results

*Hypothesis 1: A feminist/routine activity perspective on rape-victim age distribution, with an assumption of indiscriminate victim selection, predicts that a larger proportion of rape victims should know their attackers than is the case for robbery or assault victims who were not raped in the same incidents. Additionally, victim age distribution should be similar between rape, robbery, and assault within categories of victim-offender relationship.*

*The Question: Are female rape victims really younger than female victims of other offenses, or is the young age distribution of female rape victims explained by their being more likely to know their attackers (who tend to be young men) than are female robbery and assault victims?*

***Overview: Yes. Female rape victims are significantly younger than both robbery and assault victims, even after controlling for victim-offender relationship, offender age, and other control variables.***

This question was addressed with the NIBRS 2004 dataset (N=55,728) for rape,

robbery, and aggravated assault. Compared to robbery, rape has a smaller proportion of offenses by strangers, and a larger proportion by acquaintance, intimate partner, and friend/family. However, aggravated assault is the reverse; an even smaller proportion of strangers and greater proportion of well-known assailants. Victim-offender relationship appears to vary greatly with offense type. If the distribution of assault victims were similar to rape victims within victim-offender relationship categories, then the younger overall distribution of rape victims could be entirely attributable to routine activity.

However, aggravated assault is similar to robbery in having consistently older victims than rape within each category of victim-offender relationship. For example, women that are assaulted (non-sexually) by male strangers are on average seven years older than the women who are raped by male strangers, and thirteen years older than the women who are robbed by strangers. This pattern is consistent within acquaintance, intimate partner, and friend/family offenders and supported by regression analysis after controlling for victim-offender relationship, offender age, and other control variables.

*Hypothesis 2: A feminist/routine activity perspective predicts that the age distribution of female victims raped by strangers should be older (more representative of the general population), and have greater variance, than the age distribution of female victims raped by offenders known to the victim.*

*Hypothesis 3: Conversely, evolutionary and control theory perspectives predict that the age distribution of victims should be similarly young for those raped by strangers and those raped by offenders known to the victim.*

*The Question: Is the age distribution of female rape victims older and more variant when the offender is a stranger than when the offender is known to the victim?*

***Overview: No. Although female victims raped by strangers are on average older than those raped by acquaintances and by friends/family, and younger than those raped by intimate partners, these relationships dissolve when controlling for routine activity characteristics of the victim.***

In the NCVS analyses, an indiscriminate victim selection paradigm is partially supported, but only for the comparison between acquaintances and strangers, and only with regard to mean victim age (not with regard to unequal variance). Controlling for routine activity measures, no support could be found for indiscriminate selection (in which the young age distribution is the result of youthful victims being more readily available through victim-offender relationship). Victim-offender relationship retained no ability to significantly predict victim age after routine activity measures were included in regression models. Rape victims are equally young in the case of stranger rapes, acquaintance rapes, intimate partner rapes, and rapes by friends/family.

Using the NIBRS, acquaintance and friends/family indicated significant prediction of younger victims than strangers, while partner indicated significant prediction of older victims. The effect size was small, however (similar to the NCVS result), and the most influential routine-activity variables were unavailable.

*Hypothesis 4: A feminist/routine activity perspective predicts that victims should be closer to the age of their attackers when raped by known offenders than when raped by strangers. Offender age ought to be a significant predictor of victim age in the case of acquaintance and intimate partner rapes. In the case of stranger rapes, since victim-targeting is indiscriminate, offender age should not predict victim age.*

*Hypothesis 5: An evolutionary perspective predicts that offenders who are strangers to their victims should rape victims of about the same age as offenders who know their victims, regardless of the offenders' age. As in the previous hypothesis, offender age should not predict victim age for stranger rape. Likewise, acquaintance and intimate partner rapes may have a correlation between offender age and victim age simply because routine activity provided convenient victims more likely to be near the age of the offender.*

*The Question: Is offender age related to victim age more strongly when they know each other than when they are strangers?*

***Overview: It depends. The NCVS data indicate No, while the NIBRS data indicate Yes. The NIBRS may be more accurate due to the interval level of offender age data and the***

*larger sample size's greater statistical power to detect a significantly different interaction term.*

Using the NCVS, neither the indiscriminate selection paradigm nor the evolutionary young-targeting paradigm were able to predict the relationship between victim and offender ages. Both perspectives proposed, for different reasons, that offender age should not predict victim age in the case of stranger rapes, and yet offender age remained a strong predictor of victim age for each category of victim-offender relationship (including strangers) even after controlling for routine activity measures. Furthermore, offender age was no better a predictor of victim age for any of the non-stranger categories when compared with the stranger category. This result indicates that offenders appear to prefer victims closer to their own age just as much when they attack a complete stranger as when they attack an acquaintance, intimate partner, or friend/family member. While selection is not indiscriminate, victims are targeted not just for being young (as the evolutionary perspective would predict), but for being close to the age of the offender.

In the NIBRS data analyses, the results confirmed the expectations of both theories. Offender age predicted victim age significantly more strongly for acquaintance and partner rapes than for stranger rapes, and offender age predicted victim age significantly less strongly for friend/family. The effect size differential was substantial; offender age explains about 12 percent of the variance in victim age for strangers, 30 percent for acquaintances, and 68 percent for intimate partners. Regression for prediction of victim-offender age difference confirmed this result; acquaintance and intimate partner significantly negatively predicted the age difference (compared with strangers), while friend/family significantly positively predicted the age difference (compared with

strangers). Again, however, the strong ability of offender age to predict victim age after controlling for victim-offender relationship was unexpected and unexplained by either perspective.

*Hypothesis 6: [A post-classical control / routine activity perspective predicts that] Younger offenders should be more likely than older offenders to rape women they know, since all offenders prefer young victims and these victims are more likely to be intimate partners and acquaintances of younger offenders. Conversely, older offenders should be more likely than younger offenders to rape women who are strangers (who would tend to be younger than the ones they know). In other words, the distribution of offender ages should be higher among stranger offenders than among acquaintance and intimate partner offenders.*

*The Question: Are younger offenders more likely to rape known victims than older offenders?*

***Overview: Yes, but the effect size is too small to be confident of having confirmed the hypothesis.***

This question was addressed with the NIBRS dataset (N=15,310), since offender age was available as an interval level measure and was needed as a dependent variable. While a chi-square test found a significant relationship between offender age category and victim-offender relationship, a pattern as predicted by the hypothesis could not be detected. The proportion of stranger rapes increases with offender age from 12-20 to 21-30, but decreases after 30. Collapsing offender age categories to  $\leq 30$  and over 30, stranger rapes account for 19.1 percent and 19.9 percent of incidents, respectively. Both logistic and OLS regression indicate that acquaintance and intimate partner offenders are significantly younger than stranger offenders, while friend/family offenders are significantly older than stranger offenders (in support of the hypothesis). However, the effect size is very small for the OLS model. Only 1.4 percent of the variance in offender age is explained by victim-offender relationship.

*Hypothesis 7: Both evolutionary and control theory perspectives predict that robbery and kidnapping incidents involving female victims and male offenders who are strangers should be more likely to include a rape offense when the victim is younger than when she is older. Victim age should predict likelihood of a rape offense being included in the incident.*

*Hypothesis 8: A feminist indiscriminate-selection perspective predicts that victim age should be uncorrelated with likelihood of being raped when female victims are robbed by male offenders who are strangers.*

*The question: When female victims are robbed and/or kidnapped by male strangers, are they more likely to be raped when they are younger than when they are older?*

***Overview: Yes. Female victims of robbery/kidnapping by male strangers are more likely to be raped in the same incident when they are younger than when they are older.***

This question was addressed with the NIBRS dataset for offenses with robbery or kidnapping (N=6,209). Offenders were significantly more likely to rape younger female robbery victims than older ones. For example, about 9 percent of 12-20 year-old female victims of robbery or kidnapping by male strangers were also raped in the same incident, while this percentage drops to 4.7 percent for the 21-30 age group, 4.0 percent for the 31-40 age group, 3.2 percent for the 41-50 age group, and 0.8 percent for the +50 age group. Logistic regression for the outcome of rape for incidents with robbery, and for incidents with robbery or kidnapping, confirmed this result when controlling for victim age.

Overall, hypotheses derived from paradigms that assumed a preference for targeting younger victims received more support than those assuming indiscriminate victim selection. However, preference for targeting younger victims does not explain the strong victim-offender age connection that remains even within victim-offender

**Table 9.1 Summary of Hypothesis Testing**

	Indiscriminate Victim Selection	Preference for Younger Victims
H1	Unsupported	Supported
H2 and H3	Unsupported	Supported
H4 and H5	Supported by NIBRS Unsupported by NCVS	Supported by NIBRS Unsupported by NCVS
H6	Significant coefficients to disconfirm, but very weak effect size. Probably supported	Significant coefficients to support, but very weak effect size. Probably unsupported
H7	Unsupported	Supported

relationship. Results suggest that (1) apart from routine activity, offenders specifically prefer younger victims, (2) routine activity strongly influences the victim age distribution, as well, and (3) other influences related to offender motive rather than circumstance may also be involved in victim targeting.

Mean victim ages were substantially lower for rape than robbery and aggravated assault in table, confirming the basis for explaining the victim-age distribution of rape victims as a unique phenomenon. Additionally, the mean offender ages in each level of relationship were noticeably older than the victim, especially in comparison to the other crimes. Rape is demographically characterized by victims who are unusually young when compared to other female crime victims, and uncommonly younger than their attackers, when compared to other female crime victims (with male offenders).

Overall, acquaintance victims were younger than stranger, while intimate partner victims were older than stranger victims, but victim-offender relationship was rendered insignificant in predicting victim age after accounting for additional routine activity. This result means that the connection between victim youth and knowing the offender is spurious, a function of being unmarried or being a university student. Thus, we cannot account for the youth of rape victims by how they know their attackers.

However, contrary to the implications of both evolutionary and feminist theories, offender age remained a strong predictor of victim age even after controlling for victim-offender relationship. Using the broad categories of offender age in the NCVS and the more precise interval measures in the NIBRS, even strangers selected victims closer to their own age; older offenders choosing older victims and younger offenders choosing younger ones seemingly regardless of how they know (or don't know) the victim. These

results imply a selection for similar-age targeting that is not imagined in any theory of sexual violence. This kind of targeting obviously should not happen in the indiscriminate selection paradigm, but it also shouldn't happen in the evolutionary paradigm, in which older offenders ought to target younger women, regardless of their own age. Why would 30 year-old offender select 27 year-old stranger victims rather than 20 year-old strangers victims, as do their 25 year-old offender counterparts? One possibility is that stranger offenders target closer-age victims because it is easier to trick them into going somewhere alone with the offender than one who is outside the range of their typical acquaintances (a 17 year old female victim may be more willing to go somewhere along with another 17 year old male than a 30 year old male). Another explanation is that routine activity accounts for proximity of same-age persons in contexts that accounts for victim-offender relationship. If stranger offenders target persons that they have access to in the normal context of their social life, these potential victims may be more likely to be of similar age.

The most direct evidence for age-targeting was obtained in the analysis of the robbery/kidnapping subset, in which victim age was negatively predictive of the likelihood of being raped in a robbery incident with an offender who is a stranger. When offenders rob female strangers, they are more likely to also rape the when she is younger than when she is older. This result is not entirely a contradiction to feminist assertions that rape is related to social structure, patriarchy, and attitudes conducive to sexual violence, but it appears to be a contradiction to the model of an indiscriminately targeting offender. Whether or not offenders' preference for younger women in sexual violence fully refutes the popular "not sex" conception of offender motive depends on how

representative a proxy youth is for sexual attractiveness. Evolutionary theorists consider the sexual desirability of youth as a universal, but feminists may yet propose culturally determined motivations for offenders' preference to rape younger women.

While evolutionary theorists might consider the results as supportive of the proposal of subconscious biological motives instilled by natural history, feminist theorists might counter that they did not intend to deny any sexual motive, but simply to imply that sexual motives exist in the context of social structure and cultural norms prevalent in a society affects the proliferation of sexual violence (Freeze, 2000). Likewise, evolutionary theorists would respond that indeed social influences are significant, but that they do not preclude biologically derived inclinations. As the debate continues, the relative importance of both social and biological influences will be argued, and each will accuse the other of having made more extreme assertions than later claimed, and of having mischaracterized their critics' arguments.

Meanwhile, a classical criminological paradigm is compatible with results that indicate both the influence of routine activity and youth-targeting, and does not need to postulate special positivist motivations that distinguish rape from other forms of anti-social behavior. As discussed in chapter 3, offenders may be sexually motivated and simultaneously influenced by social structural conditions that lower inhibitions toward using violence to obtain sex. Such dual influences imply that social structure and cultural norms do not *cause* rape, as feminist theories suggest, but that social structure and cultural norms exert a variable measure of control over the prevalence of rape and other forms of aggressive and deviant behavior. Such a perspective would allow researchers to approach issues in routine activity without restrictive assumptions about offenders'

motives and the causes of sexual violence.

### Issues for additional research

Several characteristics of the survey and official incident data revealed notable relationships that may be the subject of future research inquiries. The connection between rape offenses being attempted or completed and the category of victim-offender relationship was significant; stranger rapes are more likely to be attempted, while acquaintance rapes were less so, and intimate partner rapes the least likely. Stronger levels of victim-offender association may contribute to an offender's greater ability to construct techniques of neutralization to justify the offense (he may believe that an intimate partner or dating acquaintance owes him sex) and thus more able to maintain sexual arousal in order to rape the victim. Additionally, victims might resist more vigorously in an attack by a stranger than by someone with whom they have had consensual sex in the past, or with whom they might have considered consensual sex with in the future (a dating partner/acquaintance). In the NCVS dataset, 41 percent of victims raped by strangers received physical injuries that had to be treated, while 29 percent of acquaintance rape victims had such injuries, and only 18 percent of intimate partner rape victims (25 percent of friends/family rape victims had injuries).

The victim survey indicated a greater likelihood of reporting rape victimization to police when the offender was a stranger than when the offender was a known assailant, especially if he was an intimate partner (see chapter 7). These proportions may be used to help decipher the prevalence rate of rape by different victim-offender types on the NIBRS and the NCVS. The proportion of the extrapolated estimate of rape victimizations in the NCVS (the number of victims expected to respond if the survey had

been enumerative of all households in the U.S.) that indicates having reported the incident to police falls short of the actual number who reported to the police in the combined UCR (Catalano, 2007). Perhaps some types of victim-offender relationship incidents are more likely to result in reporting to the victim survey when asked to participate.

The patterns of intra-racial and interracial crime have been linked to similar routine activity patterns in marriage (Blau, Becker, and Fitzpatrick, 1984; South and Messner 1986) examination of victim-offender. Applying the same ideas about exposure in the context of social structure, Felson and South (1990) examined racial differentials in rape offenses in the older version of the NCVS, before respondents were asked specifically about sexual assault. A newer study of racial patterns, particularly with victim-offender relationship as a key controlling variable (which appears to interact with race: see table 6.5), may reveal additional dimensions of routine activity that can account for the patterns of race in rates of offending.

Lastly, the issue of routine activity's influence on victimization includes the relative likelihood of being victimized by offenders who are known vs. unknown to the victim. As four-fifths of the offenders in both the NCVS and the NIBRS were known to the victim, at least at the acquaintance level, could we reasonably conclude that a potential victim is more likely to be raped by a known person than by a stranger? Yes, if the relative amounts of time that potential victim spent with known and unknown persons were the average of the relative amounts spent by all the members of the population from which the estimate was taken. However, the likelihood of being victimized by different kinds of offenders changes when we consider routine activity and ask what the relative

likelihood of certain types of offenders victimizing us would be if we held proximity constant. For example, there were 453 spouse offenders and 123 ex-spouse offenders (total N=15,310) for rape offenses in NIBRS 2004, while there were 32 spouse offenders and 20 ex-spouse offenders (total N=537) for rape offenses in NCVS. Table 9.2 shows the contrast between the two reporting methods and the two relationship types. Given the relatively much greater exposure of potential victims to their spouses, this seems like a higher risk factor for ex-spouses being offenders. Consider the relative risk of child abuse between parent and step-parent offenders; although a greater numerical proportion of child abuse cases involve parents than step-parents, step-parents (and non-married partners, particularly mother's boyfriends) actually present a greater risk of offending after adjusting for the proportions of each type of relationship in the population (Margolin, 1992). In the same way, ex-husbands may be overrepresented as offenders (see the last paragraph of the hypotheses section, above).

**Table 9.2 Victim-Offender Relationship for offenses with husbands and ex-husbands in the NCVS 1992-2004, N=557 ("Victim Survey") and UCR-NIBRS 2004, N=15, 310 ("Police Report").**

		Reporting Method	
		Police Report	Victim Survey
Victim-Offender Relationship	Husband	453 (79%)	32 (62%)
	Ex- Husband	123 (21%)	20 (38%)
		576 (100%)	52 (100%)

One avenue for further study on this subtopic would be to attempt to establish an overall prevalence of rape in the population across victim-offender relationships, controlling for routine activity differences in exposure between potential victims and offenders. Felson et al. (2003) suggests that incidents between family members and

strangers must be adjusted for the relative amount of contact in daily activity before inferences can be made regarding relative likelihood of being victimized by family members and strangers. To the extent that it may be possible to estimate the relative exposure to the different types of relationships indicated by the NCVS and NIBRS, a future study could attempt to assess the relative risk victimization by offenders of different relationships, controlling for estimated exposure.

### Policy Implications and Conclusion

Prevention of sexual violence is as contentious a topic as are theories of causation. Routine activities and demographic correlates do not always offer practical applications. We cannot, for example, tell potential victims that they avoid being young. Additionally, advice about avoiding the risks of sexual assault based on situational correlates often elicits accusations of blaming-the-victim (Felson 2002). Policy recommendations are not always essential to making social science research worthwhile; demanding otherwise would be tantamount to requiring that all research in physics and chemistry have direct engineering application. Nonetheless, informed social policy benefits are undoubtedly a positive and desirable outcome from scientific inquiry, and a common aim in criminology, as noted several decades ago when the NCVS was being created.

If we knew more about the character of both offenders and victims, the nature of their relationships and the circumstances that create a high probability of crime conduct, it seems likely that crime prevention and control programs could be made much more effective (The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, 1967).

Policy implications from feminist theory involve changes in social structure and cultural norms that promote greater gender egalitarianism and less competitive and individualistic attitudes (if we consider the capitalism/sexual violence connection espoused by Harding (1985), Messerschmidt (1986), and Schwendinger and

Schwendinger (1985)). One of the attractions of the feminist perspective is that rape is attributed to things that some academicians might find pathological in modern societies (although some are present in pre-modern societies, as well): patriarchal social structure, capitalist economy, macho/ aggressive masculinity. Thus, the goal of reducing sexual violence can be linked with the application of social policies already in the sights of feminist activism. This theory/activist connection does not preclude the effectiveness of the recommended social change, however; more egalitarian gender relations might very well lead to lower sexual aggression.

A post-classical criminological perspective would suggest that such a change might effect the ability of offenders to construct convincing techniques of neutralization; that stronger social norms about abhorring chauvinistic attitudes may exert greater control on social behavior related to gender relations, especially sexual violence. However, post-classical theory proposes this same framework about all forms of anti-social behavior. If rape can be prevented by stronger norms about regarding women with equality, then robbery ought to be preventable by stronger norms about regarding other respectfully (not committing acts of force or fraud against them) in a general sense. Asking how to prevent rape is the same question as asking how to prevent robbery, burglary, fraud, nonsexual assault, and other crimes. From a control perspective, it is the greater social regulation of behavior, and especially the level of social integration and social commitment instilled in potential offenders, that really promotes conformity. Such a perspective is antithetical to feminist theory, which does not regard rape as being deviant like other crimes, but rather the tacitly promoted norm in societies with a rape culture. Similarly, the evolutionary perspective has little to say about social norms

except to make potential victims and offenders aware of their biological legacy and thereby overcome it (Thornhill and Palmer 2000).<sup>50</sup>

The victim-offender relationship distribution of rape offenses makes the recognition of punishable offenses more difficult than is the case in other crimes. As the NCVS and NIBRS datasets indicated, offenders are most commonly acquaintances and intimate partners. If acquaintances are often dates, a common defense open to these offenders is to claim that the intercourse was consensual. Such claims of consent are not as plausible in crimes, like auto theft and robbery, in which a larger proportion of offenders may be strangers. Institutionally promoted rape-awareness programs, especially on college campuses, might benefit potential victims by attempting to instill a standardized norm about the requirements of consent. Such programs might also be more effective in discouraging offending by discarding the “not sex” perspective that has become so pervasive in both education sources of information about rape, and popular culture (see Chapter 1). Asserting that a rapist is someone who desires to hurt and dominate because he is angry or wants to feel powerful may very well allow potential offenders to easily neutralize their actions. If a college date-rape offender adopts this “not sex” paradigm, he might then be self-assured that he certainly did not commit rape when he had intercourse with an unconscious victim, or when he used physical intimidation or force to coerce a foreplay situation into intercourse when the victim did not want to do so.

This study has attempted to delineate the intellectual history of current theoretical perspectives about rape motivation, and to use macro-level victimization and official data

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<sup>50</sup> Other policy recommendations by Thornhill and Palmer (2000), such as encouraging women to be cautious about their attire and mannerisms, were unsurprisingly perceived by feminists as victim-blaming (Pinker 2002).

about rape offenses to evaluation some of the empirical implications of the theories presented. The most conspicuous positivist theories, feminist and evolutionary, were contrasted with a post-classical criminological theory to provide the starkest contrast in perspectives, and to provide a possible alternative to the stalemate between feminists and sociobiologists. Assuming that society causes rape or that biology causes rape may not be necessary to explain the behavior, nor to predict the patterns of data regarding victim and offender characteristics as observed in this study.

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## Appendix A

### NCVS 1992-2004 Data Coding and Procedures in the SAS System

SAS SETUP FILE FOR ICPSR 04276  
NATIONAL CRIME VICTIMIZATION SURVEY, 1992-2004  
(DATASET 0004: 1992-2004 Incident-Level Rape Subset)

```
filename a 'c:\my  
academic\Dissertation\NCVS1992to2004Downloads\RapeSubset1992to2004Flat.  
txt';
```

```
data one; INFILE a LRECL=1163;
```

```
data two; set one;
```

```
keep V3002 V3003 V3005 V3006 V3009 V3014 V3015 V3018 V3020 V3023 V3071  
V3072 V3078 V3079 V4094 V4095 V4096 V4112 V4113 V4114 V4234  
V4236 V4237 V4241 V4243 V4245 V4246 V4248 V4249 V4250 V4251 V4252 V4256  
V4258 V4259 V4260 V4261 V4262  
V4264 V4279 V4399 V4400 V4049 V4127 V4479 V4024;
```

```
proc sort; by v3002 v3009;
```

```
data three; set two; by v3002 v3009; if first.V3002;  
if V3018=2; if V4094=1 or V4095=1; if V4234=1; if V4236=1;  
if V4237=1 or V4237=2 or V4237=3 or V4237=4 or V4237=5 or V4237=6;  
if V4241=1 or V4241=2;  
if V4243=6 then V4243=2;  
if V4243=1 or V4243=2 or V4243=3 or V4243=9;
```

```
data threea; set three;
```

```
Vage=V3014; Oage=V4237;  
if V3015=1 then Married=1; else Married=0;  
if V3015=5 then NeverMar=1; else NeverMar=0;  
Educ=V3020; if V3020=98 or V3020=99 then Educ=.;  
if V3020=28 then Educ=24;  
if V3020=40 then Educ=22;  
if V3020=42 then Educ=24;  
if V3020=43 then Educ=26;  
if V3020=44 then Educ=29;
```

```
if V3023=1 then NonWhite=0; else NonWhite=1;  
if V3079=1 then StudentU=1; else StudentU=0;
```

```
if V4094=1 then RapeComp=1; else RapeComp=0;
```

```
if v4399=1 then TellCops=1; if V4399=2 then TellCops=0;
```

```
data four; set threea; keep V3014 V3015 V3020 V3023 V4049 V4127 V4479  
V4024 V4094 V3079 V4399 V4241  
V4243 V4245 V4246 V4237 V4479;
```

```
data five; set four;
```

```
AGEVIC=v3014;
```

```
if V3015=1 then MARRIED=1; else MARRIED=0;  
if V3015=2 or V3015=3 or V3015=4 then WASMAR=1; else WASMAR=0;
```

```

if V3015=5 then NEVERMAR=1; else NEVERMAR=0;

if 1<=V3020<=11 or V3020=27 then EDUC=1;
if V3020=12 or V3020=28 then EDUC=2;
if 21<=V3020<=25 or V3020=40 or V3020=41 then EDUC=3;
if V3020=26 or 42<=V3020<=45 then EDUC=4;

if V3023=1 then NONWVIC=0; else NONWVIC=1;
if V4049=1 then WEAPON=1; else WEAPON=0;
if V4127=1 then INJURY=1; else INJURY=0;
if V4479=1 then EMPLOYED=1; else EMPLOYED=0;
if 1<=V4024<=5 or V4024=8 or V4024=9 then PUBPLACE=0; else PUBPLACE=1;
if V4094=1 then ATTEMPT=0; else ATTEMPT=1;
if V4241=2 or V4243=1 or V4241=3 or V4241=6 then STRANGER=1; else
STRANGER=0;
if V4243=2 or V4243=6 then ACQUAINT=1; else ACQUAINT=0;
if V4245=1 or V4245=2 or V4245=7 then PARTNER=1; else PARTNER=0;
if STRANGER=0 and ACQUAINT=0 and PARTNER=0 then OTHERS=1; else
OTHERS=0;

if V4246=1 then NONWOFF=0; else NONWOFF=1;
if V3079=1 then USTUDENT=1; else USTUDENT=0;
if V4399=1 then TELLCOPS=1; else TELLCOPS=0;
AGEOFF=V4237;

options pagesize=10000;

proc freq; tables AGEVIC MARRIED WASMAR NEVERMAR EDUC NONWVIC WEAPON
INJURY EMPLOYED PUBPLACE ATTEMPT
STRANGER ACQUAINT PARTNER OTHERS NONWOFF AGEOFF USTUDENT TELLCOPS;

proc corr; var AGEVIC MARRIED WASMAR NEVERMAR EDUC NONWVIC WEAPON
INJURY EMPLOYED PUBPLACE ATTEMPT
STRANGER ACQUAINT PARTNER OTHERS NONWOFF AGEOFF USTUDENT TELLCOPS;

data six; set five;

IF PARTNER=1 THEN REL=3;
IF OTHERS=1 THEN REL=4;
IF ACQUAINT=1 THEN REL=2;
IF STRANGER=1 THEN REL=1;

PROC FREQ; TABLES TELLCOPS*REL/CHISQ;
PROC FREQ; TABLES NONWOFF*NONWVIC/CHISQ;
PROC MEANS; VAR AGEVIC;

PROC SORT; BY REL;
PROC MEANS; VAR AGEVIC; BY REL;
PROC GLM; CLASS REL; MODEL AGEVIC=REL;
MEANS REL / HOVTEST; RUN;

PROC REG; MODEL AGEVIC=ACQUAINT PARTNER OTHERS;
PROC REG; MODEL AGEVIC=MARRIED WASMAR EDUC NONWVIC USTUDENT EMPLOYED;
PROC REG; MODEL AGEVIC=WEAPON INJURY PUBPLACE ATTEMPT NONWOFF TELLCOPS
AGEOFF;
PROC REG; MODEL AGEVIC=ACQUAINT PARTNER OTHERS MARRIED WASMAR EDUC
NONWVIC USTUDENT EMPLOYED;

```

```

PROC REG; MODEL AGEVIC=ACQUAINT PARTNER OTHERS WEAPON INJURY PUBPLACE
ATTEMPT NONWOFF TELLCOPS AGEOFF;
PROC REG; MODEL AGEVIC=ACQUAINT PARTNER OTHERS MARRIED WASMAR EDUC
NONWVIC USTUDENT EMPLOYED WEAPON INJURY PUBPLACE ATTEMPT NONWOFF
TELLCOPS;
PROC REG; MODEL AGEVIC=ACQUAINT PARTNER OTHERS AGEOFF;
PROC REG; MODEL AGEVIC=ACQUAINT PARTNER OTHERS MARRIED WASMAR EDUC
NONWVIC USTUDENT EMPLOYED WEAPON INJURY PUBPLACE ATTEMPT NONWOFF
TELLCOPS AGEOFF;

PROC FREQ; TABLES REL*NONWOFF/CHISQ;

data stranger; set six; if stranger=1;
proc reg; model agevic=ageoff;
proc reg; model agevic=MARRIED WASMAR EDUC NONWVIC USTUDENT EMPLOYED
WEAPON
INJURY PUBPLACE ATTEMPT NONWOFF TELLCOPS AGEOFF;

data acquaint; set six; if acquaint=1;
proc reg; model agevic=ageoff;
proc reg; model agevic=MARRIED WASMAR EDUC NONWVIC USTUDENT EMPLOYED
WEAPON
INJURY PUBPLACE ATTEMPT NONWOFF TELLCOPS AGEOFF;

data partner; set six; if partner=1;
proc reg; model agevic=ageoff;
proc reg; model agevic=MARRIED WASMAR EDUC NONWVIC USTUDENT EMPLOYED
WEAPON
INJURY PUBPLACE ATTEMPT NONWOFF TELLCOPS AGEOFF;

data others; set six; if others=1;
proc reg; model agevic=ageoff;
proc reg; model agevic=MARRIED WASMAR EDUC NONWVIC USTUDENT EMPLOYED
WEAPON
INJURY PUBPLACE ATTEMPT NONWOFF TELLCOPS AGEOFF;

data seven; sex six; if stranger=1 then VOR=1; else VOR=0;
proc sort; by VOR;
proc means mean median std; var AGEVIC; by VOR;
proc ttest; class VOR; var AGEVIC;
run;

data sixa; set six; straInt=stranger*ageoff; acqInt=acquaint*ageoff;
partInt=partner*ageoff; otherInt=others*ageoff;
proc reg; model agevic=ageoff;
PROC REG; MODEL AGEVIC=ageoff acquaint partner others acqInt PartInt
OtherInt;
PROC REG; MODEL AGEVIC=ageoff acquaint partner others acqInt PartInt
otherInt MARRIED WASMAR EDUC NONWVIC USTUDENT EMPLOYED WEAPON INJURY
PUBPLACE ATTEMPT NONWOFF tellcops;
run;

```

## Appendix B NIBRS 2004 Data Coding and Procedures in the SAS System

```
LIBNAME A 'C:\MY ACADEMIC\DISSERTATION\NIBRS2004MYDATASETS';
DATA ONE; SET A.VICTIMS11ASINGLEOFFENDERS2004R;
OPTIONS PAGESIZE=10000;
PROC CONTENTS;

DATA TWO; SET ONE; KEEP INCIDENT ORI V4032 V4018 V5007 V2007 V2011
V2017 V4020 V4026 V5009;
PROC FREQ; TABLES V4032 V4018 V5007 V2011 V2017 V4020 V4026 V5009;

DATA THREE; SET TWO;
IF V4032='ST' OR V4032='RU' THEN STRANGER=1; ELSE STRANGER=0;
IF V4032='AQ' THEN ACQUAINT=1; ELSE ACQUAINT=0;
IF V4032='SE' OR V4032='CS' OR V4032='BG' OR V4032='XS' THEN PARTNER=1;
ELSE PARTNER=0;
IF STRANGER=0 AND ACQUAINT=0 AND PARTNER=0 THEN OTHERS=1; ELSE
OTHERS=0;

AGEVIC=INPUT(V4018, 8.0);

AGEOFF=V5007;

IF V2011=20 THEN PUBPLACE=0; ELSE PUBPLACE=1;
IF V2017='40' OR V2017='95' OR V2017='99' THEN WEAPON=0; ELSE WEAPON=1;
IF V4020='W' THEN NONWVIC=0; ELSE NONWVIC=1;
IF V4026='N' THEN INJURY=0; ELSE INJURY=1;
IF V5009='W' THEN NONWOFF=0; ELSE NONWOFF=1;
IF V2007='A' THEN ATTEMPT=1; IF V2007='C' THEN ATTEMPT=0;

PROC FREQ; TABLES STRANGER ACQUAINT PARTNER OTHERS AGEVIC AGEOFF
PUBPLACE WEAPON NONWVIC NONWOFF INJURY ATTEMPT;
PROC MEANS MEAN MEDIAN STD; VAR AGEVIC AGEOFF;

DATA FOUR; SET THREE;
IF STRANGER=1 THEN RELATION=1;
IF ACQUAINT=1 THEN RELATION=2;
IF PARTNER=1 THEN RELATION=3;
IF OTHERS=1 THEN RELATION=4;

IF AGEOFF<=20 THEN OAGECAT=1;
IF 21<=AGEOFF<=30 THEN OAGECAT=2;
IF 31<=AGEOFF<=40 THEN OAGECAT=3;
IF 41<=AGEOFF<=50 THEN OAGECAT=4;
IF AGEOFF>50 THEN OAGECAT=5;

PROC GLM; CLASS RELATION; MODEL AGEVIC=RELATION; MEANS RELATION /
HOVTEST; RUN;

PROC GLM; CLASS RELATION; MODEL AGEVIC=RELATION OAGECAT; MEANS RELATION
/ HOVTEST; RUN;

PROC FREQ; TABLES RELATION*OAGECAT/CHISQ;
```

```

DATA FOURA; SET FOUR; IF STRANGER=1; PROC SORT; BY OAGECAT; PROC MEANS;
VAR AGEVIC; BY OAGECAT;
DATA FOURB; SET FOUR; IF ACQUAINT=1; PROC SORT; BY OAGECAT; PROC MEANS;
VAR AGEVIC; BY OAGECAT;
DATA FOURC; SET FOUR; IF PARTNER=1; PROC SORT; BY OAGECAT; PROC MEANS;
VAR AGEVIC; BY OAGECAT;
DATA FOURD; SET FOUR; IF OTHERS=1; PROC SORT; BY OAGECAT; PROC MEANS;
VAR AGEVIC; BY OAGECAT;

PROC CORR DATA=FOUR; VAR STRANGER ACQUAINT PARTNER OTHERS AGEVIC AGEOFF
PUBPLACE WEAPON NONWVIC
NONWOFF INJURY ATTEMPT;

PROC FREQ DATA=FOUR; TABLES RELATION*ATTEMPT/CHISQ;
PROC FREQ DATA=FOUR; TABLES NONWVIC*NONWOFF/CHISQ;

data four; set four; StrInt=stranger*Ageoff; AcqInt=acquaint*Ageoff;
PartInt=partner*ageoff; otherInt=others*ageoff;

proc reg data=four; model agevic=ageoff;
proc reg data=four; model agevic=acquaint partner others;
proc reg data=four; model agevic=ageoff acquaint partner others;
proc reg data=four; model agevic=ageoff acquaint partner others
acqint partint otherint;
proc reg data=four; model agevic=pubplace weapon nonwvic nonwoff injury
attempt;
proc reg data=four; model agevic=ageoff acquaint partner others
acqint partint otherint pubplace weapon nonwvic nonwoff injury attempt;

proc reg data=four; model ageoff=acquaint partner others;
proc reg data=four; model ageoff=acquaint partner others agevic;
proc reg data=four; model ageoff=acquaint partner others agevic;

proc means mean median data=foura; var ageoff;
proc means mean median data=fourb; var ageoff;
proc means mean median data=fourc; var ageoff;
proc means mean median data=fourd; var ageoff;

data five; set four; if stranger=1 or acquaint=1 or partner=1;
if stranger=1 then known=0; else known=1;
proc logistic descending; model known=ageoff;
proc logistic descending; model known=ageoff agevic;
run;

LIBNAME A 'C:\MY ACADEMIC\DISSERTATION\NIBRS2004MYDATASETS';
DATA ONE; SET A.ASSROBRAPE55728;
OPTIONS PAGESIZE=10000;

DATA ONE; SET ONE;
AGEVIC=INPUT(V4018, 8.0);
AGEOFF=V5007;

IF V4007='13A' OR V4008='13A' OR V4009='13A' OR V4010='13A' OR
V4011='13A'
OR V4012='13A' OR V4013='13A' THEN OFFENSE=3;
IF V4007='120' OR V4008='120' OR V4009='120' OR V4010='120' OR
V4011='120'

```

```

OR V4012='120' OR V4013='120' THEN OFFENSE=2;
IF V4007='11A' OR V4008='11A' OR V4009='11A' OR V4010='11A' OR
V4011='11A'
OR V4012='11A' OR V4013='11A' THEN OFFENSE=1;

IF V2011=20 THEN PUBPLACE=0; ELSE PUBPLACE=1;
IF V2017='40' OR V2017='95' OR V2017='99' THEN WEAPON=0; ELSE WEAPON=1;
IF V4020='W' THEN NONWVIC=0; ELSE NONWVIC=1;
IF V4026='N' THEN INJURY=0; ELSE INJURY=1;
IF V5009='W' THEN NONWOFF=0; ELSE NONWOFF=1;

DATA TWO; SET ONE;
IF V4032='ST' OR V4032='RU' THEN STRANGER=1; ELSE STRANGER=0;
IF V4032='AQ' THEN ACQUAINT=1; ELSE ACQUAINT=0;
IF V4032='SE' OR V4032='CS' OR V4032='BG' OR V4032='XS' THEN PARTNER=1;
ELSE PARTNER=0;
IF STRANGER=0 AND ACQUAINT=0 AND PARTNER=0 THEN OTHERS=1; ELSE
OTHERS=0;

DATA THREE; SET TWO;
IF STRANGER=1 THEN RELATION=1;
IF ACQUAINT=1 THEN RELATION=2;
IF PARTNER=1 THEN RELATION=3;
IF OTHERS=1 THEN RELATION=4;

DATA FOUR; SET THREE; KEEP RELATION STRANGER ACQUAINT PARTNER OTHERS
OFFENSE
AGEVIC AGEOFF PUBPLACE WEAPON NONWVIC NONWOFF INJURY; PROC FREQ;

PROC FREQ; TABLES RELATION*OFFENSE/CHISQ;
PROC GLM; CLASS RELATION; MODEL AGEVIC=RELATION OFFENSE
RELATION*OFFENSE; MEANS RELATION / HOVTEST;

PROC SORT; BY RELATION; DATA FOUR; SET FOUR; BY RELATION; PROC MEANS;
VAR AGEVIC; BY RELATION;
DATA FOUR; SET FOUR; PROC SORT; BY OFFENSE; PROC MEANS; VAR AGEVIC; BY
OFFENSE;
DATA FOURA; SET FOUR; IF RELATION=1; PROC SORT; BY OFFENSE; PROC MEANS;
VAR AGEVIC; BY OFFENSE;
DATA FOURB; SET FOUR; IF RELATION=2; PROC SORT; BY OFFENSE; PROC MEANS;
VAR AGEVIC; BY OFFENSE;
DATA FOURC; SET FOUR; IF RELATION=3; PROC SORT; BY OFFENSE; PROC MEANS;
VAR AGEVIC; BY OFFENSE;
DATA FOURD; SET FOUR; IF RELATION=4; PROC SORT; BY OFFENSE; PROC MEANS;
VAR AGEVIC; BY OFFENSE;

RUN;

DATA FOUR; SET FOUR;
IF OFFENSE=1 THEN RAPE=1; ELSE RAPE=0;
IF OFFENSE=2 THEN ROBBERY=1; ELSE ROBBERY=0;
IF OFFENSE=3 THEN ASSAULT=1; ELSE ASSAULT=0;

PROC REG DATA=FOUR; MODEL AGEVIC=ASSAULT ROBBERY;
proc reg data=four; model agevic=assault robbery ageoff;
proc reg data=four; model agevic=assault robbery acquaint partner
others;

```

```

PROC REG DATA=FOUR; MODEL AGEVIC=ASSAULT ROBBERY AGEOFF ACQUAINT
PARTNER OTHERS;
PROC REG DATA=FOUR; MODEL AGEVIC=ASSAULT ROBBERY AGEOFF ACQUAINT
PARTNER OTHERS
PUBPLACE WEAPON NONWVIC NONWOFF INJURY;
RUN;
PROC FREQ; TABLES AGEOFF;

LIBNAME A 'C:\MY ACADEMIC\DISSERTATION\NIBRS2004MYDATASETS';
DATA ONE; SET A.OTHEROFFENSEINCIDENTS2004;
IF V4018='BB' THEN DELETE; IF V4018='00' THEN DELETE;
OPTIONS PAGESIZE=10000;
PROC CONTENTS;

DATA ONE; SET ONE;
AGEVIC=INPUT(V4018, 8.0);

AGEOFF=V5007;

DATA ONEA; SET ONE;
IF AGEVIC<=20 THEN VAGECAT=1;
IF 21<=AGEVIC<=30 THEN VAGECAT=2;
IF 31<=AGEVIC<=40 THEN VAGECAT=3;
IF 41<=AGEVIC<=50 THEN VAGECAT=4;
IF AGEVIC>50 THEN VAGECAT=5;

IF AGEOFF<=20 THEN OAGECAT=1;
IF 21<=AGEOFF<=30 THEN OAGECAT=2;
IF 31<=AGEOFF<=40 THEN OAGECAT=3;
IF 41<=AGEOFF<=50 THEN OAGECAT=4;
IF AGEOFF>50 THEN OAGECAT=5;
IF V4007='11A' OR V4008='11A' OR V4009='11A' OR V4010='11A' OR
V4011='11A' THEN RAPE=1;
ELSE RAPE=0;
DATA TWOA; SET ONEA; IF V4007='120' OR V4008='120' OR V4009='120' OR
V4010='120' OR V4011='120';
PROC FREQ; TABLES RAPE*VAGECAT/CHISQ;
DATA TWOB; SET ONEA; IF V4007='100' OR V4008='100' OR V4009='100' OR
V4010='100' OR V4011='100';
PROC FREQ; TABLES RAPE*VAGECAT/CHISQ;
DATA TWOC; SET ONEA; IF (V4007='120' OR V4008='120' OR V4009='120' OR
V4010='120' OR V4011='120')
AND (V4007='100' OR V4008='100' OR V4009='100' OR V4010='100' OR
V4011='100');
PROC FREQ; TABLES RAPE*VAGECAT/CHISQ;

DATA TWOD; SET ONEA; PROC FREQ; TABLES RAPE*VAGECAT/CHISQ;
DATA TWOE; SET ONEA; IF OAGECAT=1; PROC FREQ; TABLES
RAPE*VAGECAT/CHISQ;
DATA TWOF; SET ONEA; IF OAGECAT=2; PROC FREQ; TABLES
RAPE*VAGECAT/CHISQ;
DATA TWOG; SET ONEA; IF OAGECAT=3; PROC FREQ; TABLES
RAPE*VAGECAT/CHISQ;
DATA TWOH; SET ONEA; IF OAGECAT=4; PROC FREQ; TABLES
RAPE*VAGECAT/CHISQ;
DATA TWOE; SET ONEA; IF OAGECAT=5; PROC FREQ; TABLES
RAPE*VAGECAT/CHISQ;

```

```
RUN;

proc logistic data=onea descending; model rape=agevic; run;
proc logistic data=onea descending; model rape=agevic ageoff; run;

proc logistic data=twoa descending; model rape=agevic; run;
proc logistic data=twoa descending; model rape=agevic ageoff; run;

proc logistic data=twob descending; model rape=agevic; run;
proc logistic data=twob descending; model rape=agevic ageoff; run;

proc logistic data=twoc descending; model rape=agevic; run;
proc logistic data=twoc descending; model rape=agevic ageoff; run;

RUN;
```