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"Do not go gentle into that good night."

(Dylan Thomas, 1914-1953)
SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF RAPE:

A STUDY OF RECORDED RAPE AND IMAGES OF RAPE VICTIMIZATION

This study is organized into four major chapters, each of which is discussed and presented in a separate chapter.

Chapter 1 discusses the general characteristics of rape offenders and victims. It examines the social, legal, and cultural factors related to rape.

Chapter 2 discusses the psychological aspects of rape, including the impact of rape on the victim and the offender.

Chapter 3 examines the legal and institutional aspects of rape, including the role of the police and the justice system.

Chapter 4 examines the differential impacts of rape on women from different backgrounds and cultural groups.

Patricia Mary Mazelan

Examination of recorded rape cases revealed that women from certain socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds were more likely to report rape. Further, the nature of rape was investigated for each case. The study showed that differential impacts of rape were related to both socio-economic and cultural factors.

Submitted for Ph.D.

The University of Aston in Birmingham

July, 1984
Social Psychological Aspects of Rape: A Study of Recorded Rape and Images of Rape Victimisation

SUMMARY

Patricia Mary Mazelan

Submitted for Ph.D., 1984

This thesis is organised into four parts. In Part I, relevant literature is reviewed and presented in three chapters. Chapter 1 examines legal and cultural factors in identifying the boundaries of rape. Chapter 2 discusses idiographic features and causal characteristics of rape suspects and victims. Chapter 3 reviews the evidence relating to attitudes toward rape, attribution of responsibility to victims and the routine management of rape cases by the police.

Part II comprises an experimental investigation of observer perception of the victims of violent crime. The experiment examined the processes by which impressions were attributed to victims of personal crime. The results suggested that discrepancies from observers' stereotypes were an important factor in their polarisation of victim ratings. The relevance of examining both the structure and process of impression formation was highlighted.

Part III describes an extensive field study in which the West Midlands police files on rape for an eight-year period (1971-1978) were analysed. The study revealed a large number of interesting findings related to a wide range of relevant features of the crime. Further, the impact of common misconceptions and "myths" of rape were investigated across the legal and judicial processing of rape cases. The evidence suggests that these "myths" lead to differential biasing effects at different stages in the process.

In the final part of this thesis, salient issues raised by the experiment and field study are discussed within the framework outlined in Part I. Potential implications for future theoretical developments and research are presented.

Key words

Rape
Victimisation
Stereotypes
Legal processing
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1. THE INTERACTION OF LEGAL AND CULTURAL FACTORS IN IDENTIFYING THE BOUNDARIES OF RAPE

Rape is generally regarded as the most serious of all the sexual offences and this is reflected in the severity of punishment which accompanies the crime. Rape carries a maximum penalty of life imprisonment while attempted rape carries a maximum penalty of seven years imprisonment.

The legal definition of rape involves both the acts committed and the intention which precipitated those acts. Confusion has often arisen due to disagreement about the boundaries of the definition of rape. (This is discussed in section 1.3.)

The laws concerning rape and the manner in which these laws have been applied in English courts has received increasing attention. It has been argued by some feminists (eg Brownmiller, 1975; Edwards, 1981; Lakes-Wood, 1973) that the laws on rape reflect the way in which sexual discrimination operates against women. Further, it is often suggested (eg Burt, 1980; Feild, 1978) that negative attitudes toward women are institutionalised within these laws and within the subsequent legal processing of cases. (This is discussed in detail in Part III.)

In this chapter the history of rape laws since Anglo-Saxon times is briefly reviewed (Section 1.1) and the current legal definition of rape is put into its historical context (Section 1.2). It is
necessary to consider this legal history since this constitutes almost all the documentation about rape until recent times when the matter has been reconsidered from a cultural, sociological and psychological perspective.

The next section (Section 1.3) discusses the feminist view on rape. This currently influential approach essentially adopts a cultural framework. In most discussions rape is often used as an umbrella term to describe a variety of acts involving sexual and aggressive components. "Myths" surrounding rape, as highlighted by the feminist approach, and "definitions" relating to rape are intimately related issues. It can be demonstrated (see Part III) that many of the "myths" surrounding rape stem from definitional problems and vice versa.

The last section (Section 1.4) deals with the social context of rape. Some of the main cultural and psychological factors involved are discussed. The symbolic nature of the act is considered by many feminists to be a critical factor in understanding rape, and literature relating to this is also reviewed.

1.1 A Historical Perspective in Studying Rape

The purpose of this Section is to provide a brief summary of the socio-legal factors which pre-date the current English law on rape. A selective review is included to demonstrate the changes in legal
priorities. An examination of the protection that law provides is revealing in that it reflects women's changing social status with respect to men, state and property.

In this country, rape has been documented as a criminal offence since Anglo-Saxon times. Initially during this period, rape had no independent status within the law (Law of Aethelberth, 602-3). It was defined collectively with a number of other "offences against the person". Towards the end of the Anglo-Saxon era rape was dealt with as a separate category and King Alfred (871-901) deemed that the severity of punishment for rape should depend upon both the social status of the offender and victim (Thorpe, 1840). This punishment could range from castration or death, if a slave was the guilty offender, to compensation exacted from higher status offenders to be paid to the father or husband of the victim. The economic status of the victim in terms of "bride price" also determined the penalty (Toner, 1977).

Consequently, until about 1066 economic status was the major factor determining differential treatment of sexual offenders (Edwards, 1980). After 1066 to about 1275 the law had been changed to make a clear distinction between the various categories of sex crimes. An associated change was linking the degree of severity of a rape and its subsequent punishment with the sexual status of the victim (e.g. virgin, married, etc.). This change in emphasis of the law reflected the increased social emphasis on the value of virginity and chastity (Barber, 1974; Foucault, 1980).
Under Feudalism females were allowed to inherit property only if there were no male heirs. A landed heiress who married without the permission of her Overlord lost her inherited fortune (Edwards, 1980; Kaye, 1977). However, the sanctity of the wedding as deemed by the Church and State could not be challenged once it had taken place. The custom of "stealing an heiress" by forcible abduction and marriage became a routine method of acquiring property by adventurous, upwardly mobile knights (Barry, 1979; Brownmiller, 1975; Mitra, 1979). This was profitable since an abducted heiress could keep her fortune as she was not held responsible for the abduction. It was not until a fifteenth century edict of Henry VII that abduction (heiress-stealing) itself was deemed a felony. Gothic literature romantically imbued heiress-stealing with midnight assignations, loyal maidservants and knights in shining white armour. As Brownmiller (1975) observes, in reality, the desire for land, not love, often motivated these actions.

By 1275 a Statute of Westminster erased the distinction introduced by William the Conqueror between rape of a virgin and rape of a non-virgin, and within ten years the concept of identifying rape with penetration of the penis had been accepted. This was an interesting legal shift since prior to this statute "rape" meant to steal, to seize, or to carry away (from the Latin word "rapere").

It was not until over a century later that the next major development in rape legislation took place. In 1382 the hitherto assumed non-consent of the victim had been clouded by the introduction of
another legal category, namely "consent after the act". It was argued that women who "afterwards consented" should be treated in the same manner as women who had consented prior to intercourse. This was clearly an illogical development. Consequently, in this period, a woman could forfeit all her belongings if she stopped resisting at any time through fear or exhaustion. The long standing notion that a woman was expected to resist to "her last breath" still held a grip upon public morality (Kaye, 1977). Women were pressurised into making their position more respectable by consenting to marry the rapist or abductor. Tragically, the "price" of this "respectability" was the assailant gaining access to the victim's economic and social position. When in 1487 abduction was defined as a felony in its own right, an official end was put to the tyranny of bride capture (Edwards, 1980).

The next notable legal change occurred in 1597. Under the Statutes of Elizabeth I, it was enacted that rape was a felony punishable by death. The death penalty for rape remained until 1861 when it was repealed. Toner (1977) points out that the Statutes of Elizabeth I had changed the emphasis in the law of rape so that rape was now viewed as a purely sexual offence independent of economic considerations.

Sir Mathew Hale (1736) expressed concern about the possibility of increasing numbers of false accusations of rape given that the punishment for offenders was so severe. He introduced the cautionary instruction given to the jury in rape trials which is still in
operation.

"... it must be remembered, that it (rape) is an accusation easily to be made and hard to be proved, and harder to be defended by the party accused, tho' never so innocent."

Sir Mathew Hale, 1736

However, Geis (1978) argues that this instruction resulted from Hale's negative attitudes towards women which were reflected in his conduct at rape and witchcraft trials alike.

"Rape is not, and never has been, an easy charge to make and a difficult one to rebut."

Geis, 1978

The next change occurred in 1812 when "past moral character" was made admissible as evidence and remained on the statutes until 1976. This meant that a complainant who brought a charge against a man could find that she was questioned on:

(i) **Want of chastity** - By naming sexual partners the defence could imply that she was the type of woman who was likely to give consent to sexual intercourse.

(ii) **Prostitution** - The defence could ask whether the victim was, or ever had been a common prostitute.

(iii) **Prior relationship** - The defence could ask whether the victim had had a prior relationship with the offender.

This meant that emphasis was placed on the credibility of the com-
plainant in the interpretation of events (Mitra, 1979). In practice this entailed determining whether she was of good or bad moral character. In other words whether she was "morally fit" to accuse the man of rape. The amendment on corroboration (1812) reflected an increasing concern with the possibility of false accusations:

"A person shall not be convicted of an offence under this section on the evidence of one witness only unless the witness is corroborated in some material particular by evidence implicating the accused."

The Sexual Offences Act, 1956, s.2-4, ss.22-3.

Corroboration of the testimony and allegations of the victim of robbery or assault is not necessary by law, whereas corroboration is required at a rape trial because of the supposed variety of "sex specific" motives for making such an allegation (Edwards, 1981).

During the nineteenth century, so-called "rape by fraud" - convincing the woman to have intercourse through trickery or impersonating her husband - was incorporated in the legal definition of rape after DPP vs. Williams, DPP vs. Flattery, DPP vs. Cauplin and DPP vs. Fletcher. Legal interpretation had moved from proving that the act was against the victim's will (with emphasis on the use of force) to proving the act was without the victim's consent (Smith & Hogan, 1978).

The foregoing discussion demonstrates that the changes in emphasis of rape legislation can be seen to reflect and reinforce prevailing social attitudes (Edwards, 1981; LeGrand, 1973; Mitra, 1979). In
contrast to earlier laws, current legislation attempts to protect the victim in her own right rather than her chastity or as her guardian's property. The extent to which current legislation is successful is considered in following sections.

1.2 Current Legal Definitions of Rape

The Sexual Offences Act, 1956, assembled scattered statutory provisions on sexual offences and stated:

"(1) It is a felony for a man to rape a woman.

(2) A man who induces a married woman to have sexual intercourse with him by impersonating her husband commits rape."

The Sexual Offences Act, 1956, s.1

1.2.1 The call for legal reform

Discontent with the Sexual Offences Act 1956 and the subsequent demand for law reform revolved around a number of issues (Toner, 1977). The first was the fact that the past moral character of the complainant had been admissible as evidence since 1812. Consequently, in court the complainant could be questioned on her past sexual experience, whether or not she was or had been a prostitute, and her prior relationship with the offender. The second problem was the lack of anonymity of the complainant. The complainant's name, address and other personal details could be disclosed out of court through the media. Thirdly, it was argued (eg Brownmiller, 1975; Toner, 1977) that Hale's cautionary instruction to the jury in rape
trials implied that women were liars who must be viewed with suspicion.

However, it was not until the public outcry at the Law Lord's ruling of the DPP vs. Morgan (1975) case that the ongoing campaign for reform was able to present its case effectively (Coote & Gill, 1975). Morgan had invited three men to forcibly have intercourse with his wife, having given them the false impression that she was extremely willing even though they should anticipate resistance from her.

The Morgan case highlighted a fundamental principle of law of mens rea. This means that the assailant must have not only committed the illegal act (actus reus) but have intended to commit it (mens rea) in order to be found guilty. Or as Card (1980) puts it,

"... an act does not make a person legally guilty unless the mind is legally blameworthy."

Whereas the assailants were initially convicted at their trial and the sentence upheld on appeal, they were given leave to appeal to the House of Lords. The House of Lords was asked to decide whether a man's belief had to be reasonable as well as honest and after much deliberation decided:

"The crime of rape consisted of having sexual intercourse with a woman without her consent or with indifference as to whether or not she consented. It could not be committed if that essential mens rea were absent. Accordingly, if an accused in fact believed that the woman had consented, whether or not that belief was based on reasonable grounds, he could not be found guilty of rape." (1975, 2All ER 347)
This decision provoked a fierce controversy and many people felt that the balance of the law had swung too far in favour of the man and would further discourage women from reporting rape to the police. Toner (1977) describes much of the diverse reaction to the ruling ranging from Mr. Jack Ashley MP who labelled it "a charter for rapists" to support from many lawyers.

"No person should be convicted of a serious crime that he or she did not intend to commit. A genuine belief in the woman's consent (whether based on reasonable grounds or not) should be accepted as a defence in rape trials."

Coote & Gill, 1975, NCCL

Public concern culminated in the formation of the Heilbron Committee in 1975 to give urgent consideration to the law of rape and this recommended changes in both the law and its practice. Following these, the Sexual Offences (Amendment) Act was passed by the House of Commons in December 1976, and contains much, but not all of the law relating to rape.

1.2.2 The 1976 Amendment

The current legal definition of rape states that a man commits rape if:

"(a) He has unlawful (that is, extra-marital) sexual intercourse with a woman who at the time of the intercourse does not consent to it, and

(b) At the time he knows she does not consent to intercourse or is reckless as to whether she consents to it."

The Sexual Offences (Amendment) Act, 1976
A man does not commit rape if he has sexual intercourse with his wife without her consent unless, the wife has obtained a separation order, the couple have been granted a Decree Nisi, or the wife has started divorce proceedings and has been granted an injunction (Card, 1980).

An additional charge inherent in the 1976 Sexual Offences (Amendment) Act was that evidence relating to the past moral character of the complainant was no longer admissible except under the discretion of the judge. This change was welcomed by many but in practice research by Adler (1982) suggests that in a large proportion of trials, judges still allow evidence relating to the past moral character of complainants.

Further, the law assumes that a boy under fourteen years of age is incapable of sexual intercourse and by definition he cannot be convicted of rape. A boy under fourteen years of age can, however, be convicted of attempted rape, aiding and abetting in a rape, or indecent assault (Card, 1980).

The absence of consent is an essential feature of rape and therefore to have sexual intercourse with a woman who is asleep or unconscious because she is unable to give or withhold consent is still rape. Legally, apparent consent is not real consent and rape can take place without overt use of force as illustrated in the following examples:

1. The woman is threatened with personal violence and submits without a struggle.
2. Consent to intercourse is gained fraudulently and real consent was not given. Two examples from legal cases are:
(a) where the assailant impersonated the complainant's husband
(b) where the victim was persuaded to believe that the act was a medical operation.

3. The female is so mentally deficient, young, or drunk that she is not in a position to decide whether or not to consent. However, if she took the drugs or alcohol of her own free will then the attack only amounts to indecent assault (Coote & Gill, 1975).

1.2.3 The process of the law

Despite recent calls for modifying the rape law it remains essentially unchanged and the process of the law in the routine management of cases has become the focus of increased attention (Hooper et al., 1984). The report from the Advisory Committee on Sexual Offences (1980) recommended that "... the offence of rape should remain substantially in its present form...", although eight detailed provisional recommendations were suggested (See Appendix 1).

Specifically, the concept "reckless" with respect to "consent" was highlighted in 1982 and was discussed resulting in the following legal ruling:

"Whether in the case of rape, to prove a man is reckless as to consent, it must be proved that he was indifferent and gave no thought to the possibility that she might not be consenting, but nevertheless persisted regardless of whether she consented or not."

The Times, February 11th 1982
Following the public outcry concerning three controversial incidents which occurred in the early months of 1982, in March 1983 the Home Secretary (Mr. Whitelaw) released new guidelines to all police forces in England and Wales. In the first of these cases, Judge Bertrand Richards fined a rapist £2,000 on the understanding that because the victim had accepted a lift off the offender she was "... guilty of a great deal of contributory negligence". (The Times, January 6th 1982). In the second case three Glasgow teenagers accused of a rape and razor attack were released due to psychiatrist's reports stating that the victim was suicidal and therefore unfit to give evidence in a court of law. (The Times, January 11th 1982). The final case involved a television series documenting the routine tasks of the Thames Valley Police Force showing the "crude" questioning of a rape complainant in which she was accused of being a liar by the investigating officer. (The Times, January 26th 1982).

Although there were no changes in the law there were a number of ramifications from these cases resulting in recommended changes in the processes involved in the legal system. The Lord Chief Justice Lane, commenting on Judge Richards' ruling declared that:

"Rape is always a serious crime and in other than in exceptional circumstances it calls for immediate custodial sentences."

The Times, January 16th 1982

Further, it was recommended that only experienced judges (ie those
judges who preside over murder cases) should be appointed to rape cases, and the police were urged to treat complainants with both tact and understanding in order to encourage women to come forward and report rape incidents. (The Times, March 8th 1982).

The management of rape cases is considered in more detail in Part III of this thesis.

1.3 The Feminist Stance on Rape

The gulf between the apparent precision of a legal definition and certain other feminist definitions of rape is so great that it is sometimes difficult to acknowledge that they are referring to the same crime. A number of feminist conceptions of what constitutes rape confound an already cloudy and controversial area of human interaction. Unfortunately the term "rape" loses some of its more serious implications when it is devalued in its use to cover almost any situation where a woman is considered powerless. As an example of definitional over-inclusivity the following is extracted from a pamphlet produced by "Women Against Rape":

"... in order to survive we are forced to submit to employers, landlords, shopkeepers, bill collectors, and clients - and then called "loose". And Jayaben Desai testified how rape by low pay caused Black women to strike at Grunwick."

Hall, James & Kertesz, 1981

Clearly the use of the term "rape" in this instance is inappropriate.
However, there are several more specific and useful definitions of rape which are currently in use. The range of definitions results from a variety of perspectives stemming from a selective emphasis of various aspects of the rape event.

The feminist movement has significantly altered the societal view of rape (Brownmiller, 1976; Geis, 1978; Greer, 1973; Griffin 1971; Largen, 1976; McNickle-Rose, 1977). Feminists stress the symbolic oppression of women by men and link this to men's attitudes toward women (Connell & Wilson, 1974). They assume that rape is a conscious or unconscious weapon used by men to keep women dependent on male protection (Brownmiller, 1975).

"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."

Brownmiller, 1975

"Rape is the assault of a man on a woman but it is also the symbolic enactment of social and cultural attitudes; on one level, perhaps unconscious it is a gross and extreme form of social regulation by which a woman is brutally stripped of her humanity and confronted with her definition as a non-person, a function."

Metzger, 1976

Rape is considered an act of violence in its own right by many feminists (eg Brownmiller, 1975; Herschberger, 1970; Smart, 1976).
There is some disagreement between certain feminists (e.g., Hall et al., 1981; Hooper et al., 1984) as to whether rape should lose its sexual connotations and be regarded as another form of "violence against the person". Some feminists argue that since many rapists have access to a legitimate sexual partner, such as their wife or girlfriend, rape cannot be a sexually motivated crime (Brownmiller, 1975; Hall et al., 1981). The focus of much feminist debate on rape has been to bring into question the symbolic nature of women's role in society. Feminists have attempted to change the laws on rape, help raped women, and collect and disseminate information relating to the offence (e.g., Clarke & Lewis, 1977; Hooper et al., 1984; Russell, 1975).

Central to the feminist understanding of rape is the "cultural" component in the development of attitudes toward sex, sexuality, violence, and women. Burt (1980) argues that these factors are interrelated and that, "Rape is the logical and psychological extension of a dominant-submissive, competitive, sex-role stereotyped culture." Some authors (e.g., Clark & Lewis, 1977; Jackson, 1978(b); Toner, 1977) have suggested that sexuality is culturally related to power and aggression. They argue, given a different cultural context, that rape would not be possible.

A great deal of the feminist literature on rape highlights discrepancies and biases in the law and the processes of the law and the unfavourable treatment of victims of rape (e.g., Albin, 1977; Lakes-Wood, 1973). Rape is a complex issue in that it is both a sexual act and an act of aggression. Clearly, definitions of rape
vary as a function of which aspect of the rape act is emphasised. Feminist definitions of rape tend to emphasise the aggressive component of the offence and examine the offence in its cultural context. Aggression against women is not always explicit but is argued to be implicit in every situation where men can exercise power over women (Connell & Wilson, 1974; Reynolds, 1972; Schwendinger & Schwendinger, 1974). Discussions of rape in some studies of humour and pornography (e.g., Clarney, 1981; Dworkin, 1981; Faraday, 1981; Legman, 1968; McCormack, 1978) have argued that the emphasis on the sexual nature of the offence devalues the aggressive or violent nature of the act. Similarly, some authors claim that the newspaper reporting of rape incidents highlight the sexual motives of offenders and "rapability" of victims (Hay et al., 1980; Smart & Smart, 1978; Soothill & Jack, 1975; Walby et al., 1980). Symons (1980) suggests that the feminist stance has a tendency to ignore the sexual component since many rapists claim that their aim was to make sexual contact with the victim.

Victims' own definitions of rape (Bart & Scheppel, 1980) are at variance with legal definitions. Of their sample of victims of sexual offences, those who suffered acts using the assailant's penis (e.g., rape, sodomy, fellatio, masturbation by the victim) defined themselves as "rape victims" whilst those who suffered "vaginal events" (e.g., cunnilingus, digital penetration of the vagina or anus, kissing and fondling the woman) defined themselves as "rape avoiders".
Under English law only vaginal intercourse counts as rape whereas in some American states forced anal or oral sex or the penetration of the vagina by a foreign object is included in their definition of rape (Feldman-Summers, 1976; Viano, 1974). Many feminists consider that the legal definition of rape should encompass far more acts than those which are outlined in the legislature (eg Russell, 1975). It has been suggested that rape should include unconsented sexual intercourse by a woman's husband (eg Doron, 1980; Finklehor & Yllo, 1980; Russell, 1980; Stecich, 1980; WHRC, 1980) and cases of "male or homosexual rape" (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974(a); Davis, 1970; Kaufman et al, 1980; Sagarin & MacNamara, 1973; Scacco, 1975).

The growth of emotive articles on rape together with evidence from Rape Crisis Centres and Victim Support Schemes highlight the gap between objective definitions of rape and subjective impressions of what rape is (Hooper et al, 1984; Bart & Scheppelle, 1980). It is argued that the treatment many victims receive gives the impression that it is her and not the assailant who is blamed for the offence (Holmstrom & Burgess, 1973; Landau, 1974; Weis & Borges, 1976; Weis & Weis, 1973).

Most people have no direct experience of rape and consequently have to rely on second-hand information. Studies by Barnett & Feild (1977), Feild (1978) and Williams (1979) indicate that many people have a distorted and often incorrect view of rape.
Generally the feminist stance on rape emphasises the aggressive and violent nature of the act, often at the expense of a sexual component (Reynolds, 1972). The social context of rape is considered crucial to a feminist understanding of rape (Russell, 1975) and is discussed in the following Section (1.4).

Perhaps the definition of rape which is most widely accepted by feminists is given by the London Rape Crisis Centre:

"Rape is not confined to forcible penetration of a woman's vagina by a man's penis. It is all the sexual assaults, verbal and physical, that we all suffer in our daily contact with men. These range from being 'touched-up' or 'chatted-up' to being brutally sexually assaulted with objects.... we use the word 'rape' to describe any kind of sexual assault."

Hooper et al, 1984

1.4 The Social Context of Rape

It is apparent that common perceptions on what constitutes rape are influenced not only by the acts which occur but also by prevailing cultural views on what constitutes male and female sexuality (Rohrbaugh, 1980; Zilbergeld, 1978). Underlying these theories and concepts the unresolved issue of whether sexual behaviour can be attributed to basic biological drives or culturally learned behaviour is always evident (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974; Rohrbaugh, 1980).
Anthropological studies indicate that there is a great deal of variability in "normal" sexuality and practices across societies and cultures (Findlay, 1974; Harris, 1978). In cultures where "normal" sexuality is similar to rape, men are more likely to be confused about consent. Levine (1957) suggests that there is a high incidence of rape (approximately 3½ times the proportion of USA) in the Gusii tribe of Kenya due to confusion concerning consent and the generally high level of aggression inherent between the sexes. In this tribe, normal heterosexual intercourse is an act where the man is expected to overcome the resistance of the woman and cause her pain. If the woman does not resist she is considered "loose" and the man is considered "manly" if the bride is unable to walk after her wedding night (Levine, 1957).

In a review by Reeves-Sanday (1982) of a standard anthropological sample of 95 tribes, she indicates that 17 were "rape-prone" and 45 were "rape-free". A "rape-prone" society was defined as

"... one in which the incidence of rape is high, rape is a ceremonial act, or rape is an act by which men punish or threaten women."

Reeves-Sanday, 1982

She describes a number of situations where rape frequently acts as a threat to women in tribes such as the Gusii of Kenya, the Kikuyu of East Africa, and the Mondurucu of South America. It is suggested that the similarity between "rape-prone" societies is that men and women are treated as separate social groups combined with a concept of women as property. In contrast, "rape-free" societies are
characterised by the minimisation of personal violence and women being treated with respect and regard for their importance in reproductive and productive roles (e.g. the Mbuti Pygmies in Africa). It is argued that men are not prone to rape but that where interpersonal violence is a way of life it is reflected in "normal" sexuality and subsequently the higher incidence of rape.

Claiborne (1980) suggests that within Western culture men generally find a woman who is sexually unresponsive, bored or uninterested is not erotic, whereas a rapist is "turned on" by his victim's unwillingness and fear. He describes a number of studies of incarcerated rapists and one study where sadistic rapists responded only if violence was present. However, the type of rapist which Claiborne describes is not representative of men who rape; many of them appear to be "normal" sexually (Amir, 1971; Groth, 1980). Heterosexual intercourse is generally considered to be part of "normal" behaviour and this might be a factor in the inability to detect differences between rapists and non-rapists (see Chapter 2).

It has been argued (e.g. Reeves-Sanday, 1982) that cross cultural studies indicate that there is an enormous range of possible styles of sexuality within our species and many of the attitudes and behaviour found within a society are produced by social learning.

Gagnon & Simon (1974) suggest that what is and what is not learned or acquired by an individual from a particular culture is a product of a complex interaction between society and the
individual's selective attention, perception and coding of values. They introduce the concept of "sexual scripts" and claim that these "sexual scripts" are concerned with organising internal states and outward behaviour and are cultural creations attributing sexual meanings to specific stimuli, rather than mere states of mind. Further, it is argued that the learning of internal states and the meanings attributed to many psychological states depend on the situation (eg "script") in which they are experienced (Schachter, 1964). No situation is sexual in itself; whether it becomes so depends on our interpretation of it.

Many of the acts which occur in foreplay also take place in non-sexual situations such as a gynaecological examination or mouth to mouth resuscitation. Consequently, what is considered erotic is a collection of symbolic meanings which are learned within a particular culture (Gagnon & Simon, 1974).

Gagnon & Simon (1974) acknowledge the fact that "sexual scripts" are difficult to uncover from observed behaviour and that they may not be shared by the participants. The same overt gesture may have a different meaning and play a different role in different situations.

It is suggested by Jackson (1978b) that within our society men and women learn different "sexual scripts" providing a further source of misunderstanding between the sexes. She states that:

"These same scripts which motivate 'normal' sexual behaviour also provide a potential vocabulary of motives for the rapist."

Jackson, 1978(b)
Thus these "sexual scripts" provide the rapist with legitimised motivations for his sexual exploits, turning the blame for the incident away from himself and onto his victim. Typically the victim's behaviour or her manner of dress becomes the focus for offenders' rationalisations (Levine & Koenig, 1983; Weis & Borges, 1973). It would appear from studies of incarcerated rapists (eg Gebherd et al, 1965; Groth, 1980) that many rapists claim to have genuinely "misunderstood" the sexual signals of the situation, whilst others choose to ignore certain aspects to their favour.

It is regarded by some (eg Brownmiller, 1975; Curtis, 1975; Lawrence, 1978) that our society tolerates interpersonal violence and hence rape. Burt (1980) suggests that the prevailing attitudes toward women, violence and rape indicate that the cultural climate supports the rapist and leads to hostility for the rape victim. Toner (1977) argues that within our culture the level of violence and "sexual apartheid" makes it quite similar to that of the Gusii tribe. Hence she reasons that the high incidence of rape is culturally determined and cites Amir's (1971) data as evidence for her position. Her view is endorsed by Boulding (1978) and Feshbach & Malamuth (1978). A study by Malamuth et al (1980) suggests that over half of their male subjects who took part in an experiment involving the reading of either sadomasochistic or non-violent sexual passages indicated that they might rape if they were assured that they would not be punished.

The central moral and legal factor in rape concerns the issue of
mens rea. It is necessary not only to demonstrate that the act has occurred but also to demonstrate the assailant's intent to commit that act. The question of intent is extremely complex and requires an understanding of social, cultural and psychological factors.

Ironically, it could be argued that the feminist emphasis on a "rape-culture" diminishes assailants' responsibility.
2. IDIOGRAPHIC FEATURES AND CAUSAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RAPE SUSPECTS AND VICTIMS

A current major goal of criminology and its burgeoning offspring victimology is the development of a valid classification system for linking crimes, offenders and victims of crime. Some researchers (eg Hood & Sparks, 1970) view the development of this typological approach as a cornerstone in raising the methodological status and predictive power of criminological research.

The purpose of this chapter is to review the relevant literature concerning the characteristics of offenders and the characteristics of victims of rape. A potentially useful approach is to examine the inter-relationship of victim and offender although this research is still in its infancy (see Section 2.1).

The first Section (2.1) discusses a number of offender typologies which have been proposed and highlights a central problem in this area. This problem concerns the lack of generalisability of any current typology to contexts other than those in which it was developed.

The second Section (2.2) examines the literature relating to victim typologies. As with offender typologies the problem of the general utility of any of the approaches is evident but is coupled with an added complication. This complication arises from attempts to determine the victim's degree of "guilty contribution" to the crime (eg Mendelson, 1963). Victims "guilty contribution" is stressed
by some research and the notion of "victim precipitation"; and "victim responsibility" is reviewed in this Section.

The final Section (2.3) integrates some of the typological concepts examined in the first two sections and evaluates the typological relationships between offenders and victims of rape. Since the offender and victim of rape cannot exist independently it is a small step to suggest that the relationship between the two is mutually dependent. Whether there is any justification in the view that rape victims' behaviour creates the situation of her own victimisation is discussed.

2.1 Characteristics of Rape Suspects

Traditionally, when a crime is committed the general approach of the police is to attempt to identify the offenders' motives. In identifying this motive psychological factors are often involved. Through an examination and understanding of why some men rape, some evidence might be forthcoming which could furnish a rational programme for preventing and treating rapists (eg Levine & Koenig, 1983; West et al, 1978). So far this expectation has not been realised.

Perhaps one of the major stumbling blocks in this typological approach has been the failure to fully realise that rape offences cover a very wide range of incidents with a participant cast of very different individuals driven by different needs, motives and expectations (eg
Katz & Mazur, 1979). The linguistic convenience of the word rape is not matched by a convenient set of events in the real world.

Bearing this in mind, it is not surprising that the problem of determining a typology of offenders or their motives is intimately related to sampling. Specifically, incarcerated offenders may well be different from rape suspects who may well be different from offenders deemed as insane.

One recurring problem is that the readiness of victims to report rapes is itself influenced by the *modus operandi* of the offenders (eg Amir, 1971; Russell, 1976). For example rapes are less likely to be reported if the assailant is not perceived to have used a great deal of force, if the victim knows the assailant or if the assailant is middle class (Clark & Lewis, 1977; Kanin, 1957; Kanin & Kirkpatrick, 1953; Katz & Mazur, 1979; Medea & Thompson, 1974). Since it is clear that many rapes are not reported (Hooper et al, 1984; Sparks et al, 1977; Hough & Mayhew, 1983) any sample of offenders is biased. This bias is compounded as the suspects progress through the legal system. Selecting samples of suspects at various stages in the legal process would tend to give different samples since not all suspects are convicted of rape, not all convicted rapists are committed to prison and not all incarcerated rapists are classified as dangerous sexual offenders.

Notwithstanding the sampling problem there have been numerous attempts to devise typologies of rape offenders. These typologies are briefly
examined in three sections. Section 2.1.1 deals with the group rape vs. individual offender approach to the problem. The second Section (2.1.2) discusses the modus operandi approach to typologies, and the third Section (2.1.3) reviews the motives of rapists as the basis for erecting typologies.

2.1.1 Group vs. individual rape approach

Evidence suggests that rape offences differ intrinsically dependent to some extent on the number of offenders involved. Katz & Mazur (1979) demonstrated from a number of surveys that the relative proportion of group rapes differed greatly between different countries. It is unclear why this should be the case but the UK appears to have one of the lowest relative proportion of group rapes (Radzinowicz, 1957; Wright, 1980). Studies by Amir (1971), Chappell et al (1976), Geis (1976) and Katz & Mazur (1979) indicate that the offender style and the dynamics of the rape event differ more between than within the categories of one-offender rapes, pair rapes and group rapes. However, structural differences in any individual rape event make this suggestion at best only tentative.

Generally, individuals involved in group rape are more likely to be younger and single compared to lone rapists. Amir (1971) suggests that group rapists are more likely to be part of the general ".... delinquent subculture". Lucas (1969) emphasises the importance of group dynamics in group rapes and goes as far as to make the overstatement that it is ".... the group that rapes". Lucas (1969) suggests that group rapists are more "normal" than lone rapists.
Similarly, other researchers (Amir, 1971; Geis & Chappell, 1971; Wright, 1980) suggest that the group rapist is more like other violent criminals than the lone rapist. Whether this consists "normality" as Lucas (1969) states is open to debate.

2.1.2 Modus operandi approach

The point in the judicial process when rapists are sampled effects the approach adopted by researchers concerned with modus operandi of offenders. Studies examining offenders early in the judicial process (e.g. Amir, 1971; Curtis, 1974; Wright, 1980) indicate two types of rapist. The first type who comprise a small proportion of the total have been called mentally disordered "sex perverts". The second much larger group comprises males who exploit females and "seek transitory sex to establish peer group status" (Amir, 1971).

Gibbens, Way & Soothill (1977) using a sample of 266 men charged with rape in 1961 (of whom 207 were found guilty) suggest a three category typology. Basically this comprised paedophiles (20%), aggressive rapists (20%) and others (60%). This typology was modified by Hall-Williams (1977) following his survey of 78 cases of rape or serious heterosexual attack. In this approach, the earlier aggressive category was subdivided into an extremely aggressive category (i.e. displaying a deep-seated pathology) and a mildly aggressive category (i.e. an opportunist crime by younger men). This latter group comprised almost 50% of the Hall-Williams sample.

It must be remembered that the validity of any typology which includes
the "aggressive-type" category of rapist is questionable since prison
governers are often quoted as saying that rapists form the most
"normal" section of the prison community. As Gilley (1974) points
out, many rapists have normal scores on tests for aggression and
attitudes toward women. However, what constitutes "normal" attitudes
and behaviour is a complex and unresolved issue.

2.1.3 Rape-motive approach

There are a number of typologies based on the motivations of the
rapist rather than the modus operandi of the attack. These studies
have typically used incarcerated rapists as subjects and consequently
they probably represent an unusual sample. Incarcerated rapists have
generally been involved in more violent sexual offences (Levine &

The first category, the rape-aggressive aim, suggests that for these
offenders sexual behaviour operates in the service of aggression. In
the second category, the rape-sexual aim, it is suggested that offenders
are primarily motivated by sexual wishes, and aggression is used in
service of this sexual aim. In the third category, the rape-sex-
agression confusion category, it is suggested that for these offenders
there is a strong sadistic component and violence is used to sexually
excite the offender.

Research by West et al (1978) and Gebhard et al (1965) tends to
support the Cohen et al (1971) typology. Groth et al (1977) and
Groth & Birnbaum (1980) suggest that all rapes involve three components, namely, power, anger and sexuality. In their view the relative preponderance of the three components vary in different rape acts. Like Cohen et al (1971) they argue that rape is a "pseudo-sexual act"; in other words it is a pattern of behaviour in the service of primarily non-sexual needs. Groth et al (1977) subdivide rape into power rapes and anger rapes. The power rapes have the common aim of overpowering and subduing the victim as a conquest, and there are two subtypes. In the first subtype, the power-assertive rapist regards rapes as an expression of his virility, mastery and dominance. In the second subtype, the power-reassurance rapist commits the offence to resolve his doubts about his sexual adequacy. In the second main category, the anger rapes, offenders are seen to have the common aim of punishing and hurting the victim and their aggression is eroticised. Again there are two subtypes. The first subtype, the anger-retaliation rapist, commits rape as an expression of his hostility and rage toward women. The second subtype, the anger-excitation rapist finds pleasure and excitement in the suffering of his victim. Later, Groth & Birnbaum (1980) added a third category which they call sadistic rapes. Here, sexuality and aggression becomes fused into a single psychological experience and this leads in extreme cases to sex murder or sex mutilation.

Levine & Koenig (1983) suggest that the key ingredient in rapists' motives is their extremely flimsy barrier between fantasy and reality, coupled with the fact that the men in their sample had little understanding of their own or women's sexuality. A diverse and
sometimes contradictory set of motives is discussed by these authors.
but it is difficult to evaluate the validity of interview data.

Constructs like power, anger and aggression have often been used as
a basis for typologies or rapists motivations (see Taylor, 1972).
No consistent pattern has yet emerged, but the promise of the
approach would appear to be that greater understanding, prediction
and social control of rape could be achieved.

A number of the offender typologies have been useful descriptive
deVICES but their ultimate value will depend on more research being
undertaken to determine not only their validity but their reliability
across contexts wider than the samples from which they have been
derived.

2.2 Characteristics of Rape Victims
Schafer (1968) has pointed out that victim typologies attempt to
classify the characteristics of victims but actually often typify
social and psychological situations rather than the constant patterns
of the personal make-up of individuals. Typically victim typologies
involve two qualitatively different styles of factors; namely
demographic features and socio-psychological factors. Mendelson
(1963) has stressed the need to systematically focus upon vulnerabil-
ity factors in the emerging science of victimology. In identifying
general victim typologies numerous "vulnerability" factors which may
predispose the individual to become a victim have been suggested. Unfortunately, much of the work within the victimology genre has proved problematic when directed at an attempt to understand rape. This has occurred because of the emphasis on victim precipitation (Amir, 1971) which effectively shifts the blame for rape from the offender to the victim. Research (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974; Hooper et al, 1984; Russell, 1975) demonstrates that any female can get raped. This is not to deny that there are patterns of rape, and while no woman is immune from rape, some are more likely than others to get raped.

Amir (1971) and Wright (1980) amongst others point out that victims of rape are similar to victims of other violent crimes in general but they are women (due obviously to the legal definition). Victims are similar to offenders in terms of age and socio-economic status. Young, working class women are more likely to get raped (Amir, 1971; Clark & Lewis, 1977; Medea & Thompson, 1974; Mohr, 1965). McIntyre, Mynt & Curtis (1979) report that young college-educated women are more likely to attempt to resist rape. In fact there are a huge range of demographic features (eg Amir, 1971) which have been linked to rape victims (see Chapter 3). Despite the enormity of the exercise, the findings do not lead to a consistent picture of the rape victim. The issue of victim precipitation is still contentious and is as much a philosophical as a psychological or legal matter. Victim precipitation is discussed in Section 2.3.

2.2.1 Psychological typologies

Von Hentig (1940, 1948) and Mendelson (1963, 1976) have attempted to utilise psychological as well as social/demographic factors in their typologies of victims and these are discussed in some detail.
Mendelson (1963) attempted to distinguish between the guilt of the criminal and the guilt of the victim and their degree of guilty contribution to the crime and proposed a category system that has practical value but little psychological merit. Von Hentig's typology (1948) is more elaborate than Mendelson's and draws on psychological, social and biological factors in search for categories and attempted to distinguish "born victims" from "society-made victims". The Von Hentig schema is reproduced below. Like Mendelson before him the category system of Von Hentig is nominal but it does have the merit of enumerating a variety of commonly-conceived victim types.

1. The young – they are weak and inexperienced (often latest victims of kidnapping or sexual crimes)

2. The female – another form of weakness, sometimes victims are murdered after a sexual assault. If most criminals are men then they have an advantage over females.

3. The old – it is in the combination of wealth and weakness that the danger lies.

4. The mentally defective and other mentally deranged – are also handicapped in any struggle against crime. Crimes against persons in an intoxicated state are greater than might be expected.

5. Immigrants – are not simply a change to a new country but "it is a temporary reduction to an extreme degree of helplessness in vital human relations".

6. Minorities – similar to immigrants and racial prejudice may increase their difficulties.

7. The dull normals – born victims

8. The depressed – as opposed to sociological factors psychological victim types – feelings of inadequacy accompanied by a general lowering of physical and mental activity (weakened).

9. The acquisitive – exploit victim's greed for gain.
10. The wanton - "obscured and dimmed by the rough generalisation" of laws and social convention.

11. The lonesome and the heartbroken - desire for companionship and happiness is exploited.

12. The tormentor - strains a situation to such an extent that he becomes a victim of the tense atmosphere he himself creates.

13. The blocked, exempted and fighting - an individual who has so enmeshed in a losing situation that defensive moves have become impossible or more injurious than the injury at criminal hands.

(Von Hentig, 1940)

Relevant victim typologies per se are not well represented in the literature. Rather the typologies proposed tend to be either victim precipitation typologies or patterns of victim reactions. The former are discussed in Section 2.2.1 and Chapter 3 and the latter are examined in Chapter 3.

The question of what could constitute an adequate rape victim typology cannot be resolved until the issues of victim-precipitation and intent are resolved. If this is ever to be adequately accomplished consideration of unconscious as well as conscious factors will have to be systematically undertaken. The question of how the conscious and the subconscious might guide or direct victims' behaviour in avoiding, approaching or even engineering a rape scenario is clearly speculative. Even if this process of direction was well understood the question of intent and blame would still be contentious.
2.3 **Transactions in triggering the offence**

It has been repeatedly demonstrated that there are clear demographic relationships between the offenders and victims of rape (see Chapter 3). However, these relationships may not be merely demographic but may reflect conscious or unconscious psychological factors which link offenders and victims in a kind of tragic play. This notion of a mutual psychological destiny has been grist to the playwrights' mill for centuries and in 1940 Von Hertig applied the idea to criminology.

"If there are criminals, it is evident that there are born victims, self-harming and self-destroying through the medium of a pliable outsider ....... Already in the law the step from an accomplice to a victim is rather short in some sex crimes."

(Von Hertig, 1940)

The contention that the victims of crime may have engaged in overt or covert behaviour that intentionally or unintentionally triggered their own victimisation has found numerous advocates (Amir, 1971; Schultz, 1968; Wolfgang, 1957).

Although the primary focus for the examination of the supposed symbolic relationship between offender and victims has been
murder, psychological mutuality has also been considered in connection with rape. Ellenberger (1955) investigated a range of offences (including sexual offences and rape) and inferred a complex psychological interplay between offender and victim. The question of who is the aggressor and who is the victim is not always as self-evident as it might at first appear. In this view the implication is that the aggressor is not always guilty and the victim is not always innocent. In other words the victim may shape the offender's behaviour and vice versa.

Schultz (1968) has suggested that the personality of a victim is sometimes more significant than the personality of an offender in causing violent crimes. Although the rationale behind this approach assumed that to understand an offender we must also understand the victim, there is a problem in discussing rape as if it were any other violent crime. Whereas in murder, it seems plausible to suggest a psychological climate in which the roles of aggressor and victim can be interchangeable the same is not true of rape. This is not to deny the possible psychological interlocking of offender and victim in rape, merely to suggest that a "psychological rape climate" can only find criminal expression in a man
raping a woman (and not the other way round).

To what extent then, is it valid to consider the psychological mutuality of the offender and victim in rape? To attempt to answer this question, research relating to victims attitudes in sexual offences is briefly considered.

Gagnon (1963) described the victims in 330 sex offences and labelled 8% of them as "collaborative". Radzinowicz (1957) labelled 40% of female child victims of sex offences as "non-objecting". Weiss et al (1965) labelled the victims in 60% of sex offences as "participatory". Glueck (1956) in a study of girl sex victims labelled 21% as "seductive". Schiff (1973) speculated that there was "contributory negligence" on the part of the victim in at least 21% of rape cases and Peters (1973) suggested that 10% of adults and 40% of adolescents "lacked discretion" or "had some complicity". The implication of these studies is that victims may often trigger the offence by being unnecessarily cooperative, or even collaborative. Bender & Blau (1937) have suggested that child victims of sexual offences precipitate criminal acts because they behave in an appealing, submissive and seductive manner. Subsequent empirical studies provide support for the concept of victim precipitation and reject the concept of childhood innocence by arguing that some children even provoke the sexual offence (Burton, 1968; Landis, 1956; Massey et al, 1971). Similarly, in this view, adult victims are seen to precipitate sexual attack because of their unconscious
desire for aggressive sexual treatment, the offender's coercion conveniently serving to diminish guilt feelings which may act against willing participation.

The concept of victim precipitation was first coined in criminology by Wolfgang (1957), who studied murder victims and suggested that 26% "precipitated" their own murder by either being the first person to display aggressive behaviour or produce a weapon. Amir (1970, 1971) widened the term so that it referred to any behaviour by the victim which the offender could interpret as "sexual availability". By this definition normal socialising might be interpreted as precipitation (MacDonald, 1971).

Many researchers (eg Peters et al, 1976; Weis & Borges, 1973 and 1976; Weis & Weis, 1973) argue that this approach can be problematic especially when transferred to rape. It has been suggested (Fattah, 1976, Ryan, 1971) that victimology in effect shifts the blame from the offender to the victim. Pressure groups such as the Rape Crisis Centres and Women Against Rape Groups have attempted to redress the balance by stressing the fact that any woman is a potential rape victim. Further, it has been pointed out that although an attractive child who is emotionally deprived might be seeking love and affection, it is the offender who redefines the situation in a sexual way (Peters et al, 1976). The allocation of blame is difficult since in some rapes the assailant and victim are psychologically involved with one another whereas in other rapes the suggestion of mutuality or even victim-precipitation is
obviously inappropriate. Premature overgeneralisations from limited samples within narrow theoretical frameworks do not resolve the underlying practical and philosophical problems of intent and blame.

Silverman (1973) highlighted both the reliability and validity of any operational definition of victim precipitation. He suggests that far too much is left to the imagination of investigators. With low reliability and validity of operational definition it is all too easy to impose research bias into the data.

Wright (1980) prefers to use the term "victim vulnerability" rather than "victim precipitation". His rationale is that operational definitions of "victim precipitation" (eg Amir, 1971) encompass too broad a spread of precipitatory behaviours. Wright's use of "victim vulnerability" applies only to cases in which "the victim agreed to sexual relations but retracted before the actual act or .... clearly invited sexual relations through language, gestures, etc." (US National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, 1969). Use of the term victim vulnerability rather than the term victim precipitation probably represents a mere cosmetic improvement since victim contributory behaviour is still emphasised.

The implicit victim blaming in the concept of "victim precipitation" has intensely annoyed feminist groups and researchers (B.W.H.B.C., 1971; Greer, 1975; Griffin, 1971; Connell & Wilson, 1974) who suggested that the crux of the rape issue should focus on consent
rather than attempting to shift the blame to the victim. Medea & Thompson (1974) voiced the prevalent feminist idea that men are inappropriately excused by society for losing control and women are blamed whatever their behaviour. In a similar vein, Weis & Borges (1973) contend that the American male-dominated sexist society is the cultural culprit for rape.

Empirical studies of rape have generally provided little support for the concept of victim precipitation in rape. Hayman et al (1968) suggest 1% of victims provoke rape and Burgess & Holmstrom (1974 a) report no cases of victim precipitation. Eisenhower (1969) reported victim precipitation rates across a range of personal crimes and found that the rate of 4.4% for rape was much lower than the rates for assault (14.4%) and homicide (22.0%).

McCauldron (1967) studied convicted rapists serving prison sentences and felt that victim "seductiveness" was more in the eye of the offender than in reality. However, this does little to clarify the issue. Other attempts (eg Katz & Mazur, 1979) to interpret victim precipitation in terms of the planning of the crime are also problematic.

In one sense, a clear-cut resolution of the victim precipitation issue is impossible. This is because in the real world few events are independent. It seems unreasonable to blame a victim merely for being at a particular place at a particular time. Conversely, it is also true that if she was not present then she could not be raped.
Victim precipitation is a value-laden term and to debate the complexities of any rape using the term in a simplistic black or white fashion often leads to confusion.

There are cases where victims have behaved in a manner to provoke rape but these appear to be few in number. Even within this small sample a criminal offence has still occurred and it is not justifiable to use any behaviour of the victim as a justification for the offenders behaviour. In the words of the old adage, "two wrongs do not make a right".
3. EVIDENCE RELATING TO ATTITUDES, ATtribution AND ADMINISTRATION OF RAPE CASES

This chapter selectively reviews pertinent literature relating to rape, attitudes toward rape, and the legal and personal aftermath of rape.

In the first section (Section 3.1) some empirical studies are examined with a view to highlighting patterns that have been consistently identified by a number of researchers. These findings are discussed in terms of common conceptions and misconceptions of rape and prevalent feminist views on the supposed "rape culture" are evaluated.

In the second section (Section 3.2) social-psychological evidence concerning attitudes toward rape and rape victims is examined. A great deal of this research has been formulated within the framework of attribution theory, with particular emphasis on defensive attribution and the "just world" hypothesis.

In the third and last section (Section 3.3) the intrinsic and extrinsic consequences of rape are discussed. Evidence concerning the status of "rape trauma syndrome" as a specific reaction to rape is examined together with current approaches to help the victim cope with her physical and emotional reactions to the crime. The extrinsic consequences are presented with reference to the routine management of cases by the police and the judiciary. Differential management
of cases occurs as a function of victim characteristics and the consistent patterns relating to this issue are sought in the current literature.

3.1 Empirical Studies of Rape Offences

Katz & Mazur (1979) in their extensive survey of a large range of empirical studies on rape observe that despite the wealth of published material there are few systematic studies of merit. They classify only sixteen empirical studies as worthy of the label of systematic (Amir, 1971; Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974(a); Chappell et al, 1971; De Francis, 1969; Goldberg & Goldberg, 1940; Hayman et al, 1968, 1972; Hursch & Selkin, 1972; MacDonald, 1971; Massey et al, 1971, Medea & Thompson, 1974; Peters, 1973, 1975; Schiff, 1969, 1973; Svalastoga, 1962). Katz & Mazur (1979) highlight a number of methodological and conceptual issues which consistently appear in the rape literature and problems include the distortion of data due to over-inclusivity of types of sexual assault, inconsistencies in definitions and criteria of rape, representativeness of data as a consequence of using only reported offences and difficulties in obtaining representative samples. Sampling is particularly crucial and they suggest that some of the apparent differences between studies can be traced to the different age ranges included in the various studies (eg some researchers studied child rape, some studied adult rape victims and some included all ages in their studies). This slack operational use of rape across different
categories can and does lead to confusion.

The current discussion is organised with respect to research patterns relating to the offence, the assailants and the victims. Previously, a number of studies (eg Amir, 1971; Wright, 1980) have indicated that there is some degree of consistency in these patterns of results but they are not always in accord with "lay" ideas (Hooper et al, 1984; Menninger, 1975). One objective of the feminist literature is the examination of the common conceptions and misconceptions of rape. Rapes are often presented in the media as occurring outdoors, late at night, and with a stranger as the assailant (Hay et al, 1980; Walby et al, 1980). It has been frequently pointed out that not all rapes follow this pattern and one thrust of the feminist argument is that misconceptions or myths which surround rape negatively influence the ways in which rape and rape victims are perceived. This negative influence operates in two ways.

Firstly, some apparently "simple" demographic features of the crime are not as "value free" as they might first appear. For example, if a person were to believe that "rapes occur outdoors at night", then it has been suggested (Medea & Thompson, 1974; Russell, 1975) that this belief may be associated with the attitude that "good girls are not out alone at night." Consequently if this person is, or becomes a victim, it is probable that they perceive rape victims as "bad" people.
Secondly, misconceptions of rape have been suggested to lead to victims not labelling some sexual attacks as rapes (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974a; Russell, 1975). For example, if a victim believes that rapes are perpetrated only by strangers then she may be less likely to label a sexual attack by a friend or an acquaintance as rape.

The ramifications of these processes of distortion can be detected in the manner in which rape victims are treated by society and the legal system.

3.1.1 Temporal features of rape

Numerous studies (eg Amir, 1971; Wright, 1980) indicate that females are slightly more likely to get raped in the summer months, whereas other studies (eg Chappell et al, 1971) report no seasonal variability. Since season variability and climate differ from country to country, cross-cultural generalisations are difficult. Essentially, it may be concluded that sexual variability in the rates of rape tends to mirror the pattern for other personal violent crimes (Amir, 1971; Wolfgang, 1958).

Rape tends to occur more frequently at the weekend and estimates have varied from 43% (Schiff, 1973), 48% (Peters et al, 1976), to 54% (Amir, 1971). Lower rates of rape occur on Mondays to Thursdays inclusive. Again, weekly variability in the rates of rape mirror the pattern found for other personal violent crimes (Amir, 1971; Wolfgang, 1958).
On any day of the week the rate of rape is higher at night than during the day (Amir, 1971; Hayman et al., 1972; Peters, 1975; Schiff, 1973). These studies agree that most rapes occur between 8.00 pm and 4.00 am. Between these times rape rates have been estimated at 49% (Amir, 1971), 68% (Peters, 1975), 74% (Schiff, 1973).

Peters (1975) points out that the peak times for rape vary for different ages of the victims. He found that children were most vulnerable between 4.00 pm and midnight; adolescents were most vulnerable between 8.00 pm and midnight, and adults were most vulnerable between 8.00 pm and 4.00 am. As before these temporal patterns are similar to those for other personal violent crimes.

There are consistent temporal patterns in rape offences and these appear to be essentially similar to the temporal patterns for other personal violent crimes.

3.1.2 Spatial features of rape

The location of rapes includes information relating to the initial meeting of the assailant and victim prior to the offence, and information relating to where the offence took place.

For approximately one half of rapes, the assailants and victims initially met in the street prior to the offence (Amir, 1971; MacDonald, 1971). Svalastoga (1962) reports a figure of 72% for these initial street meetings. Included in these initial street
meetings were victims who were forcibly abducted or hitchhiking (Schiff, 1973; Nelson & Amir, 1977). Geller (1977) reported a ninefold increase in the number of sexual offences against hitchhiking females during the Toronto road and rail strike, although the total number of rapes in that period remained unchanged. Geller suggests an opportunistic use of the strike by rapists. Storaska (1975) contends that the social climate is such that some men perceive hitchhiking women as "available for sex".

Other typical locations for the first meetings of assailants and victims are the assailants' own home (Amir, 1971 reports 26% and MacDonald, 1971 reports 32%). In these cases, the assailant had either broken in, had fraudulently gained entrance, or had been admitted as a friend or acquaintance.

A number of victims initially met their assailant in a pub or nightclub (Schiff, 1969 - 16%; Amir, 1971 - 8%; MacDonald, 1971 - 9%).

Other less common initial meeting places include parks, the offenders home, vehicles or public buildings (Amir, 1971).

It seems then, that about half of the victim and assailant initial meetings take place in the context of socialisation. This socialisation is generally related to the prior interpersonal relationship of the individuals concerned. Amir (1971) suggests that 67% of stranger rapes follow initial street meetings although Hursch & Selkin
(1974) report that the chances of escape from an outdoor rape are greater (81%) than from an indoor rape (65%).

3.1.3 Place of offence

Whereas most rape offences follow an initial outdoor meeting, the offence itself generally takes place indoors. Estimates of indoor rape range from 54% (Medea & Thompson, 1974) to 79% (Peters et al, 1976). Specifically, over a half occur in either the victim's or offender's home (Amir, 1971; MacDonald, 1971; Medea & Thompson, 1974; Peters et al, 1976). About a quarter of rapes happened in, or near, a car (MacDonald, 1971 - 26%; Medea & Thompson, 1974 - 18%; Schiff, 1973 - 27%). However, for child rape only 2% or 3% occurred in cars (De Francis, 1965; Peters et al, 1976).

Clearly rape can occur almost anywhere and other typical venues include public buildings, abandoned houses, hallways of flats, toilets, offices etc.

Katzenbach (1967) summarising across personal crimes suggests that men are more likely to become street victims whereas women are more likely to become victims in someone's home. Further, Katzenbach found that rapes occur more frequently in urban rather than rural or suburban areas. Studies in the USA indicate a higher frequency of rapes in western states compared with southern states or north central states (eg Ennis, 1967).

Cross-cultural comparisons of rape rates are problematic since
apparent differences may merely reflect different police practices. However, it is generally agreed that the USA has the highest rate of rape with three times more than Canada and twelve times more than England and Wales.

3.1.4 **General styles of rape**

Often rapists perpetrate multiple offences on their victims (Amir, 1971; Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974a; MacDonald, 1971; Peters, 1975). Many rape victims have been subjected to oral and anal sexual practices (Amir, 1971; Wright, 1980) or were robbed or beaten up (Amir, 1971; Schiff, 1969).

Three distinct "styles" of rape have been identified by researchers (eg Amir, 1971; Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974a; Groth et al, 1978). These are:

1. **Blitz rapes**

A surprise attack involving one or more assailant (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974a; MacDonald, 1971; Selkin, 1975). Schiff (1973) estimated that 35% of rapes could be classified in this way.

2. **Confidence rapes**

These rapes are more subtle and generally involve prior social interaction between the assailant and his victim. Typical confidence rapes might involve assailant's impersonating officials in order to gain the trust of the victim or assailant using female "decoys" to lure the victim (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974a; Greer, 1975; MacDonald, 1971; Medea & Thompson, 1974; Russell, 1975). However, the
proportion of confidence rapes has not been reported.

3. Felony rapes

These are rapes which occurred while the offender was engaged in another felony, such as a robbery or burglary. Estimates of felony rape are as follows: Amir, 1971 - 4%; Schiff, 1969 - 7%; Schiff, 1973 - 19%; MacDonald, 1971 - 16%. When the reported proportions for felony rape is high it probably implies that the offenders' motive was primarily rape rather than robbery or burglary.

Other factors have often been examined and these include the use of weapons (estimated between 21% to 39% of cases - Amir, 1971; Hursch & Selkin, 1974), proportion of group rapes (estimates from Amir, 1971 - 19% to MacDonald, 1971 - 79%), victim resistance (estimates from Amir, 1971 - 45% to Medea & Thompson, 1974 - 82%), and victim injury (estimates from Schiff, 1973 - 38% to Brodyaga et al, 1975 - 63%).

The previous research patterns are examined in detail in conjunction with the findings of the present study (see Part III). Further empirical studies relating to demographic details about the offenders and victims are selectively reviewed in Part III of the thesis.

3.2 Attitudes and Attribution Within Rape

Researchers have explored the relationships between the attitudes
toward rape or rape victims and a wide variety of other constructs. Many feminist researchers have maintained that negative attitudes and beliefs about rape are part of a wider cultural system that provides tacit support for the assailant and operates in a manner that condones sexual assaults (e.g., Burt, 1980; Clark & Lewis, 1977; Weis & Borges, 1973). The heuristic framework of attribution theory is a key attempt to understand the processes involved in the perception of the rape victim.

3.2.1 Attitudinal approaches

Studies have indicated that male students have a different perception of rape and rape victims than do female students. Male students are more concerned about the possibility of false accusations of rape and some even believed that rape would "do some women good" (Barnett & Feild, 1977). Further, Calhoun et al. (1976) found that male students, compared with female students, regarded victim precipitation as more contributory to the crime. Schultz & De Savage (1975) suggest that men and women define victim precipitation differently with the female students in their sample believing certain behaviours more provoking of rape. The authors suggest that this occurred because women are taught to assume responsibility for stopping sexual foreplay at the "danger point".

Some husbands and boyfriends react negatively toward their partners if they have been raped. Apparently they see rape as synonymous to marital infidelity and consequently rape occasionally leads to separation (Weis & Borges, 1973; Brodyaga et al., 1975; Willis, 1975; Brownmiller, 1975; Hicks, 1975).
Parents of raped children typically tend to provide more support to victims than husbands or boyfriends provide for their raped partners (Peters, 1975, 1976). Peters suggests that when the assailant was a stranger the family appeared more willing to provide support for the child than when the assailant was a family member or a friend. Further, some researchers (e.g., Peters, 1973; Russell, 1975) observe that child rape victims are sometimes ostracised. This occurs because the child victim is sometimes thought to be a liar, particularly if she accuses a family member and in addition other mothers sometimes stop their children playing with the child victim.

3.2.2 Attitudes of members of the medical and legal profession

In addition to family and friends the rape victim generally comes into contact with members of the medical and legal professions. King et al. (1978) found that male physicians were more inclined to believe in victim precipitation than female rape counsellors. The counsellors, compared with the physicians, felt that the rape experience would be more psychologically damaging. The authors attempt to argue that these differences are not primarily due to the sexual composition of the two groups. Burgess & Holmstrom (1975) report that victims often complain about what they perceived as "moralistic and judgemental" attitudes which some medical staff display toward them. In fact, several medical journals and textbooks warn doctors to be wary of the possibility of "false" reports of rape. For example, Barnes (1967) states, "it is easy for a woman to allege that she has been raped, and frequently the story of the circumstances is fabricated by a
'victim' in order to account for facts which would otherwise be awkward to explain.

Reported attitudes to jurors also appear to be essentially negative toward the rape victim. Kalven & Zeisel (1966) report that juries are often male-dominated and are "notorious" for assessing rapes as victim precipitated. The authors suggest that unfortunately the guilt of the defendant is sometimes assessed as a result of the behaviour of the victim. Bohmer (1974) postulates that jurors attempt to evaluate the credibility of allegations by allocating victims into one of three categories - the genuine victim, the consensual victim, or the vindictive female. This juror strategy is hypothesised to be the primary source of jury bias.

The rape literature contains much anecdotal evidence about negative and insensitive attitudes to rape victims. In the hands of the police and in court it seems that the victim must be prepared to face accusations of deception and accusations of consent coupled with embarrassing sexual overtones, scorn and sceptism (eg Russell, 1975; Weis & Borges, 1973). Feild (1978) suggests that the police are not as sensitive to rape victims as they could be.

Burt (1980) in a methodologically sound study, argues that the acceptance of rape myths can be predicted from attitudes such as sex-role stereotyping, adverserial sexual beliefs, sexual conservation, and acceptance of interpersonal violence.
It is now well documented that rape victims may encounter at best negative attitudes and at worst extremely hostile attitudes from a variety of sources.

3.2.3 Attributional approaches

Heider (1958), one of the original proponents of attribution theory, suggested that people need to organise their world so that it is stable, predictable and controllable. Since the early 1960’s, work on attribution theory has been actively pursued and has become an extremely prolific area of investigation within social psychology. Attribution theory focuses on the "lay conceptions of personality" held by the perceiver and is a means of understanding the processes by which people come to label one another.

The major contribution of attribution theory has been the provision of a flexible heuristic framework for examining those cognitive processes involved in interpersonal perception.

This section selectively reviews research pertinent to the attribution of responsibility to rape victims. Within the context of rape research a number of attributional approaches have been adopted. One approach, "the just world" hypothesis was formulated by Lerner (1965, 1970, 1977 and Lerner et al, 1976) and contends that people, "have a need to believe that their environment is a just and orderly place where people usually get what they deserve". The hypothesis can be seen as a version of equity theory and it takes a broad band view of attribution.
Numerous psychological experiments have attempted to disentangle the conceptual implications of a range of specific approaches within the attributional framework. As yet these theoretical attempts are not tightly organised and much greater precision in definition and criticality in experimentation needs to be pursued.

Jones & Aronson (1973) studied the degree of social respectability of victims and the attributed responsibility of the victimisation. Pretesting established that a virgin was considered more "respectable" than a married woman and a divorcée less "respectable" than either of the other two. Subjects recommended greater punishment for the defendant whilst at the same time attributing more fault to the victim in those cases where she was considered to be more respectable. One interesting aspect of this study is that more fault was attributed to "respectable" victims. The authors explain this in terms of the just world hypothesis. Subjects are assumed to find fault with the behaviour of "respectable" victims since fault cannot be found with their character.

Smith et al (1976) extended the Jones & Aronson study to include levels of victim acquaintance with the assailant and varying degrees of victim respectability. Surprisingly, subjects attributed greater responsibility to all victims when they were unacquainted with the assailant. However, no relationship was found between fault attributions and suggested punishments for assailants. The authors hypothesise that subjects have a greater need to make sense of the event if the assault is perceived to be due to chance factors.
Subsequent studies have also failed to replicate the Jones & Aronson study (1973). In one attempt at replication Kahn et al. (1977) included a fourth victim, a second assailant, two additional scales to measure attributed fault, and in addition included measures of subject identification with both the assailant and victim. No empirical support for the just world hypothesis was forthcoming and the authors consider that the attribution of fault to a rape victim appears to be a more complex phenomena than that implied by Jones & Aronson (1973).

Similarly Fulero & DeLara (1976) suggest that other factors are involved with the Jones & Aronson paradigm. Subjects may not just be reacting to the respectability of the victim but also to their degree of identification with the victim. In this study men had a tendency to blame rape victims themselves, whilst women blamed the victim's dress or behaviour (attributing blame particularly to older "respectable" victim).

Paulsen (1979) also failed to replicate Jones & Aronson's findings but found a significant effect with high versus low scoring subjects on the locus of control measure (Rotter, 1954). "Internals" attributed greater fault to victims regardless of their respectability.

In the attempt to understand the attribution of responsibility to the rape victim, a number of studies have employed the notion of defensive attribution. Unfortunately, like the just world hypothesis, this approach has not been without its difficulties.
Calhoun et al. (1976) systematically varied a number of factors relating to descriptions of rape victims and asked subjects to rate the degree of victim contribution to the rape. Compared with women, men thought that the victim's behaviour was more contributory to the offence. Both men and women strongly blamed the victim if she had been raped before. However, if the offence occurred in an area where no other rapes had taken place men attributed more blame to the victim than did women. Conversely, women attributed more blame to the victim if the offence occurred in an area where other rapes had taken place. The authors interpreted their results with respect to defensive attribution. Perhaps women identified with victims to a greater extent than men (Jones & Nisbett, 1971) and felt that women should have known better.

A further study by Calhoun et al. (1978) investigated the physical attractiveness of the victim and found that there were no significant differences between the sexes in rating victim's psychological reactions to rape. However, men were more likely than women to perceive the victim playing a causal role in her own assault. Further, for both men and women attractive victims were accorded a higher degree of social acceptance than the unattractive victims but were also perceived as playing a greater role in precipitating the rape.

Cann et al. (1979) used experimental material which consisted of five simulated newspaper stories about rape victims. The stories differed on the basis of the level of victim sexual activity
mentioned in court. In this experiment subjects attributed more responsibility for the rape to those victims who were either sexually active or who had refused to testify about their sexual activity than to those victims who were sexually inactive or whose sexual activity was not mentioned in court.

Gold et al (1977) in two studies of observers' perceptions of crime (rape or mugging) found a tendency for subjects to react sympathetically to victims of crime. Victims were assigned less responsibility for both rape and mugging as a function of the severity of the crime. This effect was greatest for those subjects who did not think that the offence was likely to happen to them. On the other hand, those subjects who believed that they were more likely to become victims tended to make defensive attributions.

Bradley (1978) reviewed the defensive attribution literature and in common with Buss (1978) and Eiser (1980) concludes that the defensive attribution approach has some general utility in interpersonal perception.

3.3 The Intrinsic and Extrinsic Consequences of Rape

3.3.1 Intrinsic consequences of rape
Numerous studies have focused on the short-term and the long-term reaction of victims to rape. A large number of rape induced symptoms have been identified and include fears and phobias
(eg of men, sex, feeling unsafe, pregnancy and VD), obsessive thoughts, somatic symptoms, quality and quantity of sleep, emotional symptoms (eg anger, revenge, guilt, shame), and even suicide (eg Bard & Ellison, 1975; Brodyaga et al, 1975; Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974(a) and (b); De Francis, 1964; Hayman et al, 1972; Hilberman, 1976; Hooper et al, 1984; Medea & Thompson, 1974; McCauldron, 1967; Notman & Nadelson, 1976; Peters, 1975; Peters et al, 1976; Russell, 1975; Simpson, 1975).

Most rape victims initially react to the assault with shock and disbelief (Symonds, 1975; Sutherland & Scherl, 1969,1970). The victim may be stunned and unable to think clearly or react effectively (eg MacDonald, 1971; Storaska, 1975). A number of researchers (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974(a),1976; Menninger, 1975, Peters et al, 1976; Russell, 1976) have suggested that self-preservation and the fear of injury or death are the prevalent victim reactions during rape. This much appears obvious since the overwhelming proportion of rape victims whatever their age, react negatively to rape. However, Landis (1956) reports that 2% of women reporting childhood rapes experienced "interest" rather than fear.

Burgess & Holmstrom (1976) classified the mental coping strategies used by victims during rape. These strategies included methods to keep the victim's mind off the event and on their survival, memorising details for the purpose of subsequent reporting, praying and recalling previous violent experiences in order to think of a
means of escape. Russell (1975) suggests that some rape victims dissociate themselves from the event in order to cope with the attack.

Although most rape victims resist their assailant (Goldberg & Goldberg, 1940; Landis, 1956; Medea & Thompson, 1974; Schultz & De Savage, 1975) a common "lay" conception is that the victim of rape should resist to her utmost. Symonds (1975) argues that society unreasonably expects different resistance behaviour from rape victims than from robbery victims.

Patterns of victim reaction show some consistency across a number of studies. For example, Sutherland & Scherl (1970), using a small sample of thirteen victims suggest a three-phase reaction pattern. These phases are:

**Phase 1** - An acute stage of shock and anxiety which may last for a few days or a few weeks.

**Phase 2** - Despite the fact that the victim appears to be her normal self this phase is labelled "pseudo-adjustment" since the victim is assumed to be defensively denying or suppressing the incident.

**Phase 3** - This phase onsets from a few weeks to a few months after the offence and is characterised by the victim's inner sense of depression.

Burgess & Holmstrom (1974a, using a far larger sample of victims found that although all their sample of victims experienced dis-
organisation in their life styles to a greater or lesser extent, victim reactions did not always occur in the same sequence suggested by Sutherland & Scherl. Burgess & Holmstrom (1974b) coined the term "Rape Trauma Syndrome" to describe the patterns they found in victim's reactions. A short-term and a long-term reaction to rape forms the core of their thesis. Firstly, as a result of the attack the victim experiences an acute phase of disorganisation which lasts from a few days up to several weeks after the rape. Secondly, a long term process of reorganisation occurs which generally onsets some two to three weeks after the attack. In support of their original contention Burgess & Holmstrom provide a great deal of subsequent evidence (eg Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974(b), 1975, 1976, 1978; Holmstrom & Burgess, 1975).

Norman & Nadelson (1976) contend that women tend to react to rape as one would expect them to react to any highly stressful or traumatic situation. These authors argue that patterns of victim reaction specific to rape are, in fact, identical to those symptoms which would follow any personally traumatic event. One aspect which may be rape specific and has been consistently reported (eg Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974; McCombie, 1980; Norman & Nadelson, 1976) is that rape victims felt "lost of control" following the attack. "Loss of control" refers to an emotional insecurity which leads the victim to feel that she is unable to control her environment and is suggested can even result in her questioning whether she can control or care for herself.
It appears then that victims' reactions to rape are essentially similar to victims' reactions to trauma in general, possibly with an overlay of specific features which stem from the symbolic nature of the attack.

The Rape Crisis Centres have evolved out of the concern expressed by the Women's Movements in the USA and Great Britain. These groups have felt that rape victims have special needs and require special treatment since negative attitudes toward victims are perpetuated in part by cultural myths which surround the crime. The apparent durability of these myths is thought to stem from the view that rape symbolises basic divisions in a patriarchal society. In this way feminist groups view rape as much as a political as a legal issue.

Rape Crisis Centres first appeared in the USA in the late 1960s and their initial aim was to offer sympathetic support to the victim. Practically the objective was to help the victim medically, legally and emotionally. Often it seems that all the victim required was a counsellor who was warm, calm, empathetic, firm and consistent (Fox & Scherl, 1972; Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974; McCombie, 1976).

The first Rape Crisis Centre appeared in this country in London in 1976 and by 1984 twenty-five or so had sprung up in the major British cities. Registered as charities and utilising voluntary workers they provide 24-hour telephone crisis lines, advice and information. Increasingly, they have taken on the role of a pressure
group, and the routine handling of rape complaints by the police has been a routine target for severe criticism from Rape Crisis Centres.

3.3.2 Extrinsc consequences of rape

The first stage in the routine management of rape cases is whether or not the offence is reported. Generally estimates of reporting rates for rape are considered low compared with the reporting rates for other personal crimes (Katz & Mazur, 1979). Following reporting, making a statement and providing forensic evidence, the subsequent stages become the responsibility of the police. Theoretically the victim need do nothing more until the offender is charged and brought to trial.

However, most rape investigations generate little detection work on behalf of the police. In the bulk of these offences where the assailant is apprehended it is typically the victim who provides evidence that quickly guides the police to the suspect. McCahill et al (1979) suggest that it is precisely those cases where the suspect knew the complainant and denies the offence which receive the least amount of police investigation. Further, it appears that for cases of this type the victim is less likely to see her attacker punished.

The Toronto police dichotomise rape cases as "founded" or "unfounded" and Clark & Lewis (1977) recategorised their rape files using their own interpretation of these terms. "Founded" refers to those cases
where the police believed the complainant and consequently initiated further police action. "Unfounded" refers to those cases in which the police do not perceive the complaint as serious or genuine and consequently do not initiate any further police action. The authors erected a third "founded/unfounded" category which included instances which could not be unambiguously allocated to the "founded" or "unfounded" categories. Clark & Lewis (1977) report that many more cases were "founded" under their interpretation of the categories than under the police interpretation of the categories. In addition, certain victim characteristics were significantly associated with whether or not a case was categorised as "founded" or "unfounded" by the police. For victims who were "idle", on welfare, cohabiting, divorced, or prostitutes, it was more likely that their complaints were categorised as "unfounded" by the police.

Other studies (eg Toner, 1977; Weis & Weis, 1973) have also demonstrated that some victims are taken less seriously than others. Often, there appears to be little justification for this. As Notman & Nadelson (1976) point out, just as muggers can be mugged, so prostitutes can be raped.

The police are not always impartial in determining the manner in which rape victims and cases are treated within the legal system. The police can decide whether a victim is believed, whether a case is sufficiently investigated, and whether the quality of the court room presentation is adequate to ensure a reasonable possibility of conviction. The breadth of police power is such that the victim
who does not receive full police cooperation for any reason is less likely to see her case brought to a successful outcome.
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4. PERCEIVING VICTIMS OF PERSONAL CRIME: THE EFFECTS OF SEXUAL STATUS AND VICTIMISATION ON THE POLARISATION OF OBSERVERS' OPINIONS

4.1 Introduction

The perception and judgement of inequity has a number of important implications for both the social cognition and behaviour toward victims of personal crime. However, it is only recently that the dominant American tradition of attribution research and the older European tradition of accentuation research have begun to move closer to one another (Taylor et al, 1978). Accentuation is a special case of the information integration approach. In this approach judgement is seen as the end-point of an individual's attempt to integrate all relevant information about the object being evaluated. The purpose of this experiment is to examine observer perception of victims of personal crime with respect to an attribution approach (the defensive attribution model) and an information integration approach (the assimilation-contrast model).

A version of equity theory proposed by Lerner (1970); Lerner, Miller & Holmes (1976) has been called the "just world" hypothesis. In this approach it is assumed that,

"... we want to live in a world where people get what they deserve, or rather deserve what they get."

(Lerner, 1970, p.207)

There is evidence that the recipients of fortuitous rewards are
perceived as deserving their good fortune by virtue of either their
task performance or by being generally more attractive (Lerner, 1965;
Apsler & Friedman, 1975). Jones & Aronson (1973) presented male and
female students with written accounts of a rape case, and then asked
them to recommend a sentence for the convicted rapist and to say
how much they considered the crime to be the victim's fault.
Details in the case accounts were varied so that subjects were
informed that the victim was either a virgin, a married woman or a
divorcee. Subjects attributed more fault to the victim when she
was married or a virgin than when she was divorced.

Jones & Aronson (1973), assuming that divorcees are perceived as
less respectable than married women or virgins, interpreted their
results as consistent with the "just world" hypothesis. In other
words, subjects appeared less willing to accept that chance
misfortunes happen to respectable people since this would imply
that they themselves, as respectable people, might also be
vulnerable to personal disaster.

Other researchers (Calhoun et al, 1976; Monchich, 1978; Cann et al,
1979) have investigated the attribution of responsibility for rape
to the victim. In one study (Fulero & Delara, 1976) victims were
rated as being less responsible for the rape if the victim was
similar to the rater. These authors explain the results within a
defensive attribution framework. Thus, a search for actions which
are "causal" would be an attempt by which the observer differentiates
himself from the victim. The victim's fate could, therefore, be
linked to actions the perceiver would never do. As Eiser (1980) has pointed out, justification of this type always involves some "cognitive work". Observers seem prepared to undertake an attributional inquiry until they can find a "cause" for the victim's suffering. The suffering of others is undoubtedly threatening, but there is probably no need to suggest that belief in the "just world" is threatened. Even if individuals do not hold such a view of the world they do not wish to see the suffering of others left unexplained. As Shaver (1970) has argued, there does not appear to be a particular need for a "just world" hypothesis over and above the ideas of dissonance reduction and defensive attribution.

Direct measures of attitudes toward rape (Barnett & Feild, 1977) indicate that there is a sex difference in the perception of rape. For example, these authors report that 32% of men compared with 8% of women believe that "it would do some women good to get raped". This study found a significant correlation between attitudes toward women and sex of respondent. One well-known theory of attitude judgement has been the "assimilation-contrast" model proposed by Sherif & Hovland (1961). In this model, individuals are assumed to use their own attitude as an "anchor" or comparison stimulus with the result that statements of attitude not too divergent from their own will be "assimilated" and those further away will be "contrasted". People who hold extreme opinions tend to agree with very few opinions at all different from their own. These people have narrow

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latitudes of acceptance and assimilate relatively fewer items compared with those who have a wider latitude of acceptance. Judges assimilate items within their latitude of acceptance and contrast items within their latitude of rejection. Eiser (1980) has incorporated the predictions of the "assimilation-contrast" model within his "accentuation" theory framework without invoking the "anchoring" effects of observers own attitudes.

In the present experiment the relative explanatory power of the defensive attribution model and the assimilation-contrast model are evaluated. For different experimental conditions the models make differential predictions on the dependent variable of rater polarisation. The specific predictions from the models are detailed at the appropriate point in the Results section following the description of the experimental design and procedure.

Evaluating observer perception of victims with respect to contemporary theories of judgement is more than merely studying the location of impressions along arbitrary dimensions. Rather it is an attempt to identify the processes by which the social cognition of victims occur.
4.2 Method

Subjects and design

350 students were recruited from Liberal Studies courses at a West Midlands College of Further Education to participate as subjects in the study. (All students attending Liberal Studies classes were recruited.)

The subjects were "day-release" students who were attending technical, building, business and nursery-nursing courses. The sample comprised 182 males and 168 females (mean age = 17.7 years, sd = 1.1 years).

Each subject was randomly allocated to one of twenty-one experimental conditions. This enabled the data to be analysed using completely randomised factorial designs with equal numbers of sixteen subjects in each cell. Two analyses of variance were computed for each video taped interview session (CRF 6 x 3 and CRF 3 x 4; Kirk, 1968). The advantages of this design is that both main effects and interaction effects can be evaluated efficiently.

Experimental Procedure

Figure 1 shows the flow diagram for the experimental procedure. The 350 subjects participated in batches of approximately thirty subjects.

(i) Preliminary instructions

Upon entering the experimental room, each subject in the group was seated at a desk. The experimenter then gave the preliminary verbal instructions (see Stage (i) in Figure 1). These preliminary
Figure 1: Flow diagram for experimental procedure

(i) Group of 350 subjects received preliminary instructions

(ii) Subjects watched a four minute videotaped interview

(iii) Subjects given additional information about the female interviewee. This additional information was manipulated to give 21 experimental conditions

(iv) Subjects prompted to think about the interview

(v) Subjects rate their impressions of interviewees using semantic differential scale

(vi) Procedure repeated for each of four female interviewees

(vii) Subjects fill in a questionnaire

(viii) Subjects receive a discussion/debriefing period
instructions are reproduced below and took approximately ten minutes to deliver.

"Good morning/afternoon. My name is Patti Mazelan and I am from Aston University. The experiment that you are about to participate in is concerned with investigating the ways in which people form first impressions about other people. First impressions can often be made very quickly and in order to examine this I want you to watch four separate videotaped interviews.

You are to watch each interview in turn and then rate your first impressions of the women in the interviews. Each of the videotaped interviews that you will see lasts four minutes and is a small section from a longer interview. Since there is not enough time for you to watch the complete interviews any important additional information has been printed in the booklet in front of you.

This booklet contains the additional information but I don't want you to look at it until you are instructed to do so. Do not look at the booklet yet but as well as this additional information the booklet contains rating scales which you will fill in in order to label your first impressions.

If you look at the blackboard you will see two examples of the type of items that you will have to fill in later.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>good</th>
<th>bad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fat</td>
<td>thin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each particular item is intended to measure your impression of the interviewee. To do this you will have to put a cross anywhere on the line from one adjective to its opposite.

For example, if you put the cross exactly in the middle of the line this will indicate (point to line good-bad) that the interviewee was neither good nor bad. On the other hand if you felt that the interviewee was very good you would put your cross here (point to item). Conversely if you thought the interviewee was very bad you'd put your cross here (points to item). If you felt the interviewee was fairly good or fairly bad your cross could go either here (points to item) or here (points to item). You can put your cross anywhere along the line that best fits your impression.

Now look at the second example (points at item). You
would put a cross on this item in the same way as before, placing your cross at the point that best fits your impression. Before I show you the videotaped interviews I will run through the procedure.

First you will see the videotaped interview then I will ask you to turn over the first page of your booklet. On that page you will read the additional information about the interviewee. You will have five minutes in which to do this at the end of which I will ask you to turn to the next page of your response booklet. On that next page you will find two questions about the interviewee which I would like you to answer. You will have two minutes to do this. At the end of which I will ask you to turn to the next page of your booklet. On this page you will find the rating scale for your first impressions. This will take you about ten minutes and I want you to fill in all of the items.

This will complete the procedure for the first videotaped interview. There are four interviews and the procedure will be identical for all of them.

When you have rated your impressions of the four interviewees you will be required to complete a questionnaire.

Before I show the first interview are there any questions? (Experimenter answers subjects' questions.)

(ii) The videotaped interviews

Four separate interviews were filmed, with the experimenter acting as interviewer and four females acting as interviewees. All interviewees were articulate, middle class and white. Their ages were 14, 23, 35 and 49 years. The interviewer and interviewee sat in armchairs adjacent to each other with a small coffee table beside them with a house plant on it. It can be seen from Figure 2 that the seating arrangements were such that the interviewee was almost facing the camera whilst the interviewer was in profile. The interviewer held a pen and a clipboard.
The questions asked by the interviewer were open ended and the same for each interview. There were thirteen questions and they were asked in the following order.

1. Do you watch much television?
2. What types of programmes do you enjoy watching?
3. What do you like about them?
4. Do you take part in many sporting activities?
5. (PROBE)
6. Do you watch others?
7. What are your hobbies?
8. (PROBE)
9. How much time do you spend on it/them?
10. Which do you like best, why?
11. Do you read many books?
12. What sort?
13. Which is your favourite?

(I've not read that, what is it about? ............)

The probe questions varied between interviews and were included to ensure continuity and realism. Each interview lasted four minutes and was faded in at the beginning and faded out at the end in order to give the impression that it was a short section from a longer interview.

Since each interview lasted four minutes, not all questions listed were asked in each interview. Generally the four minutes terminated the interview at about the twelfth or thirteenth question.

(iii) Additional stimulus information

Two factors were manipulated independently in order to generate the additional information presented to subjects and contained in their response booklets. The first factor is labelled "sexual history of the interviewees". There were four levels on this factor.
1. Virgin
2. Not a virgin but in one steady relationship
3. Promiscuous
4. No mention of sexual history (control)

The second factor was labelled "victimisation history of the interviewer". There were six levels on this factor:
1. Victim of a rape by an acquaintance
2. Victim of an attempted rape by a stranger
3. Victim of a rape by a stranger
4. Victim of a mugging
5. Victim of an attempted mugging
6. No mention of victimisation history (control)

Consequently, by combining the two factors there was a possible set of 24 experimental conditions. Three of these conditions although logically possible were psychologically not sensible. These conditions (virgin x mugging; virgin x attempted mugging; virgin x no mention of victimisation) were not included as experimental conditions.

In constructing the individual vignettes additional information was embedded with other neutral background information so that each vignette had face validity. A typical form of the additional information about one of the interviewees that a subject may receive is as follows:
The two underlined parts of the passage refer to the independent variables. These were not, however, underlined in the experimental conditions. Appendix 2 outlines how each individual vignette was constructed.

(iv) Preliminary questions to subjects

After subjects had watched each videotaped interview and read the appropriate additional information about the interviewee they were required to answer two questions. The two questions were selected from the following three types.

Type 1 - What were your first impressions of the interviewee?

Subjects were required to answer using two or three descriptors.

Type 2 - Did you like the interviewee?

Subjects were required to answer yes or no.

Type 3 - Could you tell that the interviewee was a victim and if so what sort of things gave you a clue that she had been a victim?
Subjects were required to answer yes or no, and to briefly include any relevant information where appropriate.

Table 1 below shows the question types asked within each experimental condition.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-Virgin</th>
<th>Virgin but One Steady Relationship</th>
<th>Pro-miscous</th>
<th>No Mention of Sexual History</th>
<th>Virgin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rape by acquaintance</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>Type 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted rape</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>Type 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape by stranger</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>Type 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mugged</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>Type 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted mugged</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>Type 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No mention of victimisation history</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Type 2</td>
<td>Type 2</td>
<td>Type 2</td>
<td>Type 2</td>
<td>Type 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be seen from the Table that question types 1 and 3 were appropriate for those subjects who believed that the interviewee had been a victim whilst question types 1 and 2 were asked for those who believed the interviewee had not been a victim. Question 2 was a control question.
The purpose of these preliminary questions was simply to prompt the subjects into thinking about the interviewee before they rated her on the semantic differential.

(v) The semantic differential

A copy of the semantic differential poles used in the experiment is contained in Appendix 3, and can be seen to consist of 34 bipolar items. The items were derived from a consideration of the literature on sex role stereotypes, attitudes toward women, and attitudes toward victims (Broverman et al, 1972; Burt, 1980; Lips & Colwill, 1978; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974; Scott, 1979).

A pilot study enabled the most useful 34 items to be selected. The positive ends of the items were randomised either in the left or the right position.

Since subjects were not constrained where they could place a cross on each item all ratings were subsequently coded using a template with a seven-point scale. A previous study (Mazelan, 1978) had demonstrated that this technique was a convenient and reliable method of using semantic differentials.

Structure and scoring of the semantic differential

The items in the semantic differential were of two types. Half of the items (n=17) were those which were considered to tap attitudes surrounding sexual value judgements of women. These included items like:
7. Likes and gets on well with men  

15. Cares nothing about what others think  

34. Likes to go out a lot  

For ease of description these are subsequently referred to as "stereotypic" items.

The remaining 17 items in the semantic differential were those which were considered to be neutral with respect toward sexual value judgements of women.

These included items like:

2. Very confident  

16. Very stable, secure  

31. Very quiet  

These items are subsequently labelled "neutral" items. The midpoint of each item's rating scale was scored as 0 and deviations from the midpoint (either +1, +2, +3 or -1, -2, -3) were scored irrespective of sign. For each subject two total scores were calculated; one score for stereotypic items and one score for neutral items. Since these scores represent deviations from the midpoint the two total scores were measures of polarisation of subject response.

(vi) Rape attitude questionnaire

Following the subjects rating all four interviewees, subjects were required to complete a questionnaire, a copy of which is included in Appendix 4. The completion of the questionnaire formed the second main part of the experimental session. Its purpose was to provide
important information along a number of dimensions, so enabling the results of the experiment to be assessed within the context of current theorising about rape.

**Structure of the questionnaire**

The questionnaire contained items within six categories.

(a) **Demographic factors**

Subjects were required to give their age and sex. The age structure of the responding sample could then be determined and identifying the sex of each subject was necessary in order to evaluate sex-linked within-group effects. These effects are discussed in the results section (Section 4.3).

(b) **Belief in a just world**

Twelve items were randomly selected from the Belief in a Just World Scale (Rubin & Peplow, 1975). This factor has been identified as a useful explanatory construct and was included to test hypotheses linking this belief to attitudes surrounding rape. The results are discussed in Section 4.3. The twelve items were randomly presented with twelve items from the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (see below).

(c) **Attitudes toward women**

Twelve items were randomly selected from the shortened version of the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (Spence et al, 1973). This factor has been identified as another useful explanatory construct (Allatt, 1971; Burt, 1980; Haskell, 1973; Krulewitz & Payne, 1978; Redfering, 1979).
The factor was included in the questionnaire in order to test some hypotheses about the relationship between attitudes toward women and attitudes surrounding rape. The results of this are included in Section 4.3.

(d) Direct or indirect experience of rape

Four items were included to ascertain whether subjects had themselves been or knew anyone who had been accused of rape or had been a victim of rape. This factor was included since some researchers (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1976(b); Holmstrom & Burgess, 1973; Schultz & Desavage, 1975) have argued that stereotyped beliefs are negatively associated with direct or indirect experience of crime or victimisation.

(e) Attitudes toward rape

Twenty-five items were included to probe attitudes toward the offender, the victim, and the crime of rape. The attitudes toward rape factor was included since much theorising about rape involves attitudes toward rape as an explanatory construct not only on the individual level but also within society at large (see Chapter 3). A number of hypotheses were generated relating this factor to other dimensions and the results evaluated. (See Section 4.3)

(f) Subjective severity of crime rating

Subjects were required to rate the severity of twelve crimes. Differential subjective conceptions of the seriousness of rape would
a priori appear to be an important factor associated with attitudes toward rape. A number of hypotheses relating to this issue are tested. (See Section 4.3).

(vi) Discussion and debriefing of subjects

At the conclusion of the experimental session, approximately 20-30 minutes were allocated for a debriefing period. An explanation of the purpose of the experiment was given to subjects. In addition subjects were also told that all four videotaped interviewees were acting and that none of them had been a victim of any crime.

A discussion followed in which aspects of rape were openly discussed with the cooperation of a member of the Birmingham Rape Crisis Centre.
4.3 Results of the Experiment

Since three conditions (virgin x mugging; virgin x attempted mugging; virgin x no mention of victimisation) were not included as experimental conditions, it was necessary to perform two types of analysis of variance for each of the videotaped interviewees.

Consequently for stereotypic items four CRF 4x3 analyses of variance and four CRF 3x6 analyses of variance were calculated. Similarly for neutral items four CRF 4x3 analyses of variance and four CRF 3x6 analyses of variance were calculated.

Table 2 summarises the structure of the data analysis performed.

Table 2: Structure of data analysis performed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor A</th>
<th>Rape by acquaintance</th>
<th>Attempt ed rape</th>
<th>Rape by stranger</th>
<th>Mugging</th>
<th>Attempt ed mugging</th>
<th>Not mentioned ed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 One stable sexual relationship</td>
<td>4x3 3x6</td>
<td>4x3 3x6</td>
<td>4x3 3x6</td>
<td>3x6 3x6</td>
<td>3x6 3x6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Promiscuous</td>
<td>4x3 3x6</td>
<td>4x3 3x6</td>
<td>4x3 3x6</td>
<td>3x6 3x6</td>
<td>3x6 3x6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Not mentioned</td>
<td>4x3 3x6</td>
<td>4x3 3x6</td>
<td>4x3 3x6</td>
<td>3x6 3x6</td>
<td>3x6 3x6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Virgin</td>
<td>4x3</td>
<td>4x3</td>
<td>4x3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The cells included in the CRF 4x3 analyses are labelled in Table 2 as 4x3 and the cells included in the CRF 3x6 analyses are labelled
3x6. This arrangement enabled main effects and interactions to be optimally examined.

In the subsequent discussion the following notion is used:

Factor A = Sexual state of interviewee

Level A1 = One stable sexual relationship
A2 = Promiscuous
A3 = Not mentioned
A4 = Virgin

Factor B = Victimization

Level B1 = Rape by acquaintance
B2 = Attempted rape
B3 = Rape by stranger
B4 = Mugging
B5 = Attempted mugging
B6 = Not mentioned

4.3.1 Analysis of variance

Two-way analyses of variance (CRF 4x3 and CRF 3x6) and subsequent Tukey's Multiple Comparison of Means or Analysis of Simple Main Effects (where appropriate) were calculated for the dependent variable of polarisation on neutral and stereotypic items for each
of the four interviewees.

The eight analyses of variance summary tables for neutral items are given in Appendix 5 (Tables a, b, c, d, e, f, g and h). The eight analysis of variance summary tables for stereotypic items are also given in Appendix 5 (Tables i, j, k, l, m, n, o and p).

An overall summary of results is shown in Tables 3, 4, 5 and 6. The CRF 4x3 analyses of variance can be considered to be the "between rape" analyses. The CRF 3x6 analyses can be considered to be the "between personal crime" analyses.

An examination of Tables 3, 4, 5 and 6 reveal the following findings:

1. Factor A (sexual status of interviewee) is a significant main effect for:
   (a) All 4 interviewees in CRF 4x3 stereotypic items (Table 5).
   (b) Interviewees 2 and 4 in CRF 3x6 stereotypic items (Table 6).
   (c) Interviewees 1, 3 and 4 in CRF 3x6 neutral items (Table 4).

2. There are no significant main effects (Factors A and B) or interaction effects (A x B) for CRF 4x3 neutral items (Table 3).

3. Factor B (victimisation) does not occur as a significant main effect for any of the four blocks of analysis (Tables 3, 4, 5, and 6).
Table 3: F values for neutral item polarisation scores
(CRF 4x3 analysis of variance)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neutral items CRF 4x3</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interviewee 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>A  = 1.176</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B  = 1.569</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Table a)</td>
<td>AB = 1.328</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interviewee 2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>A  = 0.776</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B  = 2.027</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Table b)</td>
<td>AB = 0.341</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interviewee 3</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>A  = 0.888</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B  = 0.026</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Table c)</td>
<td>AB = 0.556</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interviewee 4</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>A  = 2.072</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B  = 0.198</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Table d)</td>
<td>AB = 1.130</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4: F values and significant contrasts for neutral item polarisation scores (CRF 3x6 analysis of variance)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neutral items CRF 3x6</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>Tukey's MCOM Significant Contrasts</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee 1 (Table e)</td>
<td>A = 5.892, B = 0.802, AB = 0.937</td>
<td>&lt;0.01, ns, ns</td>
<td>A2 &gt; A3</td>
<td>&lt;0.01, ns, ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee 2 (Table f)</td>
<td>A = 0.417, B = 1.263, AB = 0.733</td>
<td>ns, ns, ns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee 3 (Table g)</td>
<td>A = 6.891, B = 0.509, AB = 1.339</td>
<td>&lt;0.001, ns, ns</td>
<td>A2 &gt; A1, A2 &gt; A3</td>
<td>&lt;0.05, &lt;0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee 4 (Table h)</td>
<td>A = 3.124, B = 0.375, AB = 0.643</td>
<td>&lt;0.05, ns, ns</td>
<td>A2 &lt; A3</td>
<td>&lt;0.05, ns, ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stereotypic items</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>Tukey's MCOM Significant Contrasts</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee 1</td>
<td>A = 21.532</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
<td>A1 &gt; A2</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Table i)</td>
<td>B = 0.923</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>A3 &gt; A2</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AB = 1.937</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>A4 &gt; A1</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A4 &gt; A2</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee 2</td>
<td>A = 28.219</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
<td>A1 &gt; A2</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Table j)</td>
<td>B = 0.388</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>A3 &gt; A2</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AB = 0.704</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>A4 &gt; A1</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A4 &gt; A2</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee 3</td>
<td>A = 11.992</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
<td>A1 &gt; A2</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Table k)</td>
<td>B = 0.338</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>A3 &gt; A2</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AB = 1.973</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>A4 &gt; A1</td>
<td>&lt;0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A4 &gt; A2</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A4 &gt; A3</td>
<td>&lt;0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee 4</td>
<td>A = 53.318</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
<td>A1 &gt; A2</td>
<td>&lt;0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Table l)</td>
<td>B = 1.627</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>A3 &gt; A1</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AB = 1.995</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>A4 &gt; A2</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A4 &lt; A1</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A4 &gt; A3</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: F values and significant contrasts for stereotypic item polarisation scores (CRF 4x3 analysis of variance)
Table 6: F values and significant contrasts for stereotypic item polarisation scores (CRF 3x6 analysis of variance)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stereotypic items CRF 3x6</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>Tukey's MCDM significant contrasts on simple main effects</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee 1 (Table m)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>52.705</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
<td>A at B2</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>1.229</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>A at B3</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>2.061</td>
<td>&lt;0.05</td>
<td>A at B4</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A at B5</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A at B6</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B at A2</td>
<td>&lt;0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee 2 (Table n)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>30.842</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
<td>A2 &gt; A1</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>1.121</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>A3 &gt; A2</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>0.976</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee 3 (Table o)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>10.409</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
<td>A at B2</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>1.500</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>A at B3</td>
<td>&lt;0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>2.358</td>
<td>&lt;0.05</td>
<td>A at B4</td>
<td>&lt;0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A at B6</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B at A1</td>
<td>&lt;0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B at A3</td>
<td>&lt;0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee 4 (Table p)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>87.642</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
<td>A3 &gt; A1</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>1.951</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>A3 &gt; A2</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>1.712</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. Victimisation also does not affect the polarisation of subjects' ratings. However, the A x B interaction is significant for interviewees 1 and 3 in CRF 3x6 stereotypic items (Table 6).

4.3.2 Predictions from the defensive attribution model and assimilation contrast model

Defensive attribution model

If it is assumed that within Factor A (sexual status of victim) that interviewees allocated to A2 (promiscuous) are perceived as less "respectable" than those interviewees allocated to A1 (married), A3 (virgin) or the control condition A4 (no mention of sexual status) then the defensive attribution model makes the following differential predictions for rater polarisation for all four interviewees for both neutral and stereotypic items.

For CRF 3x6

- A2 > A1
- A2 > A3

For CRF 4x3

- A2 > A1
- A2 > A3
- A2 > A4

Similarly within Factor B (victimisation) the defensive attribution model predicts that more "threatening" conditions result in greater rater polarisation than less "threatening" conditions. Consequently for all interviewees for both neutral and stereotypic items.
Table 7: The defensive attribution model predictions and experimental results for Factor A (sexual status of interviewee)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A2</th>
<th>A3</th>
<th>A4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>&lt;</td>
<td>&lt;</td>
<td>&lt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3x6</td>
<td>&lt;</td>
<td>&lt;</td>
<td>&lt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>&lt;</td>
<td>&lt;</td>
<td>&lt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>&lt;</td>
<td>&lt;</td>
<td>&lt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4x3</td>
<td>&lt;</td>
<td>&lt;</td>
<td>&lt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>&lt;</td>
<td>&lt;</td>
<td>&lt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rows independent

Columns dependent

Key:
- > = significantly greater than
- < = significantly smaller than
- x = no prediction possible
- = = no significant difference
- 0 = prediction confirmed
For CRF 3x6
B1 > B6
B2 > B6
B3 > B6
B4 > B6
B5 > B6

For CRF 4x3
B1 > B2
B3 > B2

Table 7 summarises the defensive attribution model predictions and experimental results for Factor A (sexual status of interviewee).

An examination of the Table shows for Factor A that the percentage of confirmed predictions (n=29) is 40.23% of the total number of possible predictions (n=72).

Within Factor B (victimisation), the analyses of variance have revealed no significant differences for main effects and consequently no predictions for the defensive attribution model are confirmed for this factor.

Assimilation contrast model

Having watched the videotaped interviews, subjects were presented with further written information about the interviewees. This further information is assumed to either confirm or contradict their initial impression of the interviewee.

The subsequent information is "compatible" or "incompatible" with the subjects' stereotypic perceptions of the interviewee. The Table
below (Table 8) details subsequent information assumed to be compatible (v) or incompatible (x) based on interviewee's age.

Table 8: Compatibility and incompatibility of further information relating to interviewees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Interviewee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 (Age=49)</td>
<td>2 (Age=35)</td>
<td>3 (Age=23)</td>
<td>4 (Age=14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1 One stable sexual relationship</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2 Promiscuous</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3 Not mentioned</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A4 Virgin</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the subjects first impression is confirmed by the subsequent information, then their latitude of acceptance is assumed too narrow since subjects now hold their first impression more firmly. As a consequence, subjects contrast those items related to the sexual behaviour of the interviewees and this results in greater polarisation of stereotypic item ratings on the semantic differential.

Conversely, if their first impressions are contradicted, then their latitude of acceptance becomes wider. Consequently, they assimilate
more items related to the sexual behaviour of the interviewees and this leads to less polarisation of neutral item ratings on the semantic differential.

Specifically, for Factor A (sexual status of victim) the differential predictions from the assimilation contrast model for rater polarisation on stereotypic items are listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee 1</th>
<th>For CRF 3x6</th>
<th>For CRF 4x3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(stereotypic items)</td>
<td>A1 &gt; A2</td>
<td>A1 &gt; A2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A3 &gt; A2</td>
<td>A3 &gt; A2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A1 &gt; A4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A3 &gt; A4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee 2</th>
<th>For CRF 3x6</th>
<th>For CRF 4x3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(stereotypic items)</td>
<td></td>
<td>A3 &gt; A4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A2 &gt; A4</td>
<td>A3 &gt; A4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A1 &gt; A4</td>
<td>A4 &gt; A4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee 3</th>
<th>For CRF 3x6</th>
<th>For CRF 4x3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(stereotypic items)</td>
<td>A3 &gt; A1</td>
<td>A3 &gt; A1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A3 &gt; A2</td>
<td>A4 &gt; A1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A3 &gt; A2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A4 &gt; A2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No differences are predicted within Factor A for Interviewee 3 (stereotypic items) and no differences are predicted within Factor A for any interviewee on neutral items.
Table 9: The assimilation contrast model predictions and experimental results for Factor A (sexual status of interviewee)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A2</th>
<th>A3</th>
<th>A4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I I I I</td>
<td>I I I I</td>
<td>I I I I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4</td>
<td>1 2 3 4</td>
<td>1 2 3 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3x6</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4x3</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>=</td>
<td>&lt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>=</td>
<td>&lt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3x6</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>&lt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4x3</td>
<td>&lt;</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>=</td>
<td>&lt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rows independent

Columns dependent

Key

> = significantly greater than
< = significantly smaller than
x = no prediction possible
= = no significant difference
O = prediction confirmed
For Factor B (victimisation) no differences are predicted for ratings on neutral or stereotypic items.

Table 9 summarises the assimilation contrast model predictions and experimental results for Factor A (sexual status of interviewee).

An examination of the Table shows that for Factor A, the percentage of confirmed predictions (n=43) is 59.72% of the total number of possible predictions (n=72).

No predictions are made for Factor B and since the analyses of variance have revealed no significant differences for main effects on this factor, the results are in line with the theoretical predictions.

4.3.2 Results of the questionnaire

Pearson product moment correlation coefficients were calculated for belief in a just world (for male and for female subjects) and selected items on the questionnaire. The correlation coefficients and associated probabilities are given in Table 10.

Since there were a large number of correlations the type 1 error rate is set at 0.01 although probabilities which exceed the 0.05 significance level are included as tentative relationships in the Table.

The Table shows that belief in a just world was only associated
Table 10: Correlation between belief in a just world and selected items on the questionnaire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FEMALE SUBJECTS (n=68)</th>
<th>MALE SUBJECTS (n=186)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td>PROBABILITY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Estimated percentage of rapes committed by strangers</td>
<td>-0.009</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Estimated percentage of rapes committed by acquaintances</td>
<td>-0.022</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Estimated percentage of rapes committed by casual friends</td>
<td>-0.101</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Estimated percentage of rapes committed by close friends</td>
<td>0.023</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Estimated percentage of rapes committed by relatives</td>
<td>0.105</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Estimated percentage of unreported muggings</td>
<td>-0.051</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Estimated percentage of unreported rapes</td>
<td>-0.018</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Estimated percentage of false accusations</td>
<td>-0.142</td>
<td>&lt;0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Estimated percentage of rapists who &quot;get away&quot; with the crime</td>
<td>-0.005</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Estimated percentage of rapes which are partially the fault of the victim</td>
<td>-0.023</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Estimated percentage of rapists who had been drinking</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Estimated percentage of victims who had been drinking</td>
<td>-0.014</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. If the victim's behaviour was influential in rape</td>
<td>-0.025</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. If the victim's dress or behaviour provokes rape</td>
<td>0.138</td>
<td>&lt;0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Estimated percentage of women who dress in a manner likely to provoke a rape</td>
<td>-0.105</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Estimated percentage of women who behave in a manner likely to provoke a rape</td>
<td>-0.120</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Estimate how likely self could be mugged</td>
<td>0.206</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Estimate how likely self could be raped</td>
<td>-0.057</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Do women secretly wish to be raped</td>
<td>0.056</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Seriousness loading for robbery with violence</td>
<td>0.060</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Seriousness loading for speeding</td>
<td>0.033</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Seriousness loading for mugging</td>
<td>0.072</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Seriousness loading for fraud</td>
<td>0.091</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Seriousness loading for murder</td>
<td>0.080</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Seriousness loading for shoplifting</td>
<td>0.105</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Seriousness loading for rape</td>
<td>0.027</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Seriousness loading for manslaughter</td>
<td>-0.110</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Seriousness loading for robbery</td>
<td>-0.059</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Seriousness loading for drunken driving</td>
<td>0.041</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Seriousness loading for wife battering</td>
<td>0.037</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Seriousness loading for rape with wounding</td>
<td>0.106</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
with two of the 31 items. For men, there was a significant negative correlation ($r = -0.217, p < 0.01$) between the estimated percentage of women who dress in a manner likely to provoke rape and the belief in a just world. For women, the estimate of how unlikely self could be mugged and belief in a just world was significantly positively correlated ($r = 0.206, p < 0.01$).

The belief in a just world measure can be seen to be very weakly correlated with those factors considered relevant to rape.

Pearson product moment correlation coefficients were calculated for attitudes toward women (for male and female subjects) and selected items on the questionnaire. The correlation coefficients and associated probabilities are given in Table 11.

As before the type 1 error rate is set at 0.01. It can be seen that for both men and women negative attitudes toward women are significantly correlated with belief in a just world (for women $r = 0.321, p < 0.001$ and for men $r = 0.260, p < 0.01$).

No other correlations were significant at the $p < 0.001$ level and it appears that the attitude toward women scale has little predictive value with respect to relevant rape factors.

Men and women's mean scores for ratings of the selected items of the questionnaire were compared using 't' tests. The type 1 error rate is set at 0.01. The mean scores, t values and associated probabilities are given in Table 12.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 11: Correlations between negative attitudes toward women and selected items on the questionnaire</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FEMALE SUBJECTS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(n=168)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>r</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Belief in a just world score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Estimated percentage of rapes committed by strangers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Estimated percentage of rapes committed by acquaintances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Estimated percentage of rapes committed by casual friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Estimated percentage of rapes committed by close friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Estimated percentage of rapes committed by relatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Estimated percentage of unreported muggings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Estimated percentage of unreported rapes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Estimated percentage of false accusations of rape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Estimated percentage of rapists who &quot;get away&quot; with the crime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Estimated percentage of rapes which are partially the fault of the victim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Estimated percentage of rapists who had been drinking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Estimated percentage of victims who had been drinking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. If the victim's behaviour was influential in rape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. If the victim's dress or behaviour provokes rape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Estimated percentage of women who dress in a manner likely to provoke a rape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Estimated percentage of women who behave in a manner likely to provoke a rape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Estimate how likely self could be mugged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Estimate how likely self could be raped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Do women secretly wish to be raped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Seriousness loading for robbery with violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Seriousness loading for speeding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Seriousness loading for mugging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Seriousness loading for fraud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Seriousness loading for murder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Seriousness loading for shoplifting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Seriousness loading for rape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Seriousness loading for manslaughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Seriousness loading for robbery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Seriousness loading for drunken driving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Seriousness loading for wife battering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Seriousness loading for rape with wounding</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 12: t-test comparisons for men and women on selected items on the questionnaire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mean scores</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>t-score</th>
<th>Probability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Negative attitudes toward women score</td>
<td>42.25</td>
<td>38.98</td>
<td>3.94</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Belief in a just world score</td>
<td>42.63</td>
<td>42.62</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Estimated percentage of rapes committed by strangers</td>
<td>35.81</td>
<td>63.81</td>
<td>-1.09</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Estimated percentage of rapes committed by acquaintances</td>
<td>19.18</td>
<td>20.07</td>
<td>-0.57</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Estimated percentage of rapes committed by casual friends</td>
<td>13.00</td>
<td>14.39</td>
<td>-1.24</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Estimated percentage of rapes committed by close friends</td>
<td>8.69</td>
<td>8.36</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Estimated percentage of rapes committed by relatives</td>
<td>5.60</td>
<td>6.60</td>
<td>-1.16</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Estimated percentage of unreported muggings</td>
<td>38.48</td>
<td>42.28</td>
<td>-1.63</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Estimated percentage of unreported rapes</td>
<td>47.27</td>
<td>53.96</td>
<td>-2.73</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Estimated percentage of false accusations of rape</td>
<td>17.96</td>
<td>16.83</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Estimated percentage of rapists who &quot;get away&quot; with the crime</td>
<td>44.53</td>
<td>49.18</td>
<td>-1.73</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Estimated percentage of rapes which are partially the fault of the victim</td>
<td>30.04</td>
<td>23.81</td>
<td>2.74</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Estimated percentage of rapists who had been drinking</td>
<td>41.14</td>
<td>33.61</td>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Estimated percentage of victims who had been drinking</td>
<td>26.27</td>
<td>22.14</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>&lt;0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. If the victim's behaviour was influential in rape</td>
<td>5.59</td>
<td>5.16</td>
<td>-2.44</td>
<td>&lt;0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. If the victim's dress or behaviour provokes rape</td>
<td>5.97</td>
<td>5.91</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Estimated percentage of women who dress in a manner likely to provoke a rape</td>
<td>40.74</td>
<td>36.54</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Estimated percentage of women who behave in a manner likely to provoke a rape</td>
<td>30.19</td>
<td>29.50</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Estimate how likely self could be mugged</td>
<td>4.57</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Estimate how likely self could be raped</td>
<td>6.78</td>
<td>4.01</td>
<td>17.97</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Do women secretly wish to be raped</td>
<td>3.31</td>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>-3.48</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Seriousness loading for robbery with violence</td>
<td>7.51</td>
<td>7.13</td>
<td>2.37</td>
<td>&lt;0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Seriousness loading for speeding</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>2.74</td>
<td>-2.23</td>
<td>&lt;0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Seriousness loading for mugging</td>
<td>6.53</td>
<td>6.89</td>
<td>-1.82</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Seriousness loading for fraud</td>
<td>5.50</td>
<td>5.42</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Seriousness loading for murder</td>
<td>9.70</td>
<td>9.75</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Seriousness loading for shoplifting</td>
<td>3.06</td>
<td>3.51</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>&lt;0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Seriousness loading for rape</td>
<td>8.16</td>
<td>9.06</td>
<td>5.93</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Seriousness loading for manslaughter</td>
<td>7.56</td>
<td>8.47</td>
<td>5.16</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Seriousness loading for robbery</td>
<td>5.82</td>
<td>5.99</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Seriousness loading for drinking driving</td>
<td>5.32</td>
<td>5.70</td>
<td>1.55</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Seriousness loading for wife battering</td>
<td>6.67</td>
<td>7.26</td>
<td>3.34</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Seriousness loading for rape with wounding</td>
<td>8.75</td>
<td>9.38</td>
<td>4.92</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Several interesting results are apparent from an examination of Table

Compared with women, men have significantly higher negative attitudes toward women \((t=3.94 \ p<0.001)\), believe women secretly wish to be raped \((t=3.48 \ p<0.001)\), and that rapes are partially the fault of the victim \((t=2.74 \ p<0.01)\). Men estimated that a higher percentage of rapists had been drinking than women \((t=3.10 \ p<0.01)\) and estimated a smaller percentage of unreported rapes than women \((t=2.73 \ p<0.01)\). Predictably compared to men, women thought they were more likely to get raped \((t=17.97 \ p<0.001)\) and less predictably, more likely to get mugged \((t=3.77 \ p<0.001)\).

Women generally rated the seriousness of a range of crimes higher than men, but significantly, women thought rape \((t=5.93 \ p<0.001)\), manslaughter \((t=5.16 \ p<0.001)\), wife battering \((t=7.76 \ p<0.01)\) and rape with wounding \((t=4.92 \ p<0.001)\) to be more serious than men did.

4.4 Discussion and Conclusions

Social psychologists have become increasingly concerned with the processes of social cognition and links are beginning to be established with cognitive psychology. Although the experimental paradigm utilised in the current experiment is directed primarily to the practical issue of determining variability in observer
perception of personal crimes, it is apparent that an examination of what attributions are made to whom is only one side of the coin. Clearly, the question of how these impressions are formed is critical and in this respect current research in cognitive processing is important. Under what conditions do preconceptions and prior knowledge interfere with impression formation?

Impressions that people form on the basis of limited evidence about individuals follow consistent patterns. Through development and experience everyone develops their own implicit personality theory. These theories are sets of unstated assumptions about what traits are associated with one another. These implicit theories are hypothesised to reflect a need to simplify and integrate information, enabling coherent impressions to be formed even when the information that is presented to us is internally inconsistent (Hastorf et al., 1970).

In addition to implicit personality theories, schemata and stereotypes are other ways in which information is organised in order to interpret the character of other people. Stereotypes can be viewed as one particular type of schema about a recognisable group. When people already have schemata stored in their memory for particular classes of event, encoding of new information will be affected by these schemata. Hastie (1981) has suggested that both congruent and incongruent information may be encoded more readily. Information that is consistent with the schema may be quickly assimilated into
the existing schema whereas inconsistent information may be
take longer to code and may require additional processing effort
because of its relation to the schema.

In the current experiment, discrepancy from stereotypic expectations
occurred as a function of the interviewee and the subsequent "character
sketch" which contained additional information about the sexual
status and victimisation history of the interviewee. This discrepancy
has been analysed with respect to the defensive attribution and
assimilation contrast models. The results clearly demonstrate that
the assimilation contrast model is more powerful in explaining the
experimental results.

One basic tendency of the observer is to overemphasise the actor
as the cause of events and to neglect situational factors. This has
been called the "fundamental attribution error" (Ross, 1977) and this
effect has been clearly demonstrated in the present experiment.
Dispositional causes (inferred from Factor A - the sexual status of
the victim) clearly affect observer perception but situational
causes (inferred from Factor B - victimisation) do not appear as a
significant main effect on observer perception. However, the
specific "defensive attribution" model, which hypothesises that more
threatening events will lead to polarisation of ratings has little
explanatory power within the experiment. The problem with the
defensive attribution approach like attribution "theory" generally,
is that it is not a theory but a conceptual framework described as
an "amorphous collection of observations about naive causal inference"
(Jones et al., 1971). As Cook (1979) points out, attribution theory has posed some interesting questions even if it hasn't answered many of them. Although previous research has suggested that events which have personal relevance are often judged differently from events which are not personally relevant, it is clear that research into the attribution of responsibility, urgently needs conceptual clarification (Cook, 1979).

The relative explanatory success of the assimilation contrast model is best viewed from a cognitive perspective. The assimilation contrast model (Sherif & Hovland, 1961; Sherif, Sherif & Nebergall, 1965) is a social judgement theory based on an individualistic cognitive approach to attitude assessment. Cognitive judgements are assumed to precede any changes in attitudes that might be observed.

The present experiment indicates that discrepancies from observer stereotypes affect observers' perceptions of victims of personal crime. In this context, observers' stereotypes can be seen to be schemata which may affect both the encoding and retrieval of information.

Encoding involves integrating external stimuli into internal representations. One aspect, seen as important in activating the stereotype observers select is the salience of the input. Salience refers to the distinctions of the stimulus information relative to the context (Fiske & Taylor, 1983). Salient information attracts the observer's attention by being different from its surrounding and
salient information is unexpected since it is not predictable on the basis of prior knowledge. Fiske & Taylor (1983) have suggested that salient events are paid more attention to, more likely to be seen as causally responsible, and evaluated more extremely.

In the present experiment, it is hypothesised that observers already have schemata in their memory. These schemata are subjects' stereotypic views of promiscuous, married and single women. After having watched the videotaped interviews, observers are required to encode additional information relating to the sexual status and victimisation of the interviewee. The salience of this additional information is viewed as the incongruity between the additional information and observers' stereotypes. Information which is discrepant to stereotypes is more salient and will be paid more attention and evaluated more extremely. The experimental results generally show this to be the case within Factor A (sexual status of interviewee) on stereotypic items. However, the finding that for interviewees 1, 3 and 4 in CRF 3x6 that Factor A is a significant main effect for neutral items is not in accord with this hypothesis. In these instances the significant effect is located in promiscuous interviewees being highly polarised in observer ratings. It is probable that even the neutral items are not "value free" and polarisation can and does occur within them.

The results can be interpreted to demonstrate dispositional rather than situational attribution and that within victim dispositional attribution, discrepancy from stereotype is crucial in the process
of social cognition of victims of personal crime.

The value of adopting a dynamic information processing approach compared to a more static interpretation is further highlighted by the results of the questionnaire. Results have suggested that the "just world" and "attitude toward women" scales have little predictive utility with respect to a wide range of variables identified as being important in understanding rape. What seems to be more critical are sex differences with respect to these factors. Sex differences in attitudes and stereotypes are related to the salience of information in the social cognition of rape victims and more research is required to link the processes of social cognition to these differences. Perhaps Bertrand Russell had it right as long ago as 1927 when he stated:

"Popular induction depends upon the emotional interest of the instances."
PART III : THE POLICE STUDY
## PART III - CONTENTS

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9. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS
5. BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS IN STUDYING THE PROBLEM OF RAPE

This chapter describes the background to and the approach adopted in the present study. The first section discusses the methodological problems concerned with using reported rape offences as data. A number of the stages in the processing of rape incidents are identified. The limitations and advantages of using police records as a source of data are also reviewed.

The second section describes in detail the background and source of the police records analysed in the present study. A breakdown of the police divisions in the West Midlands and the appropriate rape incidence are described and also compared with the incidence of rape nationally.

The third section deals with the analysis of information gained from the police records. Static and dynamic analysis is discussed through the concepts of the "structure" of rape incidents and the "process" of rape. The "structure" of rape refers to the descriptive and statistical analysis of rape events and the "process" of rape refers to the dynamics of rape incidents. That is, the perception, definition, reporting, routine management of rape offences by the police and the outcomes in relationship to certain features of rape incidents.
5.1 Using Reported Rape Records as a Source of Information: Some Methodological Issues

Increasing importance has been placed on the ways in which official statistics are collected. Police records have a limited value in the study of crime (Hood & Sparks, 1970) partly because the police information refers only to reported and recorded offences. As Sparks et al (1977) point out, the recording of an event as a "crime known to the police" is the outcome of a sequence of social and psychological processes. The authors outline five stages in this process: the perception, definition, reporting, possible redefinition, and finally the recording of the event in the official statistics. Thus not all criminal events become recorded as criminal acts (Walker, 1971).

An important role is played by the victim herself in the social construction and the production of the official rate of rape (Kitsuse & Cicourel, 1963). Many authors, (Brownmiller, 1976; Conklin, 1975; Kelly, 1975; MacNamara & Sagarin, 1978) believe that of all serious crimes rape is the least reported. Victim naivety of the law and its procedures, stigmatisation and shaming of the victim, and fear that the legal system is tacitly sympathetic to the rapist are often suggested as explanations of these low reporting rates (Hooper et al, 1964; Kelly, 1975).

Some authors (Clark & Lewis, 1977) suggest that a further problem with recorded rape offences is that they are biased by the police. It is argued that the perception of the credibility of the victim
influences whether or not the police file a report and affects their decision whether or not to "unfound" her complaint. Thus it has been argued that certain types of women are likely to be believed and that there is some systematic distortion in the official statistics relating to rape (Biderman & Reiss, 1971; Rose & Randall, 1978). Further, it may be the case that the police tend to believe rape complaints not only from particular types of women but from women who have been assaulted by particular types of men. Hindelang & Davis (1977) suggest that recorded arrests are influenced by such factors as the offenders ability to evade arrest. Thus police information concerning rape suspects may not be representative of rapists generally because those suspects who are apprehended may be different from those who are not. Moreover, not all arrested suspects are convicted and of those that are not all necessarily committed the offence.

Central to the interpretation of police records is the concept that in practice the police develop theories about individuals and groups, morality and immorality, good and bad people and social practices. Cicourel (1968) argues that the official records are influenced by these theories which assist the police in the routine detection of offenders and recognition of "real" complainants.

It is apparent then, that information gained from police records should be viewed critically. However, inferences made about the criminal act on the basis of other sources of information may be even more problematic. For example, court records, prison
statistics and parole statistics are even further removed from the criminal event than the information gained from police files. In addition, the problems associated with the use of victimisation surveys are well documented (Hough & Mayhew, 1983; Sparks et al., 1977).

5.2 Description of the Police Areas and the Incidence of Rape Reported to the Police

The present study is based on the analysis of a sample of rape offences (for the years 1971 to 1978) classified as such by the West Midlands Police Force. This sample does not include offences which resulted in the death of the victim due to the fact that offences are finally classified on the basis of the most serious offence and these cases would therefore be defined as murder or manslaughter. Conversely, the sample does include those offences which may have been initially reported as a "lesser crime" (e.g. burglary) but which proved to have also been rape offences.

The detailed composition of the rape offences analysed in this sample is reviewed in Section 7.2 and Section 7.5. The numbers of offences, incidents, victims, offenders and sexual dyads are not the same and the ways in which each is worked out is fully discussed. It is important that in describing, analysing and making inferences from the sample of reported rapes the organisation of the data should be made clear.
Figure 3 shows the areas of the police divisions in the West Midlands from which the sample of rape offences was drawn. Only police divisions B, C, D, E and F are situated within the Birmingham Metropolitan District. All the others are situated only within the West Midlands (i.e. not Birmingham City): –

'B' Division covers the Bournville and the surrounding areas of Birmingham

'C' Division covers the Handsworth, Lozells and the surrounding areas of Birmingham

'D' Division covers the Aston, Witton, Perry Barr and the surrounding areas of Birmingham

'E' Division covers the Garretts Green, Stechford and the surrounding areas of Birmingham

'F' Division covers the City Centre areas of Birmingham.

The populations of the areas covered by each division and the number of reported rape offences are given in Table 13. It can be seen from Table 13 that the rates in relation to the population appear to be proportionately higher from certain divisions. For example 'F' division has a population of 53,000 and figures of up to 15 rapes reported in a year. However, it should be pointed out that 'F' division covers the City Centre area and although there may not be many people in residence, there are a great deal of people who socialise in the pubs and clubs covered by this area who would be taken to the station if they were arrested in the City.

Figure 4 illustrates graphically the numbers of rapes reported to
Figure 3: Map of the West Midlands illustrating the police divisions.
Figure 4: Number of rapes reported to the West Midlands Police Force (1958-1981) - from Chief Constables figures.
Table 13: A breakdown of the number of rapes reported to each division of the West Midlands Police Force

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>J</th>
<th>K</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1975*</td>
<td>5(3)</td>
<td>9(8)</td>
<td>3(2)</td>
<td>5(2)</td>
<td>3(3)</td>
<td>4(2)</td>
<td>10(9)</td>
<td>1(2)</td>
<td>7(3)</td>
<td>2(1)</td>
<td>6(4)</td>
<td>55(39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976*</td>
<td>3(2)</td>
<td>5(5)</td>
<td>7(6)</td>
<td>9(5)</td>
<td>5(1)</td>
<td>6(2)</td>
<td>5(4)</td>
<td>4(2)</td>
<td>3(0)</td>
<td>3(2)</td>
<td>10(7)</td>
<td>60(36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977*</td>
<td>7(5)</td>
<td>11(6)</td>
<td>3(1)</td>
<td>9(6)</td>
<td>8(6)</td>
<td>6(5)</td>
<td>7(4)</td>
<td>2(2)</td>
<td>5(1)</td>
<td>6(3)</td>
<td>8(3)</td>
<td>72(42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978*</td>
<td>8(3)</td>
<td>23(12)</td>
<td>3(5)</td>
<td>11(4)</td>
<td>4(4)</td>
<td>9(3)</td>
<td>6(2)</td>
<td>4(3)</td>
<td>7(3)</td>
<td>9(4)</td>
<td>9(5)</td>
<td>93(48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>6(4)</td>
<td>14(6)</td>
<td>7(1)</td>
<td>10(6)</td>
<td>8(2)</td>
<td>7(1)</td>
<td>4(1)</td>
<td>5(4)</td>
<td>14(10)</td>
<td>2(2)</td>
<td>6(3)</td>
<td>83(40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>4(2)</td>
<td>15(12)</td>
<td>12(12)</td>
<td>12(7)</td>
<td>15(11)</td>
<td>7(5)</td>
<td>6(3)</td>
<td>1(2)</td>
<td>9(6)</td>
<td>7(3)</td>
<td>8(5)</td>
<td>96(68)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>280,000</td>
<td>235,000</td>
<td>53,000</td>
<td>268,600</td>
<td>312,000</td>
<td>340,000</td>
<td>189,000</td>
<td>286,000</td>
<td>260,000</td>
<td>301,000</td>
<td>203,000</td>
<td>2,728,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Years included in the present study
( ) Number of rapes cleared up that year
ø Population within the boundaries of each division in 1979
the West Midlands Police Force yearly. In agreement with the national trends, the incidence of reported rape has been increasing over some period of time. The graph shows that the incidence of rape has more than doubled over the period of the present study.

A comparison of the national and regional incidence of Indictable Offences (Sexual Offences) (see Appendix 6) suggests that the West Midlands appears to follow the national patterns more closely than other regions. This is also the case for rape offences given in the second section of Appendix 6.

5.3 The "Structure" and "Process" of Rape

Rape is an emotive issue which has aroused a great deal of popular interest but little systematic research (Smarr, 1977). The seriousness of the problem has been brought to public attention by feminist attempts to understand rape. However, the scientific status of many feminist explanations needs to be more firmly rooted in systematic research.

Despite an increasing realisation that rape is a multi-faceted issue it still tends to be discussed in a simplistic way. Rape is often used as an "umbrella" term for a wide range of incidents with aggressive and sexual components. Contemporary theorists have moved away from a "broad band" view of rape (Bart & Schepple, 1980; Geis, 1971; Nelson & Amir, 1973; Peters, 1973). However, sweeping
generalisations still emanate from both "traditional" and feminist camps. It is no more true to say "women ask for it" than it is to declare that "all men rape."

The official statistics on rape annually published by the Home Office disclose little detail of offences or their management by the police. In order to gain more information concerning these two aspects the rape offence files themselves need to be examined.

The range of behaviours exhibited by those participants in the act of rape and its subsequent detection and management by the authorities makes it a complex issue. Two approaches in the analysis of the data from the rape crime files are taken in this study. Both styles of analysis attempt to link the empirical information gained from the rape files with "common conceptions" of what rape is thought to entail. The two approaches taken in the present study are a static approach which investigates the "structure" of rape incidents and a more dynamic approach which refers to the whole "process" of rape events.

The "process" of rape is concerned with the stages of rape incidents from the initial act through to reporting and to the sentencing of the offender in some offences. For practical reasons, problems relating to the perception, definition, reporting, and recording of rape offences are covered in the "structure" of rape incidents. Although there is no agreement about the actual proportion, criminologists generally agree that the majority of rapes are not
reported (Katz & Mazur, 1979).

Apart from victimisation surveys (Hough & Mayhew, 1983; Sparks et al, 1977) little is known about how reported rapes differ from those that are not reported. It is generally assumed that the more violent rapes are reported and that certain characteristics about the victim affect both reporting and the subsequent treatment of the victim (Burgess & Holstrom, 1976; Clark & Lewis, 1977; Edwards, 1981; Hooper et al, 1984). A description of the rapes in the present study, together with a breakdown of the patterns of features associated with rape are outlined in Section 7.2. The empirical analysis of these patterns could illustrate if and how "common conceptions" of rape might operate at these early stages in the rape incident.

Just as the initial recording of an incident is a result of a sequence of social and psychological processes (Sparks et al, 1977), the subsequent management of the rape incident and the final outcome is also a product of these processes. Following the initial reporting of the offence the police investigation could follow a number of discrete routes:-

(a) The case proceeds no further than the initial complaint.

(b) An offender was not apprehended, therefore the case could go no further.

(c) Although a suspect was questioned, the case was dropped by the police.

(d) The offence was later defined as a "lesser crime".
(e) The suspect was charged but found "not guilty" and therefore the case was dropped.

(f) The suspect was charged, found "guilty" and sentenced.

It is important to examine if and how the "common conceptions" of rape which have been previously discussed (see Chapter 3) are institutionalised into the legal and judicial systems and whether they affect how rape suspects are dealt with. Investigating the "process" of rape and how various "types" of rape are differentially managed by the police might reflect some attitudes about rape and rape victims held by professionals who deal with rape offences (Burt, 1980; Feild, 1978). This aspect is discussed in Chapter 8.
6. THE DEVELOPMENT, DESIGN AND RELIABILITY OF THE CODING SCHEDULE

The following three sections deal with the development, design and reliability of the coding schedule used in the present study. The first section deals with the development of the coding schedule and the organisation of the research programme. The proportions of the rape crime files made available and coded are reviewed and a description of the type of information contained within these files is also included.

The second section summarises the aims in constructing a coding schedule together with a brief review of the coding categories which were included. Many of these categories have been used by previous researchers (Amir, 1971; Clark & Lewis, 1977; Wright, 1980) and where these differ with respect to the present study, the reasons are outlined.

The third section describes the two types of reliability tests which were performed on the data from the pilot study and the same information from the full study.

6.1 Development of the Coding Schedule

The original proposal submitted to the Home Office requesting access to confidential rape crime files described two distinct but complementary objectives. The West Midlands Police Force was interested
in developing a more complete and useful classification of rape
cases and this aspect formed part of the wider research programme.
Further analysis of the information for patterns in the incidence of
rape and the management of rape cases was a specific aim of the
present study. The files were released a full year after initial
contact had been made.

As the rape crime files are confidential, it was necessary to con-
struct a coding schedule to categorise the information contained in
the files so that they could be analysed more fully away from the
Central Information Unit of the West Midlands Police Force. Due to
the time lag between making the first contact with and finally
gaining permission from the Home Office, the initial version of the
coding schedule developed for the pilot study was produced without
access to the rape crime files. In developing the coding schedule
for this study, previous work by Amir (1971), Clark & Lewis (1977)
and Wright (1980) was considered (see Section 6.2). Despite
the scope of these studies and other similar studies (eg Chappell et
al, 1977; McCahill et al, 1979; Radzinowicz, 1957) it was felt that
important details which could have been highlighted were ignored.
Information was available concerning how many people the victim told
about the incident before telling the police and who was told; however,
none of the other studies reported these sorts of details.

The original proposal submitted to the Home Office requested access
to approximately 400 rape files. It was felt more appropriate to
analyse an eight year period of rape files (1971-1978 inclusive)
A number of files were unobtainable for a number of reasons. Many had been lost or destroyed as a result of major reorganisations of the police filing systems within the last ten years. All files released were coded. It is assumed that the files were randomly, rather than systematically lost or destroyed. The fact that the older the file the more likely it was to be missing supports this assumption. The following Table (Table 14) illustrates the numbers and percentages of files which were actually coded.

Table 14: Proportion of rape files accessed and coded

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of files held by the</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Midlands Police Force</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of files released</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of files coded</td>
<td>46.86%</td>
<td>90.7%</td>
<td>73.63%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On inspection, the police files proved to be quite variable in the breadth and depth of the information they contained concerning the offence, the victim, and the offender.

In general most files contained:

(a) An initial charge sheet
(b) A statement by the victim
(c) Forensic reports
(d) Statements from witnesses
In addition, some files contained further information:–

(e) Sometimes a character analysis was available in the statements from people who knew the victim

(f) Detectives' statements recording their questioning of suspects

(g) If a suspect was charged:

(i) his statement

(ii) detectives' statements of their interviews with him

(iii) information about the suspect's background such as his education, work, character, physique, sentence received if any, and so on

The information contained within the police files on rape was broadly divided into three main subject headings:-

(a) Details concerning the incident itself

(b) Details about the victim(s)

(c) Details about the offender(s)

The coding schedule was constructed in such a manner that these broad divisions were mirrored in its structure. Due to the variability of the categorisation systems used by different police divisions, the numbers of separate incidents, victims and offenders were occasionally confounded. This is hardly surprising since many rapes involve more than one offender, and/or more than one victim. Using a rape incident as the basic unit, the following Table (Table 15) illustrates the composition of the rapes in this study.
Table 15: Number of offenders and victims involved in the rape incidents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of offenders</th>
<th>No. of Victims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before embarking on the coding of the full sample of rape files, a smaller sample of closed rape files was sought in order to modify and evaluate the coding schedule itself. It was felt that the pilot coding schedule would need to be revised with respect to this particular study. Figure 5 shows the stages in the development and evaluation of the coding schedule. The pilot study fulfilled two objectives. Firstly, it meant that the pilot coding schedule could be revised and adapted for this full study (see Chapter 7) and secondly, the coded schedules were used in conjunction with the codings of the full study to perform a reliability study (see Section 6.3).

Closed rather than open rape crime files were requested for the
Figure 5: Stages in the development and evaluation of the coding schedule

   (For coding categories included see Appendix 7).

2. A sample of closed rape crime files were coded using the pilot coding schedule.
   (A total of 48 police rape files were coded resulting in 68 separate dyads.)

3. Revision of the pilot coding schedule with respect to the depth and breadth of information encountered in the pilot study.

4. Recode the sample of rape crime files onto the final version of the coding schedule.

5. Using the final version of the coding schedule code the full sample of rape crime files.
   (The full sample contains the sample of closed rape files used in the pilot phase.)

6. Reliability studies.
   Test/retest for cases in the pilot sample.
   Inter-rater reliability for some categories.
pilot study because it was anticipated that there would be a greater variety and detail of information contained in those cases which had been concluded by the police. At this stage in the research programme the aim was not to restrict the categories but rather to investigate a wide variety of cases in order to devise an exhaustive coding schedule for later use (see Section 6.2).

6.2 Design of the Coding Schedule

One recurring problem in rape research is finding a means of breaking down rape behaviour into a functional system of classes or categories. This breakdown needs to strike a balance between precision and generality. The category system adopted should be detailed enough to permit discussion of rape behaviour in reasonably precise terms but not so detailed that in summarising the events surrounding rape there is little improvement over describing individual rape incidents. The categories should be sufficiently general and exhaustive so that few instances of rape will be found to be unclassifiable.

If possible the categories should be related to each other in a conceptionally consistent manner. If all these criteria could be met in imposing an organisational schema upon the phenomena of rape, then rape research could proceed more effectively. Unfortunately the lack of systematic theories of rape means that categories of coding do not necessarily lead to testable predictions (Albin, 1977).
The coding schedule developed in this present study attempted to meet these ideal criteria but the dual problem of identifying appropriate categories and locating relevant information in the rape crime files meant that in practice the ideal could not always be met. However, the schedule was felt to represent an improved framework compared to previous research (see Amir, 1971; Clark & Lewis, 1977; Wright, 1980).

Appendix 7 contains a listing of the coding categories used in both the pilot and the final versions of the coding schedule. Also included in the Table in Appendix 7 are categories which have been used by some previous researchers (Amir, 1971; Clark & Lewis, 1977; Wright, 1980) and the overlap of coding categories between the studies is indicated. The additional coding categories which were included in the final coding schedule for this present study related to what would appear to be important aspects of rape incidents; for example, whether or not the offence was an ongoing crime (coding category number 9) in other words a number of offences involving the same participants occurred over some period of time. (This was found to be the case in some incidents involving a stepfather and his young step-daughter.) The second part of Appendix 7 summarises the reasons for the inclusion or exclusion of certain coding categories.

It can be seen from Appendix 8 that a number of the coding categories can be further subdivided into multiple categories. For example, the coding category "coercion used" has eleven possible
categories, and in any particular incident a number of categories could occur simultaneously. In practice for any multiple coding category no more than three categories ever occurred and consequently there are a maximum of 159 possible data points for each coding schedule.

A final version of the coding schedule developed for this study is contained within Appendix 8.

6.3 Reliability of the Coding Schedule

The final coding schedule was examined for two types of reliability; firstly, where possible test/retest reliability was examined using the recoded pilot study cases and the same cases which had been coded in the full study.

The problems of gaining access to the confidential rape crime files meant that the method of test/retest reliability was the only practical way of assessing reliability.

Appendix 9 indicates the Spearmans Rho correlation coefficients for each of the 159 coding categories on the coding schedule. These coefficients were computed using the SPSS package version 9 (Nie et al, 1975) on the Aston University mainframe computer (Harris). In all cases where computation of the coefficient was possible $\chi = 1$. This was expected since categories in the coding schedule are
generally unambiguous. For a few coding categories a correlation coefficient could not be computed because either there were only a couple of scores available for that category or the data was dichotomous for that particular category. (For example, coding categories 9, 14, 28 and 101).

Secondly, inter-rater reliability was subsequently examined for coding category number 27 - Did the offender give a motive? If a suspect was questioned by the police they generally asked him at some stage in the procedure, why he had committed the offence. His answer was taken down verbatim onto the coding schedule and therefore a more qualitative analysis of motive could be performed. A detailed coding framework was devised and four raters coded the suspects’ statements on the following set of items:

00 Offender was not apprehended
01 No statement available
02 More than one suspect

\begin{align*}
\text{Admission/Denial} & \\
03 \text{Strong denial (ie he didn't do it)} & \\
04 \text{Weak denial (ie victim didn't actually say "no")} & \\
05 \text{Admits sexual contact/not rape/victim consented} & \\
06 \text{Victim is lying} & \\
07 \text{Admits it all} & \\
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{Drink/Drugs} & \\
08 \text{Suspect had been drinking blames the drink} & \\
09 \text{Both had been drinking together} &
\end{align*}

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Sexual urge

10 Victim is a "slag/slut/prostitute/teaser" who "deserved" it.

11 Suspect got the "urge".

12 No woman to "service" suspect (ie blamed it on a legitimate woman not being available).

Socialising

13 They had been dancing together/victim had flirted.

Questions

14 Victim is mad/"wrong in head"

Saneness

15 Suspect claims to be mad or "wrong in the head" (eg something went "click" or "I don't know what came over me").

Blames

16 Blames it on fear of other suspects (ie "only others did it because the other suspects were present or jeering").

Four judges rated each suspect's statement and could choose any number of the items. In order to compute a single score for this category for each case to use in subsequent analysis, those items which were mentioned by three or all of the judges were selected. Appendix 10 illustrates the calculation of the inter-rater reliability score using the method developed by Spiegelman, Terwilliger & Fearing (1953) and outlined by Holsti (1967). If there was complete agreement between judges the reliability score would be 1; with complete disagreement the score would be 5.

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Two inter-rater reliability scores were computed. A conservative score (where judges had to agree both on the number of items to select as well as the particular items to be selected) had the value of 1.69. The second score of 1.10 was calculated using cases where at least one item was mentioned by raters (see Appendix 10).
7. DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE POLICE STUDY

The research which is discussed in this chapter follows from previous efforts to understand the complexity of rape (see Chapter 3). Identifying features of the rape incident, the rape victim, and the rape offender and attempting to link them in meaningful patterns constitutes a first critical step in delineating the variety of connotations of the concept of "rape".

The first section deals with issues relating to the actual structure of the coding schedule itself and the ways in which information relating to the offence, the victim or the offender can be extracted separately from the overall figures.

The next three sections look at the patterns in rape incidents with respect to the incident itself, (that is, situational features such as time of offence, month of offence, place of offence and so on), the victim(s) and the offender(s) involved.

The last section reviews some of the structural patterns of rape offences which have been highlighted in the study.

7.1 A Framework for Analysing Rape

Many rape incidents involve more than one offender and sometimes more than one victim (see section 6.1 ). In this study 19.2% of
rape incidents involved more than one offender. Wright (1980) indicates that the percentages of "group" or "pair" rapes vary from 12.7% to 71.4% across a number of studies (Amir, 1971; Katz & Mazur, 1979; Wright, 1980). However, it is not always made clear how these more complicated rape scenarios are incorporated into their statistics.

Using the coding schedule developed (see Section 6.2) the full sample of rape crime files were initially hand coded at the police station. One advantage of the coding schedule in the subsequent computer analysis of the data was that the information relating to either the offender, the victim, the sexual dyad or the incident itself could be examined separately.

Much previous rape research (Amir, 1971; Clark & Lewis, 1977; Wright, 1980) has used categories of coding which are too gross to enable a clear picture of the complex set of inter-relationships within the reported rape incidents.

Amir's (1971) analysis attempted to make a distinction between the criminal event and offenders, and victims involved. Following police procedure, Amir counted cases according to the number of victims involved. This approach can lead to an oversimplified representation of some rape incidents. Consider the combinations of offenders and victims present at a rape shown in Table 16 below.
Table 16: Comparison of dependent measures used by Amir (1971) and the present study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RAPE INCIDENT</th>
<th>DEPENDENT MEASURES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Offenders</td>
<td>No. of Victims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16 compares the use of two dependent measures by Amir (number of offenders and number of cases) and the use in the present study of four dependent measures (number of offenders, number of victims, number of sexual offence dyads, and number of incidents). It is apparent that when information about rape is being coded or analysed it is advantageous to deal with each of these dependent measures separately.

The term "rape incident" is used in the present study and other studies (Amir, 1971; Wright, 1980) to represent the whole incident involving any number of assailants and victims, whereas the term "rape offence" used by the police refers to the rape of one female by any number of assailants, as either the whole, or part of an incident. This is defined in the following Home Office Directive (1964):

"One crime should be recorded for each person against whom an offence is committed. The number of crimes, therefore, should not be less than the number of persons killed,"
During the period from 1920 to 1956, there were 243 cases of
maimed, wounded, assaulted, ravished, abducted, etc. The number of accused persons is not a guide to the number of crimes to be recorded. If for instance, one person murders three persons then three crimes of murder must be recorded. On the other hand, if three persons murder one person, only one murder should be recorded."

(HMSO, 1964)

Although the overall proportions of particular details concerning rape are important and should be illustrated, whether the statistics themselves refer to incidents, victims, offenders, or sexual dyads as the unit of analysis needs to be made clear. Further to this, it has been argued that many of the misconceptions of rape cluster around what might be called a stereotypical rape script (see Chapter 1). The archetypal rape is thought to be a crime which is committed by a stranger on a young attractive woman who arouses a rapist's sexual urge. It is assumed to occur mainly at night, at weekends and outdoors (Amir, 1971; Meda & Thompson, 1974). However, in reality rape offences can take place at any time, anywhere and often between people who know each other to some extent. The breakdown of the statistics on any particular category with respect to other categories such as ages of the participants, will lead to a clearer picture of these complicated relationships; and to a structure of rape incidents which incorporate broad categories of rape, of which the popular image of stranger rape (see Chapter 3) represents only one out of the many possible patterns of events.

One other complicating factor found in a number of the rape incidents in this study is that they were "ongoing" crimes. In other words,
the suspect had committed similar offences on the victim over some period of time. Nearly 8% of the incidents in this sample (28) were such "ongoing" crimes. None of the studies previously mentioned appear to highlight this aspect. If these findings have been occurring in other studies then it must be assumed that they have been incorporated in their overall figures. Thus to note these types of offences may enable a clearer definition of the boundaries of rape incidents in general.

7.2 Characteristics of the Offence in the Present Study

This section reports the patterns within the rape incidents occurring in the West Midlands sample used in this study (see Section 5.2). Of necessity most of the information presented in this chapter will be descriptive in nature. However, where previous literature suggests a testable relationship a statistical analysis was performed. The unit of analysis adopted was the "incident" (see Section 7.1). Where it was necessary to examine offenders, victims or dyads this is signalled clearly in the text.

7.2.1 Temporal features of rape incidents

A striking feature of a number of incidents in the present study was that they involved a series of repeated offences with the same participants over some period of time. These were termed "ongoing incidents". Of previous research Amir (1971) reported such an occurrence and because he found only one such case no further
information was recorded. Nearly 10% (9.5%, n=34) of the incidents in this study were such "ongoing incidents". Many of these involved a familial or stepfather/stepdaughter relationship and a large proportion of these were complicated insofar as they often involved other members of the family in some of the offences. "Ongoing incidents", although incorporating a number of separate incidents, were only recorded once. The following is a summary of one such "ongoing incident" which was particularly complex.

"The family was motherless (she had died in a car accident) and they were socioeconomically disadvantaged. The stepfather and brother (aged 64 and 17 years) both had unconsented sex with the oldest daughter (aged 13 years). They each individually had sex on a number of other occasions with her as did the oldest brother (aged 19 years). The two youngest brothers in the family (aged 17 and 14) also sexually assaulted the younger girl (aged 8 years) individually and repeatedly. The offences took place over a period of time ranging from December 1975 to August 1976."

If the offences regularly took place on one night each week (eg if the mother went to bingo), then the "ongoing incident" was recorded for that particular day. In general these "ongoing incidents" had to be recorded under a separate category of the coding schedule.

Rape is often portrayed as a summertime crime with many studies finding that proportionately more rapes occur during the summer (Clark & Lewis, 1977; Kelly, 1972; Radzinowicz, 1957). Chappell & Singer (1977) found a high incidence of summer rapes in their samples of Boston and Philadelphia rapes, whereas they report no seasonal trend in their samples of Los Angeles or New York rapes.
Table 17 portrays the monthly incidence of rape for the present study and although proportionately more rapes occur during the hot months, this relationship is not statistically significant.

Similarly, Amir (1971) suggests, "... there is a slight but insignificant association between season and number of rapes".

Table 17: Monthly distribution of reported rapes in the West Midlands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Percentages for &quot;hot&quot; months</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>37.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>31.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>22.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Ongoing incidents&quot;</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The high incidence of rapes during the month of January might be explained by the fact that many of them occurred on January 1st or 2nd; possibly after New Year celebrations, parties and social functions where both victims and assailants had been drinking.

It has been contended that rape, like other crimes of violence occurs disproportionately at weekends (Amir, 1971; Chappell & Singer, 1977; Wolfgang, 1958) whereas Clark & Lewis (1977) found no significant weekly pattern in the incidence of rapes. Table 18 indicates the weekly incidence of rapes in the present study. In accordance

Table 18 : Weekly distribution of reported rape incidents in the West Midlands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day of week</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Ongoing incidents&quot;</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>99.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Missing - 2 cases
with previous research there is a significant decrease in the proportions of rape midweek and an increase at the weekend ($X^2=18.01$, df=6, p>0.01). However, these results do not support Wrights (1980) finding that there is a significantly higher proportion of group or pair rapes as compared to single assailant offences occurring at the weekend. This study found no such relationship ($X^2=5.52$, df=6, n.s.).

The incidence of rape in the West Midlands sample appears to be generally an evening and late night offence with over half occurring during the period between 8.00 pm and 1.59 am. These results are consistent with studies by Amir (1971) and Chappell & Singer (1977) who also found the highest proportions of rape occurring between 8.00 pm and 1.59 am. Table 19 indicates the proportions of rape incidents for each quarter of the day in the present study. The second part of the Table uses the victim as the unit of analysis to show how the age of the victim is related to the time of the incident. In previous studies, the frequencies of offences are reported for time of day but time of day and age are not compared. It is hypothesised that in the case of young victims, the daily pattern of rape will be quite different from the general daily pattern with many of the young victim rapes occurring just after school closing time. As can be seen from Table 19 the most common time for young rape victims to be assaulted is in the afternoon whereas older rape victims tend to be attacked at the "peak" times (ie in the evening or late night, when most socialising occurs as well as more consumption of alcohol).
Table 19: Distribution of rapes by six hour periods of the day and by the age of the victim

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Incidents Frequency</th>
<th>6-12</th>
<th>13-15</th>
<th>16-18</th>
<th>19-21</th>
<th>22-25</th>
<th>26-30</th>
<th>31-35</th>
<th>36-40</th>
<th>41-50</th>
<th>51+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.00 am - 7.59 am</td>
<td>(54) 16.62</td>
<td>4.35</td>
<td>12.50</td>
<td>23.08</td>
<td>18.37</td>
<td>10.71</td>
<td>23.53</td>
<td>16.67</td>
<td>8.33</td>
<td>11.11</td>
<td>8.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1) (8)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.00 pm - 1.59 pm</td>
<td>(18) 5.54</td>
<td>13.04</td>
<td>3.13</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>6.12</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5.56</td>
<td>16.67</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3) (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.00 pm - 7.59 pm</td>
<td>(68) 20.92</td>
<td>56.52</td>
<td>25.00</td>
<td>13.19</td>
<td>18.37</td>
<td>21.43</td>
<td>11.76</td>
<td>5.56</td>
<td>25.00</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>8.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(13) (16)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.00 pm - 1.59 am</td>
<td>(155) 56.92</td>
<td>26.09</td>
<td>59.38</td>
<td>61.54</td>
<td>57.14</td>
<td>64.29</td>
<td>64.71</td>
<td>72.22</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>55.56</td>
<td>75.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(6) (38)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>(325) 100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100.01</td>
<td>100.01</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100.01</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>99.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(23) (64)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

30 (9.22%) "ongoing" incidents
7.2.2 Patterns in behaviour immediately after the offence

It has been suggested by many researchers (eg Amir, 1971; Bohmer, 1974; Davis, 1978; Hibey, 1973; LeGrand, 1973) that the behaviour of the victim immediately after the offence influences both the detection of the offence and can be a factor in court proceedings. For example, Clark & Lewis (1977) claim that the police may doubt a victim's credibility if she fails to report the offence at the first opportunity and suggest that a case in their sample was classified as 'unfounded' merely because the victim did not report the rape to the first person she saw but waited to tell her boyfriend.

In the present study, most offences were reported within a short period after the attack. 47.6% (n=171) were reported within one hour, a further 12.5% (n=45) were reported between one and three hours later and a further 4.7% (n=17) between three and six hours later. Thus, 64.8% (n=223) were reported within six hours of the offence. For a variety of reasons, many victims subsequently decided to report the next day (13.4%, n=48) and a further 11.4% (n=41) took up to three weeks to report the offence while 10.3% (n=37) took over three weeks. Many of these late reported offences (over 2 weeks) concerned young victims who were either too frightened to report the incident or too young to realise that it was a criminal offence.

The most usual reason given by the victim or police for the delay in reporting included: victim might be afraid of retaliation, victim was very young, victim had tried to 'save face', victim decided to tell someone first, victim was kept imprisoned by the assailant/s.
Only 3.6% (n=13) of incidents resulted in a delay in reporting because the victim did not trust telling the police, a finding which is supported by British Crime Survey (Hough & Mayhew, 1983).

The types of reasons for delay in reporting (any time after one hour is included in this delay) is associated with both the number and type of people told prior to reporting and how the incident is reported. In only 14.2% (n=51) of incidents the victim told no-one about the offence before reporting it to the police. More commonly (60.5%, n=217) the victim had told at least two people. The people told were generally family or close friends (67.9%, n=244) compared with 14.2% (n=51) telling strangers, often with the express wish that they might help her to either report or elicit aid during the offence. Commonly the person or people whom the victim informed about the event were those who reported it to the police. The following Table 20 shows that most rapes were reported by someone other than the victim and this factor may explain to some extent the delay in reporting of rape incidents.

As can be seen from Table 20 very few offences were discovered by the police (1.7%, n=6 were _in flagrante delicto_). More commonly the victim told a friend or member of the family before reporting (34.0%, n=156). 29.8% (n=107) went straight to the police and 25.6% (n=92) were frightened, confused or young and therefore made no serious attempt to tell the police.
Table 20: Frequency and percentages of persons reporting rape offence to the police in the West Midlands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Victim herself</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>31.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent/guardian</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>30.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband/boyfriend</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close friend of victim</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person at hospital/institution/probation officer</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbour/landlady</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stranger to victim</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suspect himself</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police discovered</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.2.3 Location of offences

The location of the offences for this study are considered in three ways. Firstly, where the assailant and victim met immediately prior to the offence was recorded. Secondly, where the offence itself took place was recorded. Thirdly, the distances between assailant's and victim's residence were analysed with respect to where the offence took place. Table 21 gives the location of initial contact between assailant and victim and Table 22 gives the location of the offence.

152
Table 21: Location of initial contact of assailant and victim (West Midlands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Victim's home by breaking in</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim's home by invitation or, both victim's and assailant's home</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assailant's or his friend's home</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pub/bar/disco/party</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>28.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car/bus</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open space</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public buildings (eg school, hospital)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary/derelict buildings</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>355</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.9</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22: Location of the offence (West Midlands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Victim's home or both victim's and assailant's home</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assailant's or his friend's home</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open space</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary buildings</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public buildings</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>359</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.1</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It can be seen from Table 21 that in nearly one quarter of the rape incidents (23.4%, n=84) the parties initially met at a social event (e.g., party or pub) and many of these offences were committed by "brief acquaintances"; that is, they met for the first time at that function. Slightly more frequently the initial contact took place either in somebody's home or on the street (29.6% and 28.4%, respectively). For those victims who knew the assailant; initially meeting on the street and the offence taking place outdoors is less likely than for strangers. This issue is examined in greater detail in Section 7.5. Over half of the rapes took place inside someone's home (50.1%, n=180) whilst only approximately one third (29.7%, n=107) took place outdoors in an open space.

Although rape is often thought to be an outdoor offence (see Chapter 3), a number of previous studies are in agreement with the present study in that most offences tended to take place in a residence whilst much fewer took place outdoors (Amir, 1971; Chappell & Singer, 1976). It has been suggested that the discrepancy between the relative rates of indoor and outdoor rapes is related to urban or rural surveys – the higher incidence of indoor rape being associated with urban areas (Wright, 1980). Offences tend to take place near where the suspect lives. Amir (1971) indicates that 68% of rapes occurred in the same vicinity as both the victims and offenders residences. Eralason (1946) argued that "87% of all sex offenders committed their offences within the neighbourhood where they were residing". and White (1932) found that the average distance between the residence of the offender and location of the rape offence was 1.52 miles. Sutherland & Cressey
(1967) claim that, in general, crimes occur close to the residences of the criminals, this proximity being especially near for crimes against the person. Table 23 indicates that in the present study a large proportion of incidents occurred near to either the assailant's or victim's home. Table 23 indicates that over 70% of offences were committed within 1½ miles of the assailant's residence and 67% within the same distance from the victim's residence.

Table 23: Area of offence in relation to assailant's and victim's residence (West Midlands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Assailant Frequency %</th>
<th>Victim Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Same place</td>
<td>86 31.5</td>
<td>82 23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same street/block of flats</td>
<td>11 4.0</td>
<td>24 6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within ½ mile</td>
<td>26 9.5</td>
<td>47 13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within ¾ mile</td>
<td>30 11.0</td>
<td>35 9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within 1 mile</td>
<td>25 9.2</td>
<td>33 9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within 1½ miles</td>
<td>18 6.6</td>
<td>17 4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within 2-3½ miles</td>
<td>44 16.1</td>
<td>61 17.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within 4-10 miles</td>
<td>26 9.5</td>
<td>41 11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within 20 miles</td>
<td>5 1.8</td>
<td>7 1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 20 miles</td>
<td>2 0.7</td>
<td>8 2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>273 99.9</strong></td>
<td><strong>355 100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unknown (86) (4)
7.2.4 Interaction patterns involved in rape incidents

In describing interaction patterns involved within rape events a number of different factors are examined. These include the acts which were threatened and/or performed during the rape, the coercion used, resistance by the victim and victim injury. In this study both the acts demanded or attempted by the suspects and the acts committed by the suspect were recorded. The distribution of both is shown in the following Table. Approximately 40% of incidents involved single acts whilst nearly 60% involved a number of different acts (40.7% and 59.3% for acts threatened; 41.8% and 58.2% for acts which were committed). Table 24 shows that not all assaults classified by the police as rape or attempted rape actually resulted in vaginal penetration although nearly all (96.3%) were incidents in which vaginal penetration was attempted or threatened. In general fewer acts were performed than those initially threatened.

Many researchers (see Wright, 1980) suggest that acts such as kissing, breast fondling and clitoral stimulation are probably due to situations where the assailant had misjudged the social cues and thought that it was a normal 'date.' Amir (1971) suggests that these sexual techniques may represent the assailant's attempt to transform the situation from an imposition into a mutual sexual experience. Other researchers (e.g., Agopian et al., 1971; Clark & Lewis, 1977; Russell, 1976) point out that many assailants attempt to redefine the offence in a more romantic light and some even ask the victim for a 'date.' Other acts such as buggery and fellatio
Table 24: Acts threatened or demanded and those committed in incidents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Act</th>
<th>Threat/Demand Frequency</th>
<th>Threat/Demand %*</th>
<th>Performed Frequency</th>
<th>Performed %*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kissing</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breast fondling</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breast biting/vagina biting</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>86.1</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>64.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple intercourse</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fellatio</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cunnilingus</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buggery</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand/vagina</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand/penis</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted rape</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wounding</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object in vagina</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*categories are not mutually exclusive

are rarer and Amir (1971) suggests they are probably related to instances where the assailant wanted to 'sexually humiliate' the victim whereas Clark & Lewis (1977) and Groth & Birnbaum (1980) suggest that they are related to cases where the offender might be having difficulty with orgasm or are demanded because his normal sex partner would not permit such acts. Clark & Lewis (1977) found that the police were more likely to believe the victim if other acts apart from intercourse were involved in the attack.
The type and degree of coercion used in offences is thought to be an important factor and is often cited as corroborative evidence.

Clark & Lewis (1977) concluded that more violence was used in those cases which the police had classified as "founded" as opposed to "unfounded". They argue that any violence increases the probability that the police regard the incident as "genuine". Chappell & Singer (1977) suggest that although most offences involved physical violence such as pushing or slapping only a minority involved brutality such as kicking or punching.

In the present study approximately one quarter (25.9%) of incidents involved a single method of coercion whilst three-quarters (74.1%) involved multiple methods (therefore categories in Table 25 are not mutually exclusive).

Table 25: Coercion used by assailant(s) (West Midlands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verbally tricked/intimidated victim</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal threats to victim</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal threats to others</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rough treatment/general struggle (pushing, slapping, rough handling, hitting)</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Severe beating (punched, kicked, slammed against wall)</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choking</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stabbing</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As suggested by the literature (eg Amir, 1971) the younger the victim the more likely it was that she was verbally intimidated by the offender and this was the case in the present study. Weapons were produced in 21.7% (n=78) incidents, usually the weapon being a knife or a pair of scissors (15.6%, n=56) or a belt or cosh (4.2%, n=15). Guns or axes were very rarely produced (0.8%, n=3 and 1.1%, n=4 respectively). In a further 6.4% (n=23) incidents the victim was led to believe that the suspect had a weapon even though one was not seen. These results are very similar to those cited by Amir (1971) although the carrying of weapons was slightly more prevalent than those reported by Clark & Lewis (1977) and Wright (1980) and slightly less than Chappell & Singer (1976).

Although legally (see Chapter 1) it is not necessary for a victim to physically resist a rape in order that it can be classified as a criminal act, many researchers argue that if the victim did not resist her complaint is not likely to be taken seriously by either the police or the court (eg Clark & Lewis, 1977, Russell, 1975). Medea & Thompson (1974) suggest that if the victim half heartedly struggles she is more likely to be injured whilst if she seriously resists the attack by fighting she improves her chances of escaping. Russell (1975) points out that some rapists are angered or stimulated by resistance so the victim has the double problem of identifying the rapist's motives and matching her resistance strategy to maximise her chance of escaping.

Most victims (78% of incidents) used more than one form of strategy
Table 26: Types of victim resistance (West Midlands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verbal protest/screaming</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>46.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempt to reason/protest</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>39.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General/mild struggle (wriggling, hitting, pulling away etc.)</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>51.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Severe struggle (fights, kicks, etc.)</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No physical form - too frightened or stunned</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escape attempts</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>31.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Token struggle - victim ill</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

in attempting to resist the offender; usually a verbal and physical combination (Table 26). Whether these tactics are successful appears to be related to the interpersonal relationship between the suspect and victim. This issue is examined in detail in Section 7.5. The physical and emotional state of the victim after the offence may not only be related to the degree of resistance and coercion but also have an effect on the management of a rape complaint at several stages in the judicial process (see Chapter 8). Although injuries might indicate that a victim was forced, they do not necessarily prove that she did not consent. Chappell & Singer (1976) found that 15-20% of rape victims required hospital treatment for injuries. Hindelang & Davis (1977) suggested that injuries which needed hospital treatment were more associated with completed as opposed to attempted rapes.
Using the victim as a unit the following Table (Table 27) indicates the state of the victim after the offence. Many victims (80%) were in more than one of the mentioned states.

Table 27: State of victim after the offence (West Midlands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unconscious/unable to get help</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Without some of clothes</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Without any of clothes</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Untidy</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>32.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shocked/quiet/calm</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>26.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hysterical</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crying</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distressed</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>41.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angry and shaking</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frightened</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>21.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hurt and bleeding</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

missing - 10 cases

Two methods of recording injuries to the victim were considered for this study. The police's own coding revealed that the injury was 'slight' in 33.2% (n=118) cases; 'serious/critical' in 8.7% (n=31); 'none' in 23.9% (n=85); 'threats' in 7.3% (n=26); and was unmentioned in 26.8% (n=95) cases. Table 28 gives a more comprehensive coding for the victim's injuries using the information gained from the forensic evidence.
Table 28: Degree of injury to victim (West Midlands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Injury Level</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No evidence of violence</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very slight (1)</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>31.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very serious (7)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blank</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Section 7.5 examines the relationships between the offenders and victims with respect to the state of the victim after the offence. Section 8.6 deals with the management of rape incidents and how these might be related to the state of the victim after the offence.

7.2.5 Summary

There are a number of patterns in rape incidents which have been shown consistently both in the literature and in the present study. Rapes tend to occur mostly at night, at weekends and have a slight but not significant tendency to occur during the summer months. This study also highlights another pattern of 'ongoing incidents' and a differing daily pattern in rapes for very young victims.
Current findings indicate that most victims reported the offence within a short time after the event and generally told someone about it before they told the police. More often than not it was someone other than the victim herself who reported the offence to the police. Over half of the rape offences occurred indoors and offences generally occurred in the locality of either or both the assailant's and the victim's home.

Rape offences tend to be associated with patterns of socialising before the events. In about one quarter of incidents offenders and victims had initially met at a social function and about half of the offences occurred in someone's residence.

With respect to the rape itself, far more acts were threatened or demanded by assailants than were performed. Very few oral or anal acts were threatened or inflicted on victims. Although verbal and physical violence were commonplace, the use of weapons by the assailant was relatively infrequent. Victims usually screamed, shouted and fought in attempting to escape, but the physical injuries they suffered were generally slight, whereas negative emotional effects were always present to a greater or lesser degree.

In the current sample patterns within the rape incidents are clearly evident and generally are in accord with previous research. However, it is as well to remember that these patterns are statistical generalisations and that any individual rape incident does not fit neatly into any of the 'patterns' suggested.
7.3 Characteristics of Assailants

Surveys of rape offences (Amir, 1971; Clark & Lewis, 1977; Walker & Brodsky, 1976) suggest that rapists cannot be reliably discerned from men who committed crimes against the person. This section reviews the characteristics of assailants. The unit of analysis adopted (see Section 7.1) was the "suspect" and where any other unit of analysis is used this is clearly labelled.

7.3.1 Age patterns

Although rape victims can be any age (in this study 6-78 years) the youngest offenders are only 14 years old. Legally, a male younger than 14 years cannot be charged with rape but could be charged with aiding and abetting rape. The present sample did not contain any child suspects.

Table 29 indicates the overall proportions of suspects by age band and by number of assailants involved in a rape incident. The Table supports previous research in that two thirds of the suspects were under the age of twenty-five and the proportions of suspects gradually decreased as their ages increased. Amir (1971) found that 80% of the suspects in his sample were younger than thirty years of age, and that 65% were aged between 15 and 24 years and the highest proportion (40.3%) was between 15 and 19 years of age. Many rape surveys (e.g., Chappell & Singer, 1977; Jankovic, 1976; Wright, 1980) report similar findings.
Table 29: Age distribution of suspects (West Midlands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of Assailant</th>
<th>Overall Frequency %</th>
<th>Number of Assailants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency % Frequency %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-15 yrs</td>
<td>12 (2.8)</td>
<td>7 (2.79)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-18 yrs</td>
<td>72 (16.7)</td>
<td>37 (14.74)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-21 yrs</td>
<td>126 (29.3)</td>
<td>62 (24.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22-25 yrs</td>
<td>78 (18.1)</td>
<td>39 (15.54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-30 yrs</td>
<td>63 (14.5)</td>
<td>45 (17.93)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-35 yrs</td>
<td>27 (6.3)</td>
<td>16 (6.37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-40 yrs</td>
<td>26 (6.1)</td>
<td>22 (8.76)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-45 yrs</td>
<td>12 (2.8)</td>
<td>12 (4.78)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46-50 yrs</td>
<td>5 (1.2)</td>
<td>4 (1.59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-60 yrs</td>
<td>5 (1.2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61+</td>
<td>5 (1.2)</td>
<td>7 (2.79)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>431 (100.02)</td>
<td>251 (99.99)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Missing - 6 suspects

The mean age of suspects was 24.88 years (sd=9.2) and the modal age was 19 years. The second part of Table 29 partitions age frequencies by the number of assailants taking part in rape incidents. The contention that rape tends to be an offence committed by young men, especially when there is more than one assailant involved, (Amir, 1971) is supported by current findings. Rapes which involve more than one assailant are also associated
with younger victims (see Section 7.4.1). Significantly more assailants under the age of 25 years take part in pair or group rapes compared with single assailants (57.77% of single assailants; 67.61% of pair assailants; and 87.15% of group assailants) $(\chi^2=27.78, \text{ } 6 \text{ df } \text{sig. } p<0.001)$

7.3.2 Marital status and children

Some researchers (eg Svalastoga, 1962; Von Hentig, 1947) have made the strong claim that a sex-ratio imbalance among unmarried adults creates a problem of securing sexual partners and this is partly responsible for the high incidence of rape. Amir (1971), however, tested this hypothesis and found no consistent differences and reasoned that there was little basis for such a demographic explanation of rape. Suspects involved in rapes not only tend to be young but also tend to be single. Table 30 shows the marital status of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>21.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cohabitee</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced/widowed and remarried/cohabitee</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced/widowed</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>60.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>324</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Missing - 113 suspects
suspects within the current sample. The percentages are generally consistent with other studies (e.g., Amir, 1971; Wright, 1980). Information was unavailable for just over one quarter of assailants (where suspect was not apprehended) but of those known, over two thirds were single, separated, divorced or widowed (70.1%). The fact that many of the suspects were also quite young partially supports the hypothesis that suspects were unable to establish ongoing heterosexual relationships. A further hypothesis put forward by Wright (1980) is that unmarried people tend to go out more and this socialising is the factor from which sexual assaults might develop. In approximately one quarter of rape incidents in the current study the victim and assailant met just prior to the offence in a social setting and this might be related to Wright's (1980) suggestion.

Whether the suspect was or claimed to be a father is related to marital status. There was no information on fatherhood available for most suspects (69.3%). Of the remainder, 17.2% had no children, 32.8% had fathered one child, 19.4% had fathered two children and 30.5% had fathered more than two children (mean=2.02, sd=1.79) and were often living with the mother and children. Consequently superficially it seems that rape is not motivated by the unavailability of a sexual partner. However, the quality and quantity of sexual relations of rape suspects with their partner has not been ascertained.
7.3.3 Suspects' physical characteristics (West Midlands)

Clark & Lewis (1977) found that the rapists in their sample were not statistically different from other men in height and weight. In their restricted sample of 31 rapists heights ranged from 5'5" to 6'0" with mean height of approximately 5'9". The following Table shows the heights of suspects in the present study, and the mean height of suspects was 5'8 1/2" (sd=3).

Table 31: Height of assailants (West Midlands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Height Range</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 5'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 5' and under 5'3&quot;</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 5'3&quot; and under 5'6&quot;</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 5'6&quot; and under 5'9&quot;</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>40.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 5'9&quot; and under 6'0&quot;</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>38.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 6'0&quot; and under 6'3&quot;</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>11.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 6'3&quot;</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>100.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the weight of the suspect is often given in Canadian or US crime reports, rarely (only in 3.4%) did the British files contain such information, and consequently no further examination was possible. However, information about the build of the suspects was available in most crime files (97.3% of suspects). Most suspects
were of average build (47.1%, n=200) approximately one third were of small or slim build (33.9%, n=144) and about a fifth were of broad or stocky build (19.1%, n=81). Any differences from population means might be attributable to the relative youth of rapists.

7.3.4 Occupational and educational background of suspects

A general finding from previous studies (Katz & Mazur, 1979; Russell, 1975) was that men involved in rape are socio-culturally disadvantaged. Amir (1971) found that 90% of the offenders in his sample belonged to the "lower" end of the occupational scale (skilled labourers "down" to the retired or unemployed). Other studies (eg Medea & Thompson, 1974; Wright, 1980) indicate similar results. Clark & Lewis (1977) argue that although rapists tend to be working class this is due in part to a legal "sifting" process whereby higher status suspects are less likely to be apprehended, charged or convicted. This aspect is examined in Chapter 8.

Evidence (Kanin & Kirkpatrick, 1953; Kanin, 1957; Sedley & Benn, 1982; Toner, 1977) suggest that many victims do not report middle class assailants and this might lead to a working class bias in samples of assailants.

In the current study if the suspect had a job it was classified using The Registrar General's Classification of Job Titles. The largest proportion of suspects fell into the unemployed category and lower class status classes IIIm, IV and V which added together accounted for 87.3% of assailants.
Table 32: Assailants' occupation (West Midlands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Registrar Generals Social Class</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIIa</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIIb</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Still at school/college</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>34.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>324</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.9</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

missing - 113 suspects

Wright (1980) reports similar findings and suggests that is is a "remarkable" result especially when his results are compared with the census figures as a whole. The weekly pay of the assailant was known for 40% of suspects. Mean weekly pay was £31.59 (sd=21.09) and pay ranged from less than £5 in two cases to one case of £201 (a suspect who was self-employed). The average weekly pay of suspects tended to be lower than that of the general population.

Suspects' educational background is shown in Table 33. Over one fifth (21.6% of those known) were educated in a different country.
Table 33: Education received by suspects (West Midlands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Category</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No formal education</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special/subnormal school</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary/grammar</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>62.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further education</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approved school</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educated in different country</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public school</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>306</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

missing - 131 suspects

This finding reflects the racial composition of the sample which is examined in Section 7.5 and is a very different finding to that obtained by Wright (1980) whose sample covered a mainly rural rather than urban area and consequently involved very few suspects who were immigrants. Most suspects left school by the age of fifteen years (66.1%) and a further 21.2% left school at the age of sixteen years. Very few (3.8%) suspects remained at school after the statutory leaving age. Over a third of the suspects were unemployed and most of them were in low status jobs and this tends to be associated with early school leaving age. The results in the present study are consistent with other studies in demonstrating that the men involved in rapes tend to be educationally and economically dis-advantaged.
7.3.5 Mental and criminal history of suspects

Although some researchers find that rapists have "sociopathic tendencies" or a very "fine line" between fantasy and reality none have found any gross pathological differences between rapists and non-rapists (Gebherd et al, 1965; Levine & Koenig, 1982; Perdue & Lester, 1972). Amir (1971) suggests that while his sample of rapists tended to be psychologically "normal" they also tended to be impulsive, antisocial and lacked self-control. Toner (1977) cites the Royal College of Psychiatrist's submission to the Heilbrom Committee (1976) which declares that commonly rapists are not mentally abnormal but young, vigorous, sexually unsatisfied and inexperienced.

In the present study only 5.9% (26) of suspects had been treated for a mental disorder or had attended a special school and only 1.8% were treated after the offence. However, it is impossible to know what the mental state of the assailant was at the time of the offence. As outlined in Section 7.5 many assailants suggested they had temporarily lost control, either mentally, physically or as a result of drinking too much alcohol.

Suspects who are apprehended for rape are often found to have a criminal record. In the present sample nearly a half (46%) had a criminal record and most of these (82.0%) had been convicted of more than one previous offence. Table 34 indicates the suspects' previous criminal record and because categories are not mutually exclusive the total adds up to more than 100%. These figures are in line with previous research. Amir (1971) found that 49% of his
Table 34: Previous criminal record of suspect (West Midlands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offence</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Motoring offences</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stealing/crimes of dishonesty</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor sex crimes</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major sex crimes</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault/crimes against the person</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receiving stolen goods/giving false alibi</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drunk and disorderly</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army deserter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Con man</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal damage</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beyond control</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No record/no evidence of a record</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>53.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

sample had a criminal record and Radzinowicz (1957) found 54.5% had a criminal record. However, Mohr's sample (1965) showed 58% while Svalastoga's (1962) rate was as high as 67%. Soothill et al (1976) found that 70% of convicted rapists and sex offenders had a previous criminal record with an average of 4.1 convictions per person. The incidence of criminal records tends to be more associated with convicted rapists as opposed to suspected rapists (see Chapter 2). Consistent with other studies (Amir, 1971; Radzinowicz, 1957) the
current study indicates that although many rape suspects who are dealt with by the criminal justice system are often persistent criminals, they were not generally previously convicted for sexual offences.

7.3.6 Summary

Current findings are broadly in accord with previous research. Rape suspects tend to be young, socioculturally disadvantaged and criminalised. Whether their labelling as "suspects" reflects the fact that socioculturally disadvantaged young men are more likely to rape or whether these men are more easily labelled in this way is difficult to determine from crime file data of the type reported in this and previous studies.

7.4 Characteristics of Rape Victims

Wright (1980) has pointed out that police files provided relatively few details about the characteristics of rape victims. In the present study the coding schedule was constructed so that equivalent demographic details were sought for both the offender and the victim. Consequently a great deal of care was taken in ensuring that all available information concerning the victim was recorded. A range of victim factors was identified and their influence on how the victims' complaint is dealt with is examined in Chapter 8.

7.4.1 Age patterns

Recent research (Schultz (ed), 1975) indicates that rape victims on average are found to be younger than the assailants although the age
difference is not large. Amir (1971) concludes that victims as a group are between five and ten years younger than their assailants whilst Mohr (1965) suggests most ages differ within a range of ten years. For the present study the mean age of victims was 21.21 years (sd=11.46) whilst the modal age was 16 years. As the equivalent ages for suspects in this sample is 24.88 and 19 years respectively it can

Table 35: Age of victims by number of assailants (West Midlands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Groups</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Number of Assailants</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-12 yrs</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>9.32</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>11.36</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-15 yrs</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>20.62</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>19.41</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>24.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-18 yrs</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>26.84</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>22.34</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>42.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-21 yrs</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>14.69</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>14.29</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22-25 yrs</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>9.04</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>10.26</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-30 yrs</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4.80</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5.49</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-35 yrs</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.08</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5.49</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-40 yrs</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-49 yrs</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.54</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.93</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50+ yrs</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.39</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.03</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>99.99</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>99.98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

missing - 1 victim
be seen that on average suspects are approximately three years older than their victims. However, statistical generalisations of age differences mask truncation effects since the sample of assailants cannot include males younger than 14 years of age (age of legal responsibility) while the sample of victims can. A more detailed analysis of the relationship between assailants and victims is covered in the next section (Section 7.5).

Table 35 shows that rape victims tend to be young; nearly 30% (29.3%) of the victims were under 16 years of age and most (79.7%) were under 25 years of age. The youngest victim was six years old and the oldest 78 years. The second part of Table 35 shows the detailed breakdown of victims' age by the number of assailants involved in the offence. Group or pair rape differ from rapes with just one assailant, with respect to the ages of the victim (a 3 x 2 Chi square: \( \chi^2 = 8.445 \), 2df, \( p < 0.02 \)). 77.6% of complainants under the age of 25 years were victims of attacks involving just a single assailant, whilst 88.88% involving two assailants and 91.67% involving three or more assailants also involved victims under the age of 25 years.

7.4.2 Marital and sexual status of complainants

The marital and sexual status of the rape victim has been shown to influence both the real and the simulated process of her complaint and social reaction to her victimisation (Bein, 1973; Bohmer, 1974; Borgida & White, 1978; Hibey, 1973; Howitt, 1977; Jones & Aronson, 1973; Kanekar & Kolsawalla, 1977, 1980). Jones & Aronson (1973) indicate that simulated juries sanction longer prison sentences.
for rapists if the victim was married rather than divorced. Clark & Lewis (1977) point out that divorced, separated or cohabiting complainants are more likely than others to be classified as "unfounded" by the police, and argue that women receive differential treatment by the police depending upon their marital status.

It can be seen from Table 36 that most victims (75.3%) were single at the time of the assault. This is not surprising since most victims are young. A further 8.8% were not living with a regular partner. Thus the overwhelming majority of rape victims (84.1%) were without a husband or commonlaw husband even though...
(as will be examined shortly) many were not virgins. Amir (1971) suggests that unattached females are more likely to attend social situations from which rapes tend to develop.

Of those for whom information was available (29.9%, n=106) 32.1% (n=34) were not mothers, 26.4% (n=28) had one child, 22.6% (n=24) had two children and 17.0% (n=20) had three or more children.

Although only a minority of victims were either married, cohabiting or mothers, most were not virgins prior to the attack (see Table 37). It has been suggested by some researchers (e.g., Clark & Lewis, 1977; Gager & Schurr, 1976) that the police regard virginity as a relevant issue in investigating the validity of her complaint. Before the Sexual Amendment (1976) Act, the victim's sexual experience was often an issue in court (LeGrand, 1973; McCombie, 1980; Toner, 1977). A tactic often adopted by the defence council entailed implying that the victim was the "type" of woman who would easily give her consent to sexual intercourse. Adler (1982) has shown that although this kind of evidence is ruled out of order by the 1976 Act, in practice the victim's previous sexual history is often mentioned in court.

Whether the victim had been a virgin prior to the offence was often mentioned in the police files analysed. The question of virginity was often mentioned in her personal statements to the police as well as almost always being mentioned in the forensic examination. For
the purposes of analysis, the forensic information was regarded as more reliable and was used as the source of information on victim virginity. Table 37 shows that the majority of rape victims were not virgins prior to the attack. A 2 x 2 Chi square test revealed

Table 37: Virginity of victims (West Midlands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Victim was a virgin prior to the offence</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>29.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim was not a virgin prior to the offence</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>63.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Victim was still a virgin after offence</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim was not a virgin after offence</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>87.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

that pairs or groups of assailants were significantly associated with victims who had not been virgins. \( (x^2 = 10.83, \text{ ldf}, p<0.001) \).

It has been suggested (Amir, 1971; Geis, 1971; MacDonald, 1974) that pairs or groups of rapists may select their victim because of her "bad" reputation. Although the evidence on previous virginity of the victims in this study support this hypothesis further
evidence on the victim's character does not (see Section 8.6).

No significant relationship between numbers of offenders and the stated victims character was found in the current study.

A final interesting finding relating to the victim's menstrual cycle was also gained from the routine forensic examination of the victim. Nearly half (n=166) of the victims were asked, often because of possible pregnancy, where in the menstrual cycle they were at the time of the attack. 28.3% (n=47) were either too young or too old to menstruate and two women were pregnant. Table 38 gives the proportions of victims who were experiencing periods at the different stages in the menstrual cycle.

Table 38: Victim stages in menstrual cycle (West Midlands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Just finished last period</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On period</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>28.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near next period</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>43.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not on or near next period</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>117</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A Chi square test revealed that rape was significantly associated with victims being on or very near to their next period as opposed to having finished or not on their period ($\chi^2 = 28.197$, df=3, $p<0.001$).
These findings support the wealth of information on the menstrual cycle (Shuttle & Redgrove, 1980) which indicates that accidents are likely to happen just prior to a period. Further Curtis (1976c; and Curtis et al, 1979) indicates that rape victims as opposed to rape avoiders were more likely to be "under the weather", suffering from colds, flu, headaches or illness prior to the offence. These factors could influence victims' "vulnerability" to assault.

7.4.3 Physical characteristics of the victim (West Midlands)

It has been suggested by some researchers (eg Brodsky, 1976a, 1976b; Walker & Brodsky, 1976) that victims of personal crimes such as assault or sexual assault tend to be smaller and therefore more vulnerable. Although many authors have suggested such a relationship very few have gathered information on the physical characteristics of victims. In the current study the forensic evidence was used as a source of information for the victims' build and in some cases (36.9%, n=131) her height or weight (24.8%, n=88). Table 39 shows the distribution of victims by their build and it can be seen that most victims were of average build. Of the remainder, far more were smaller than average build than larger than the average build. Further, many of the 'overweight' victims were in fact small in stature. Where information was available an examination of the height and weight of victims indicates that nearly one third were of average height (31.3%, n=41, between 5'3" and 5'6") whilst nearly one half (45.6%, n=60) were below average height, and that 70.7% (n=62) were below 8 stones in weight. The results might tentatively
Table 39 : Build of victim (West Midlands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Large/stocky</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overweight</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>61.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small/slim</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>24.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frail</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>336</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

missing - 19 victims

indicate that assailants might choose victims who appear more vulnerable to attack because of their stature.

7.4.4 **Occupational and educational status of victims**

Rape is generally regarded to be a crime associated with the economically disadvantaged (Amir, 1971). Wright (1980) claims that part of the reason that there is a dearth of information regarding the victims' occupation is the haphazard way in which the police record information. As one of the major aims of the present study was to examine characteristics of rape victims considerable effort was made to gather this information which fortunately proved to be available in the majority of cases.

Clark & Lewis (1977) suggest that many economically disadvantaged
victims have their complaints classified as "unfounded". Although Amir (1971) regards rape as "ecologically bound" and that lower class women are more likely to be raped by lower class offenders he describes the occupations of offenders but not victims. Wright (1980) reporting on victim's occupational status finds that most of the victims in his sample (33.5%) were still at school and that a large proportion of those who had jobs (24.4%) were in unskilled jobs.

The occupations of victims in the present study were coded using the Registrar General's Classification of Job Titles. and Table 40 shows the frequency of victims' occupations.

Table 40 : Victim occupation (West Midlands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Registrar Generals Social Class</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIIm</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>8.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIIm</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>13.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prostitute</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>11.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Still at school</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>35.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>20.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>100.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

missing = 1 victim
These results are consistent with others (eg Wright, 1980) which indicate that the largest category of victims were still at school. In this study a large proportion of victims were unemployed at the time of the offence. If these figures are examined with respect to Table 41 it will be seen that not only assailants but victims of rape are economically and educationally disadvantaged.

Table 41: Education received by victim (West Midlands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Category</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subnormal/special school</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary/grammar school</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>78.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FE/college</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polytechnic/university</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educated in a different country</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>315</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

missing - 40 victims

Of those victims who were not still at school most left school at the appropriate statutory leaving age; only 2.7% (n=9) left school after the age of sixteen years.
7.4.5 Patterns in mental and criminal history of victim and victim's character

Clark & Lewis (1977) argue that the victim's mental state or a history of mental illness is influential in shaping the police classification, eg whether they find the complaint 'founded' or 'unfounded', and others (McCombie, 1980) suggest that they are considerations which have a bearing on the sentencing and punishment of suspects. Very few (2.0%, n=7) victims in the present sample had either attended a special school or had been treated by a psychiatrist. Whether the pattern of management of these few cases is different will be examined in Section 8.6. Although assailants often have criminal records only 6.5% (n=23) of the victims had, and of these ten had been convicted of more than one offence. (Victim crimes included burglary, shoplifting, receiving stolen goods, giving a false alibi and soliciting.)

Within the summary charge sheet of police files the "character" of the victim was often mentioned (56.9%, n=202). When the victims "character" was mentioned, the type of descriptions given and who proffered them was recorded (these sources included the police, school, work, etc.)

For those victims who had a "character" mentioned, 17.3% had positive things said of them such as "she was a decent girl", or "a woman of sound moral character". Neutral assessments of victim's "character" were made in 19.7% of cases and negative assessments in 62.7% of
cases. Very negative things were said about the victim if the "mention" came from the assailants. These included statements like "she was a slag", "everyone knows she's easy" or "she's a pro, anyway" and the police themselves sometimes put in the summary charge sheet that the victim was "a woman of dubious character".

7.4.6 Summary

In evaluating characteristics relating to rape victims a number of factors are apparent in this and previous studies. Briefly victims tend to be young, economically disadvantaged, possibly smaller than average and on or near their period. These factors can be subsumed under the general construct of vulnerability. The conceptual status of vulnerability is difficult to evaluate. This is because "victim vulnerability" has been used in more than one way. Some authors use the term vulnerability as a descriptive umbrella to encompass a range of factors of the type revealed in the current study. This is in effect a convenient shorthand but it must be remembered that the term vulnerability is itself not "value free". The term implies something about the allocation of responsibility between the offender and victim and its use by some authors in the field seems to reflect in part a reaction against the use of the phrase "victim precipitation". The use of either term seems to reflect the attitude of the researcher rather than the research data. Ironically both terms can and often do have the same operational definitions.
7.5 **Structural Patterns in Rapes**

In contrast to previous sections where offences, offenders and victims are each examined separately this section examines some of the structural patterns within rape incidents. Structural patterns are those which refer to the relationship between the assailant and victim with respect to personal, social and demographic factors. Since the primary focus in this section is the relationship between assailant and victim, the unit of analysis used is the dyad.

7.5.1 **Relationship between the assailant and victim**

The interpersonal relationship between the assailant and victim is important insofar as it appears to be related to the victims credibility and legal processing of the incident (Katz & Mazur, 1979). Assailants who knew their victims are less likely to be convicted (Sebba & Cohen, 1975), and are less likely to receive custodial sentences (Walmsely & White, 1979).

The prior relationship between victim and assailant and the "modus operandi" of the offence has only been indirectly addressed in previous studies. Amir (1971) suggests that if the court establishes the existence of a prior relationship between assailant and victim then doubt may be cast on the victim's story regardless of her behaviour prior to or during the offence.

"The suspicion of complicity, consent, moral weakness and outright culpability because of prior relations with the offender may transform the victim into an accomplice in the eyes of the court."

(Amir, 1971)
In the current study the interpersonal relationships were categories as follows:

Category 1  Former spouse or lover. People who had lived as man and wife before the offence including those who had been separated for some period before the offence.

Category 2  Boyfriend or ex-boyfriend or close friend. These may or may not have had sexual contact at some stage in the past but had not lived together prior to the offence.

Category 3  Stepfather and stepdaughter relationship or blood relative.

Category 4  Relatives' husband or boyfriend or a friend of the family.

Category 5  Casual acquaintance or neighbour. These included all people who knew each other to some extent but not well. They were not friends or confidants, but had met more than once in the past.

Category 6  Brief acquaintance. This category includes all couples who met up to 12 hours prior to the offence.

Category 7  Virtual strangers. Assailants were strangers to the victim but they had either heard of or had seen the
victim previously or the victim had heard of or seen the assailant previously.

Category 8 Strangers. Assailants were complete strangers to the victim. They neither knew them nor knew of them and they had never seen them before.

The following Table shows that the majority of rapes are those where the victim and assailant had little or no prior acquaintanceship before the offence.

Table 42: Interpersonal relationship between assailant and victim

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Category 1 - Former spouse or lovers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category 2 - Boyfriend or exboyfriend or close friend</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category 3 - Stepfather and daughter relationship or blood relative</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category 4 - Relative's husband or boyfriend or friend of the family</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category 5 - Casual acquaintance or neighbour</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>21.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category 6 - Brief acquaintance</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>16.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category 7 - Virtually strangers</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>11.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category 8 - Strangers</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>33.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>99.99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

missing - 4 dyads
The eight categories of interpersonal relationship between assailant and victim were included as one variable in the half-matrix of contingency table comparison summarised in Appendix II.

Appendix II gives the significance level of Chi-square values for a number of 2-way contingency tables. The Table reveals a large number of significant Chi-square values. This means that for most of the contingency tables examined, the pairs of variables that have been compared are not independent. However, these significance levels alone reveal nothing about the strength of association between pairs of variables.

Since even very small statistical relations can show up as highly significant Chi-square results (particularly with a large sample size), these Chi-square values do not necessarily enhance prediction in the real situation. However, in the present study it is particularly relevant to examine when different categories on one variable are predicted from different information on the other variable.

An extremely useful adjunct to Chi-square tests are the predictive measures of association since these tell the psychologist much more about the possible importance and meaning of a given relationship than can any Chi-square test alone (Hays, 1974).

The index of predictive association (Lambda, \( \lambda \)) was devised by Goodman & Kruskal (1954) and shows the proportional reduction in the
probability of error afforded when one is predicting from one variable to another. The Lambda indices suggest just how much a given relation implies about real predictions by showing how much one variable actually tells us about the other.

The Table in Appendix 11 shows that, knowing either one or the other of the variables, the probability of error reduction in predicting the other variable. These reductions in error probability are expressed as a percentage in the Table. The two asymmetric Lambda measures shown in Appendix 11 refer to the two directional predictions from one variable to the other. The two indices are not identical since it is entirely possible to have situations where one variable may be quite predictable in one direction but not predictable from the other direction.

The eight categories of interpersonal relationship between assailant and victim were included as one variable in the complete half-matrix of contingency table comparisons summarised in Appendix 11. An examination of this Table reveals a number of interesting results. Despite the fact that most of the Chi-square values were significant the Lambda values tended to be generally low. However, some reductions in error prediction were considered to be potentially useful in practice. These values, where $\lambda A$ or $\lambda B$ was equal to or greater than 10% are listed in the following Table (Table 43).
Table 43: Meaningful reductions in error prediction ($\lambda \geq 10\%$)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable A</th>
<th>Variable B</th>
<th>$\lambda_A$</th>
<th>$\lambda_B$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Place met</td>
<td>Interpersonal relationship</td>
<td>23.93</td>
<td>25.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of offence</td>
<td>Interpersonal relationship</td>
<td>13.61</td>
<td>12.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assailant drinking</td>
<td>Interpersonal relationship</td>
<td>10.20</td>
<td>1.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of assailants</td>
<td>Injury to victim</td>
<td>10.40</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resistance 2</td>
<td>Resistance 1</td>
<td>3.96</td>
<td>25.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place met</td>
<td>Resistance 1</td>
<td>5.60</td>
<td>11.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of offence</td>
<td>Place met</td>
<td>36.40</td>
<td>26.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assailant drinking</td>
<td>Place met</td>
<td>25.24</td>
<td>7.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim drinking</td>
<td>Place met</td>
<td>20.80</td>
<td>10.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acts performed 2</td>
<td>Acts performed 1</td>
<td>23.40</td>
<td>27.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assailant drinking</td>
<td>Acts performed 2</td>
<td>19.20</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim drinking</td>
<td>Assailant drinking</td>
<td>16.10</td>
<td>25.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assailant's race</td>
<td>Victim's race</td>
<td>23.88</td>
<td>17.38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*where variable A is dependent
**where variable B is dependent

In the attempt to understand and predict rape events predictive associations expressed in this way could form a useful starting point in providing meaningful information to the agencies concerned with rape.
One subsequent area worthy of investigation is the assailant "reasons" for committing the crime. If a suspect was apprehended, then generally the police would ask why he had committed the offence. Table 44 shows the frequency and percentages of reasons given by the suspect. Many claimed that they had not committed the offence whilst nearly a quarter of those assailants apprehended

Table 44: Justification the assailant gave the police concerning the offence (West Midlands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason or excuse assailant reported to the police</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strong denial (ie didn't do it)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak denial (ie didn't actually say &quot;no&quot;)</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admit contact (ie victim consented)</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>23.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suggests victim was lying</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admits to the offence</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blames it on his drinking</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both had been drinking together</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suggests victim was a slag, slut, teaser or prostitute</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assailant just got the &quot;urge&quot;</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assailant didn't have regular mate to &quot;service&quot;</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dancing together and victim flirting</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim was mentally unstable</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assailant not mentally stable (ie something went &quot;click&quot;)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blames it on other assailants influence</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Categories are not mutually exclusive

*Assailants as unit of analysis
suggested that the victim consented (23.6%). It can be seen from
Table 44 that many of the assailants (17.8%) blamed the offence
on alcohol, and fewer blamed the victim's reputation (8.0%), his
own sex "urge" (8.7%) or that he was not mentally normal to have
committed the offence (8.7%). These findings could be interpreted
to support the notion that the justifications of rapists are
"techniques of neutralisation which are not merely rationalisations
but may precede the deviant act and make it possible (Burgess &
Holmstrom, 1974; Matza & Sykes, 1957; Taylor, 1972). Three
of the four "techniques of neutralisation" outlined by Matza &
Sykes (1957) are relevant to rape and are:
1. Denial of responsibility - a claim to being dominated by
   uncontrollable urges or being drunk.
2. Denial of injury - a claim that he did not hurt her, it was
   ordinary sex or women like it "rough".
3. Denial of victim - a claim that the victim wanted it, she was
   behaving in a manner which gave the impression that she wanted
   sex.

Hence the denial of responsibility for the offence by the assailant
is not only an attempt to escape punishment but can also be seen to
be an attempt to maintain the integrity of his self concept. The
assailants attempt to deflect blame by using a variety of reasons.
Although the same reasons recur with monotonous and depressing
regularity they appear to be given more credence than they deserve.
Whether this reflects the hold that the idea of motive has on the
legal and judicial process is examined in Chapter 8. The
assailant's selection is associated with the subsequent routine management of his case.
8. ANALYSIS OF THE PROCESSING OF RAPE INCIDENTS

In this section the routine processing of rape incidents by the police and the judicial system is examined. Four stages in the processing of cases were identified and the proportions of suspects who enter and leave the system at these stages are examined. There are a wide range of factors thought to influence this process but this analysis restricts itself to comparing differential "attenuation" rates (i.e., the numbers of suspects leaving the legal and judicial system at any particular stage).

Not all rapes are reported to the police. Of those complainants who do report, only a small percentage of their attackers are found guilty and fewer are sentenced to imprisonment. McCahill et al. (1979) term this process "case mortality" and suggest that only about a quarter of reported rapes reach the courts. Part of this "case mortality" appears to occur even before the official processing of the incident takes place as evidenced by unexplained "lost" cases which have apparently been reported. McCahill et al. (1979) estimate that only 54% of the cases reported to the police in Philadelphia are actually recorded as reported by the police.

8.1 Suspect Attenuation

In calculating the percentage attenuation rates of suspects the number of reported assaults is used as the baseline. In this section the dyad is used as the unit of analysis. Suspects are dealt with in four consecutive stages:
Stage 1 - Apprehending
Stage 2 - Charging
Stage 3 - Appearing in court
Stage 4 - Sentencing

At each stage some suspects may leave the system. Of those suspects who are apprehended some are subsequently not charged, some do not subsequently make a court appearance, and some are not subsequently found guilty. For a variety of reasons not all suspects are processed through all four stages, from apprehending to sentencing.

The purpose of the present analysis is to examine whether the survival of suspects through the system follows any pattern. Those factors identified by previous researchers (Katz & Mazur, 1979) as relevant to the routine management of cases are used to analyse the differential attenuation rate at each stage of the process. For ease of description, the relevant factors are organised into five categories.

Factors examined:

Category 1 Time and place of offence

(a) month of offence
(b) where suspect and complainant met prior to the offence
(c) place of offence
Category 2  Threat and victim reaction to the offence and coercion
(a) use of verbal and physical
(b) threat of weapon use
(c) victim reaction and resistance
(d) number of assailants
(e) length of delay in reporting

Category 3  Social behaviour of assailant and victim
(a) interpersonal relationship between assailant and victim
(b) victim drinking
(c) assailant drinking

Category 4  Assailant’s marital status
(a) assailant’s marital status

Category 5  Victim characteristics
(a) victim’s reputation
(b) victim’s marital status
(c) victim’s virginity factor
(d) victim’s virginity and marital status

In the subsequent analysis and discussion of results each category is included as a separate subsection. Two Tables are included in each subsection. The first Table gives the number of suspects left at each stage in the process expressed as a percentage of the
total number of incidents reported for each factor. The second Table gives two-way Chi-square values and probabilities for factors by suspect attenuation. All reported Chi-square values are based on dichotomising the frequency of suspects remaining in the system at each of the four stages.

8.2 Time and Place of Offence

An examination of Table 45 indicates that although slightly more suspects who committed the offence in the summer months were apprehended there was little difference between the summer and other months with respect to the percentage of suspects being sentenced. The Chi-square (Table 46) reveals that at stage 3 proportionately more suspects are lost for those committing the offence in the summer months. In other words proportionately more suspects who committed their offence in the summer months subsequently have their charges withdrawn.

Table 45 shows that although more suspects are initially apprehended when suspect and victim met indoors prior to the offence, at subsequent stages the proportional attenuation rate is similar for both factor B groups. It is only at stage 1 that the Chi-square value is significant (Table 46).

However, the pattern of suspect attenuation is not paralleled within factor C (place of offence). Whereas more indoor rape suspects are apprehended compared to those who raped outdoors (significant Chi-square at stage 1 - Table 46), another significant Chi-square occurs
Table 45 : Percentage of suspects at each stage by category 1 factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>STAGE 1 Suspect apprehended</th>
<th>STAGE 2 Suspect charged</th>
<th>STAGE 3 Suspect made a court appearance</th>
<th>STAGE 4 Suspect sentenced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Summer months</td>
<td>76.19%</td>
<td>69.84%</td>
<td>60.32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Other months</td>
<td>71.20%</td>
<td>61.20%</td>
<td>56.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Meeting prior to the offence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Met indoors</td>
<td>82.56%</td>
<td>71.53%</td>
<td>62.99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Met outdoors</td>
<td>61.45%</td>
<td>57.54%</td>
<td>54.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Place of offence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Raped indoors</td>
<td>79.18%</td>
<td>68.40%</td>
<td>59.85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Raped outdoors</td>
<td>67.18%</td>
<td>61.34%</td>
<td>58.97%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 46 : Chi-square values and probabilities for category 1 factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>STAGE 1 Probability</th>
<th>STAGE 2 Probability</th>
<th>STAGE 3 Probability</th>
<th>STAGE 4 Probability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Summer vs. other months (2x2) ldf</td>
<td>1.64 ns</td>
<td>3.15 ns</td>
<td>10.54 &lt;0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Met indoors vs. outdoors (2x2) ldf</td>
<td>26.67 &lt;0.001</td>
<td>3.02 ns</td>
<td>3.19 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Offence occurs indoors vs. outdoors (2x2) ldf</td>
<td>9.11 &lt;0.01</td>
<td>1.67 ns</td>
<td>5.07 &lt;0.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
at stage 3. It can be seen from an examination of Table 45 that the explanation for this lies in the finding that despite the fact that proportionately more 'indoor rapists' are apprehended proportionately more leave during the legal process. The significant exit point is at stage 3 where it appears that proportionately more 'indoor rapists' have their charges withdrawn.

8.3 Threat and Victim Reaction to the Offence

Table 47 shows that although a higher percentage of suspects who used no physical or verbal force were apprehended there was a very high rate of attenuation as the suspect passed through the subsequent stages of the process. Table 47 indicates that proportionately fewer non-violent suspects were charged. There are a number of possible explanations. In the absence of verbal or physical force the police might be less inclined to believe the complainant; the police may not charge the suspect since they believe the probability of sentencing is lower; rapes in which verbal and physical coercion are not used might be more difficult to label as rape. Proportionately fewer suspects who threatened weapon use are apprehended compared to those who did not use this threat. The attenuation gradient for suspects who did not threaten the use of weapons is sharper than the attenuation gradient for those who did. Table 48 shows that the attenuation becomes significant at stage 3, where comparatively more suspects who did not threaten the use of weapons have their charges withdrawn.

For factor C (victim reaction or resistance) suspect attenuation
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>STAGE 1 Suspect apprehended</th>
<th>STAGE 2 Suspect charged</th>
<th>STAGE 3 Suspect made a court appearance</th>
<th>STAGE 4 Suspect sentenced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A Use of verbal &amp; physical coercion</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. With verbal or physical force</td>
<td>73.62%</td>
<td>67.43%</td>
<td>61.93%</td>
<td>53.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Without verbal or physical force</td>
<td>83.33%</td>
<td>50.00%</td>
<td>41.67%</td>
<td>37.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B Threat of weapon use</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. With threat of weapon</td>
<td>72.18%</td>
<td>67.67%</td>
<td>65.41%</td>
<td>60.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Without threat of weapon</td>
<td>75.23%</td>
<td>65.94%</td>
<td>58.20%</td>
<td>50.77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C Victim reaction and resistance</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Victim submissive</td>
<td>75.81%</td>
<td>62.90%</td>
<td>54.81%</td>
<td>54.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Victim resisted</td>
<td>74.68%</td>
<td>67.96%</td>
<td>62.27%</td>
<td>54.26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D Number of assailants</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Single assailant</td>
<td>71.27%</td>
<td>61.82%</td>
<td>55.27%</td>
<td>50.91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. More than 1 assailant</td>
<td>78.31%</td>
<td>71.43%</td>
<td>65.61%</td>
<td>55.56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>E Length of delay in reporting</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. under 1 hour</td>
<td>73.04%</td>
<td>66.52%</td>
<td>63.04%</td>
<td>56.09%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. between 1 and 6 hours</td>
<td>64.29%</td>
<td>59.52%</td>
<td>52.38%</td>
<td>42.86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. over 6 hours</td>
<td>81.33%</td>
<td>68.00%</td>
<td>58.00%</td>
<td>47.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>STAGE 1</td>
<td>STAGE 2</td>
<td>STAGE 3</td>
<td>STAGE 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>Probability</td>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>Probability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A With verbal or physical force vs. without (2x2) 1df</td>
<td>0.669</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>23.97</td>
<td>$&lt;0.001$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B With weapon threat vs. without (2x2) 1df</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C Victim was submissive vs. resisted (2x2) 1df</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>2.04</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Single assailant vs. more than one assailant (2x2) 1df</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E Length of delay in reporting. Reported under 1 hr and reported between 1 and 6 hrs and reported over 6 hrs (3x2) 2df</td>
<td>8.477</td>
<td>$&lt;0.05$</td>
<td>4.917</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
rates were similar for both "victim submissive" and "victim resisted" items and no significant Chi-square values occurred at any of the four stages (see Tables 47 and 48).

The suspect attenuation gradients for both items within factor D (number of assailants) appear from Table 47 to be broadly comparable. However, at stage 4 the significant Chi-square value indicates that proportionately more group assailants are not sentenced. The explanation for this stems from the fairly regular acquittal of some members of a "rape group", who although present at the scene of the crime did not actively participate.

Within the last factor in this category (length of delay in reporting) both items 2 and 3 (delay over one hour) are associated with a rapidly declining suspect attenuation gradient. This is not the case for item 1 (delay under one hour) where the suspect attenuation gradient across the four stages is relatively shallow. The significant Chi-square value at stage 1 (see Table 48) can be accounted for by the high rates of apprehension for suspects who are reported with a delay of over six hours. This is probably due to the inclusion in this item of suspects known to the victim, who "think twice before reporting". The significant Chi-square value at stage 3 (Table 48) stems from the proportionately larger attenuation rate between stages 2 and 3 for items 2 and 3 compared with item 1. If there is any delay in reporting proportionately more suspects have charges against them withdrawn.
8.4 Social Behaviour of Assailant and Victim

For factor A, Table 49 indicates that the suspect attenuation gradient shows a relatively sharp decline for item 1 (know each other well), a fairly sharp decline for item 2 (acquaintances) and a relatively shallow decline for item 3 (strangers). Table 50 shows that the Chi-square values are significant for all four stages at factor A. This is because the probability of passing from stage to stage of the process is higher if the police have apprehended a stranger rather than if they have apprehended an acquaintance or friend of the victim.

For factor B (victim drinking) Table 49 shows a different suspect attenuation gradient for item 1 (victim drank) and item 2 (victim did not drink). The relatively sharp decline for item 1 compared with item 2 is revealed in significant Chi-square values at stages 1 and 4 (see Table 50). These results imply that the victims' complaint is treated more seriously by the police and courts if she had not been drinking prior to the alleged offence.

However, the examination of assailant drinking in factor C reveals a starkly contrasting series of results. Table 49 indicates that item 1 (assailant drank) is associated with a relatively sharper suspect attenuation gradient than item 2 (assailant did not drink). Proportionately more sober assailants are apprehended and remain within the system to receive sentence. It appears that those assailants who had been drinking are less likely to be charged or sentenced (see Table 49).
### Table 49: Percentage of suspects at each stage by category 3 factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>STAGE 1 Suspect apprehended</th>
<th>STAGE 2 Suspect charged</th>
<th>STAGE 3 Suspect made a court appearance</th>
<th>STAGE 4 Suspect sentenced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Interpersonal relationship between assailant and victim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Know each other well</td>
<td>92.21%</td>
<td>81.82%</td>
<td>70.13%</td>
<td>61.04%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Acquaintance</td>
<td>90.29%</td>
<td>74.86%</td>
<td>67.43%</td>
<td>53.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Strangers</td>
<td>54.33%</td>
<td>52.40%</td>
<td>50.48%</td>
<td>45.19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Victim drinking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Victim drank</td>
<td>68.81%</td>
<td>59.63%</td>
<td>52.29%</td>
<td>42.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Victim did not drink</td>
<td>79.34%</td>
<td>71.49%</td>
<td>66.12%</td>
<td>62.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C Assailant drinking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Assailant drank</td>
<td>80.53%</td>
<td>70.99%</td>
<td>63.36%</td>
<td>52.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Assailant did not drink</td>
<td>93.62%</td>
<td>85.11%</td>
<td>81.91%</td>
<td>81.91%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 50: Chi-square values and probabilities for category 3 factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>STAGE 1 Probability</th>
<th>STAGE 2 Probability</th>
<th>STAGE 3 Probability</th>
<th>STAGE 4 Probability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Interpersonal rel. Know each other vs. acquaintance vs. strangers (3x2) 2df</td>
<td>91.275 &lt;0.00</td>
<td>12.011 &lt;0.01</td>
<td>6.336 &lt;0.05</td>
<td>7.47 &lt;0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Victim drinking vs. not drinking (2x2) 1df</td>
<td>6.13 &lt;0.05</td>
<td>0.67 ns</td>
<td>1.45 ns</td>
<td>12.49 &lt;0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C Offender drinking vs. not drinking (2x2) 1df</td>
<td>7.85 &lt;0.01</td>
<td>0.24 ns</td>
<td>26.76 &lt;0.001</td>
<td>13.07 &lt;0.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8.5 Assailant's marital status

The suspect attenuation rates for both items within factor A (suspect's marital status) are broadly similar and no significant differences are revealed in the comparison of attenuation by process (see Tables 51 and 52).

However, at stage 4 clearly there is a higher percentage of single, divorced or widowed suspects being sentenced. This is not revealed as a significant Chi-square value at stage 4 but a subsequent 3x2 Chi-square analysis reveals that suspects' plea and marital status are not independent variables ($\chi^2=15.01, df=2, p<0.001$). Under one third of married or cohabiting suspects plead guilty whereas approximately one half of single, divorced or widowed suspects plead guilty. Perhaps this differential plea strategy results in fewer convictions for married or cohabiting suspects.

8.6 Victim characteristics

For factor A the suspect attenuation gradient is relatively sharper for item 1 (victim has a 'bad' reputation) than for item 2 (victim does not have a 'bad' reputation) and significant Chi-square values are found at stages 2, 3 and 4. (Tables 53 and 54) Suspects involved with victims who have a 'bad' reputation are proportionately less likely to be charged, appear in court or sentenced. This appears to be a particularly unfortunate effect since it was often the assailant who gave the "character reference" (see Section 7.5.1).

A higher percentage of suspects who assaulted single, divorced or
Table 51: Percentage of suspects at each stage by category 4 factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>STAGE 1 Suspect apprehended</th>
<th>STAGE 2 Suspect charged</th>
<th>STAGE 3 Suspect made a court appearance</th>
<th>STAGE 4 Suspect sentenced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Assailant's marital status 1. Married, co-habittee, remarried</td>
<td>93.33%</td>
<td>87.62%</td>
<td>79.05%</td>
<td>62.86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Single, divorced, widowed</td>
<td>94.74%</td>
<td>83.40%</td>
<td>76.52%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 52: Chi-square values and probabilities for category 4 factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>STAGE 1 Probability</th>
<th>STAGE 2 Probability</th>
<th>STAGE 3 Probability</th>
<th>STAGE 4 Probability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( x^2 )</td>
<td>( x^2 )</td>
<td>( x^2 )</td>
<td>( x^2 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Assailant's marital status Married, co-habittee etc. vs. single, divorced, widowed (2x2) 1df</td>
<td>0.072 ns</td>
<td>3.070 ns</td>
<td>0.004 ns</td>
<td>2.986 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>STAGE 1 Suspect apprehended</td>
<td>STAGE 2 Suspect charged</td>
<td>STAGE 3 Suspect made a court appearance</td>
<td>STAGE 4 Suspect sentenced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A Victim's reputation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Bad things said of victim</td>
<td>70.17%</td>
<td>58.56%</td>
<td>49.17%</td>
<td>38.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. No bad reputation</td>
<td>76.14%</td>
<td>70.16%</td>
<td>65.61%</td>
<td>61.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B Victim's marital status</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Married, cohabiting</td>
<td>61.90%</td>
<td>50.79%</td>
<td>47.62%</td>
<td>44.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Single, divorced, widowed</td>
<td>76.83%</td>
<td>68.77%</td>
<td>61.96%</td>
<td>52.39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C Victim's virginity</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Previously a virgin</td>
<td>84.21%</td>
<td>75.94%</td>
<td>72.93%</td>
<td>69.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Not previously a virgin</td>
<td>71.38%</td>
<td>62.83%</td>
<td>55.59%</td>
<td>44.41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D Victim virginity and marital status</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Single and virgin</td>
<td>84.09%</td>
<td>75.76%</td>
<td>72.73%</td>
<td>69.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Single and not virgin</td>
<td>77.45%</td>
<td>68.14%</td>
<td>59.80%</td>
<td>46.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Others - e.g. married, divorced etc.</td>
<td>60.17%</td>
<td>50.85%</td>
<td>45.76%</td>
<td>39.83%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 54: Chi-square values and probabilities for category 5 factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>X^2</th>
<th>Probability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. Victim has reputation
   - Bad reputation vs. no bad reputation (2x2) 1df
   - X^2 = 1.74, ns

B. Victim's marital status
   - Married, cohabiting vs. single, divorced, widowed (2x2) 1df
   - X^2 = 5.653, <0.05

C. Victim previously a virgin vs. not and others (3x2) 2df
   - X^2 = 13.459, <0.001

D. Victim virginity and marital status
   - Single and virgin, single and not and others eg married (3x2) 2df
   - X^2 = 20.251, <0.001

4.881, ns
15.537, <0.001
widowed victims (factor B, item 2) were apprehended compared with suspects who had assaulted married or cohabiting victims (factor B, item 1). This is revealed by the significant Chi-square value at stage 1 of the process (see Table 54). No other significant associations are found since the suspect attenuation gradients for stages 2, 3 and 4 are broadly comparable for items 1 and 2.

Within factor C, item 1 (victim previously a virgin) and item 2 (victim not previously a virgin) have differential suspect attenuation gradients associated with them. Suspects who rape a virgin are more likely to be apprehended, charged, appear in court and sentenced.

The differential suspect attenuation gradients within factor D (victim virginity and marital status) reveals itself in significant Chi-square values in stages 1 and 4 of the process (see Tables 53 and 54). Suspects who rape single virgins (item 1) are more likely to be apprehended and sentenced compared with suspects who rape others (items 2 and 3).

8.7 Summary and conclusions

The purpose of this Section was to examine whether the loss of rape suspects at the four identified stages follows any pattern. This is an important issue since it tackles the question of whether those factors currently considered to be relevant to rape have been institutionalised into the legal and judicial system.
Clearly, the routine management of rape cases follows differential patterns depending on a number of those factors discussed. The interaction between the identified factors and suspect attenuation at different stages in the legal and judicial process is complex, and simplistic explanations based on one factor or one stage are inadequate.

For example, a common conception in feminist theories of rape is that unless the victim resists to her utmost she is unlikely to be believed by the police or treated seriously by the courts. However, the analysis has shown that for this sample suspects receive no differential treatment by the system as a function of the victim's reaction and resistance.

Conversely, it has been suggested by many researchers (Connell & Wilson, 1974; Meda & Thompson, 1974; Weis & Borges, 1973) that victims who were virgins prior to the assault are more likely to be treated seriously by the police and courts and this is borne out by the differential suspect attenuation gradients found in this sample (Table 53).

However, although it has been frequently asserted that victims who are raped outdoors have more credibility, this is reflected only in sentencing and not in apprehension (Table 45).

Prejudicial beliefs are part of the culture and are institutionalised in the legal system but do not operate in the "blanket" fashion
suggested by a number of previous researchers. By focusing more critically on those areas where misconceptions about rape have the most damaging consequences for the victim, recommendations for change can have a great impact.
9. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

McCahill et al (1979) in their extensive review and study of rape recommend that if money were to be made available to help rape victims it would be best spent on the training or retraining of the police to investigate the crime with more tact for and cooperation with the victim.

Police attitudes and behaviour have come under a great deal of criticism with respect to the manner in which they routinely manage rapes cases. Most evidence is of the anecdotal type but little systematic work has examined the police role in rape (Katz & Mazur, 1969). The sampling, reliability and validity of those studies which have been published are not always such that firm contentions can be unambiguously drawn from them.

The laws relating to rape have undergone a process of change (see Chapter 1) directed toward ironing out inconsistencies and paradoxes. Despite changes in the law itself, the problem remains in how the agents of the law act in their treatment of rape victims. For example, although sexual information about the victim is now legally inadmissible unless the judge deems it otherwise, Adler (1982) found that in most instances judges still allowed evidence of this type.

However, biases in the treatment of victims have probably already operated prior to the victim's court appearance. The police need to apprehend and charge the rape suspect before he appears in court,
and this appearance is less likely if, as McCahill et al (1979) suggest the complainant is not initially believed by the police.

The present police study had two distinct objectives. The first objective was to extend demographic and related evidence about rape since there is a paucity of systematic evidence of this type in this country (Smart, 1976; Wright, 1980). The second objective was to relate current evidence about attitudes, conceptions and misconceptions about rape to the suspect attenuation rate at stages of processing of these cases by the legal and judicial system.

A systematic analysis of the West Midlands Police rape files over an eight year period was undertaken. A coding system was devised so that features relating not only to the offence but also to those people involved in the offence could be examined in detail. This detailed level of analysis was considered appropriate since it has become increasingly apparent that a number of supposed "patterns" of rape, previously identified in the literature, may be overgeneralisations resulting from too wide a perspective. The "patterns" within rape are certainly not as straightforward or as simple as they have frequently been presented. For example, the contention that "rape is a nocturnal crime" is only true if we look at the overall frequency of rape at times of day. However, for young victims rape is more frequent in the afternoon and early evening, for adolescents rape is more frequent in the evening, and for young adults and adults rape is more frequent in the evening and late evening. Clearly then, care needs to be taken in giving overgeneralisations.
Another feature of this study was the manner in which multiple assailants or victims were dealt with which has not always been made clear in other studies. For example, the sample contained a number of cases which involved repeated offences over a period of time and a number of cases which involved more than one assailant and one victim. It has not always been made clear how previous researchers have dealt with cases of this type. Generally, it is necessary to assume that they have used the police's own classification which has the methodological flaw that number of cases is taken to be identical to number of victims. Clearly this is not always the case.

One way of getting over this would be to treat the rapes which involved just one assailant and victim separately from those which involved more than one assailant (as Wright, 1980 did). However, the objective of the present study is not to directly compare single assailant rapes with group rapes but to build up an overall picture of the offence. To divide the complete sample along just one dimension may distort the information obtained. Evidence suggests that there may be more similarities than differences between single assailant and group rapes. This is not to deny that group rapes do have different features associated with them. For example, it can be seen in sections 7.3.1 and 7.4.1. that group rapes tend to be associated with both assailants and victims tending to be younger on average than total sample.

Generally the findings of this study are in line with other empirical studies of rape (Amir, 1971; Chappell et al, 1971; Wright, 1980).
Demographic features tend to follow the same patterns as those found by earlier researchers. Further, many of the demographic features can be seen to "hang together" (see Section 7.5). Many feminist writers have pointed out that even demographic features of rape are not "value free".

Bohmer (1974) points out that even apparently innocuous information about the victim has implicit values which jurors use in assessing victims' credibility. Although Bohmer observes that this type of activity is not within the jurors' brief, it is probably inevitable that jurors, like anybody else, actively process information. However, the focus of this attention should ideally be directed toward the crime rather than the victim. This tendency to focus on the victim's character is observed even in suspects themselves. In their attempt to justify themselves the derogation of the victim is a common tactic.

The extent to which features of rape and their implicit values are associated with the differential treatments that rape cases receive was the second objective of the current study. The results indicated that a number of "key" ideas about rape have become institutionalised and this is reflected in the "dropout" rates at various stages in the legal and judicial process.

However, the effects of these "rape myths" are not as clear cut as some feminist writers have suggested. The results have demonstrated that the police and courts react differently to different features of an offence.
The finding that the police and courts do not treat rape cases impartially is only a first step. The complexity of this issue requires much further research.

Research emanating from pressure groups has tended to become biased in its simplistic attempt to dispel the "myths" of rape. The problem is that in the desire to discredit earlier "myths" a new set of "anti-myths" is being established. These too may have little validity.

Rape is an emotive issue and many feminists have made it a political issue. Practically this pressure to effect changes in cultural attitudes and the law is only useful if it is based on reliable and valid research.
PART IV: THE FUTURE DIRECTION FOR RAPE RESEARCH
PART IV - CONTENTS

10. THE FUTURE DIRECTION FOR RAPE RESEARCH  
10.1 Intent and consent  
10.2 Attributional approaches  
10.3 Structure and process of rape

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10. THE FUTURE DIRECTION FOR RAPE RESEARCH

This thesis had three main objectives. Firstly, to selectively review the literature, secondly, to experimentally investigate observers' perceptions of the victims of violent crime, and thirdly to examine a substantive sample of the rape cases in the West Midlands.

Within all three objectives a number of conceptual and methodological themes have recurred as central to an understanding of the issues. The purpose of this final section is to make these themes explicit and to suggest promising areas for future research.

10.1 Intent and Consent

Discrepancies between legal and cultural conceptions of rape are at the root of many of the conceptual and practical entanglements that surround the crime. The purpose of the first chapter of the thesis was to identify and sharpen the definitional boundaries with a view to making the rape debate clearer. Making a clear cut distinction is more difficult than it might seem.

The definitional difficulties are reflected in the legal and judicial processing of rape cases. In order that a charge of rape may be
successfully brought to court not only is it necessary to prove that the act was committed but that the assailant intended to commit the crime (actus reus and mens rea). Understandably, many victims are less concerned with the assailant's intent and are more concerned with seeing the attacker punished. Despite recent changes in the rape law, in reality the onus of responsibility still rests with the victim to prove that she did not precipitate the crime. Unlike murder laws, rape law does not include any category whereby an assailant can be charged if it has been shown that he had no intention to commit the act. In other words, within the rape law there is not an equivalent "manslaughter" category. The question of whether the legal inclusion of such a category is desirable is open to debate. From a common sense perspective it might appear that the legal insistence on mens rea shifts the balance in the assailant's favour.

Since the operation of the law involves tackling the issue of determining the assailant's assumptions about the victim's consent, it is easy to see how the concept of victim precipitation exists hand in glove with victim consent. This is unfortunate for a number of reasons, not least the fact that there are a variety of ways in which this concept has been theoretically and practicably applied. The psychodynamic and victim typology approaches (see Section 2.2) typically attempt to identify those women who consciously or unconsciously precipitate their own rape. Research shows that there are only an extremely small proportion of victims of this type. Despite this, other researchers have felt compelled to broaden the
definition. Amir (1971) includes victim behaviour which may be interpreted by the assailant to signify that the victim is willing to have sex if he persists in demanding it. Amir's definition of victim precipitation adopts the viewpoint of the assailant rather than the victim. As MacDonald (1971) observes, under this definition normal socialising might be interpreted as victim precipitation. The concept of victim vulnerability is also broad in scope but still effectively shifts the blame for rape from the offence to the victim.

At the heart of the victim precipitation problem lies the perennial question of motive. Inferring covert motives from overt behaviour is a process which is at best tentative. Consequently participants motives cannot be easily determined. For example, a man apprehended for rape may not have specifically intended to commit a rape but may have intended through his actions to change the likelihood of the occurrence of a number of possible events. One of these events might include rape. Thus his intent was not to commit the offence but to increase the likelihood of any number of events occurring.

Acknowledging the problem of inferring covert motives from overt behaviour, Gagnon & Simon (1974) extend the motive concept to include the notion of sexual scripts. Uncovering these scripts could lead to a deeper understanding of rape. A script has been defined by Abelson (1976) as a:

"coherent sequence of events expected by the individual, involving him either as a participant or as an observer."
A "vignette" is the basic element of a script and is defined by this author as:

"An encoding of an event of short duration, in general including both an image (often visual) of perceived event and a conceptual representation of the event."

Scripts can be processed at a variety of levels and at the "hypothetical" level they are able to give guidance for action. Abelson suggests that scripts are generalisable to new situations and that:

"... cognitively mediated social behaviour depends on the joint occurrence of two processes:-

(a) the selection of a particular script to represent the given social situation, and

(b) the taking of a participant role within that script."

Clearly this is a critical insight into how actions can be selected on the basis of what might be called for by certain circumstances. Jackson (1978a) has suggested that an important source of misunderstanding between the sexes is sex differences in "sexual scripts". The implications of this approach are important since many rapists claim to have genuinely misunderstood the sexual signals prior to the offence. Although evidence would suggest that rapists choose to ignore certain aspects of situations this might be due to the activation of these hypothetical sexual scripts. Viewed from this cognitive perspective, the problem of intent is even more complex. The fact that rape is to some extent situationally dependent as often observed in wars and more specifically in the suggestion that some people are more likely to rape under certain
conditions (Levine & Koenig, 1983) could be seen as tentative support for the script hypothesis. Levine & Koenig (1983) have suggested that rapists have a fine line between reality and fantasy. This could imply that rapists' sexual scripts are more easily activated than the sexual scripts of non-rapists. However, most studies have not found differences between rapists and non-rapists but these studies have not utilised cognitively based analyses. Static measures (e.g., of intelligence, aptitudes or dispositions) reveal little about the process of rape and may not be appropriate in the context of what is clearly a dynamic situation.

This study, in common with much previous research, reveals that the consumption of alcohol is typically associated with rape. Possibly the effects of alcohol are not specifically associated with the lowering of inhibitions but are more selective in activating internal scripts. This line of work has never been empirically examined but in the present study an examination of rapist's motives suggest that alcohol is a common rationalisation for the act. These scripts may not be purely sexual but may include aggressive elements. The examination of sexual scripts is clearly a promising line for future research on typologies of motivation.

10.2 Attributional Approaches

Previous empirical studies of rape have revealed consistent patterns in rape offences. These demographic features have been used as the
basis for suggesting "types" of rape. The descriptive worth of
current attempts in this direction is low (eg blitz rape, confidence
rape and so on). The large number of studies discussed in Chapter 3
have repeatedly demonstrated the existence of negative attitudes
toward women in general and rape victims in particular. These
attitudes emanate from familial relations, sexual partners and
members of the legal and medical professions. Although it has been
important to identify these negative attitudes toward rape victims,
further progress can only occur when research focuses on the manner
in which these negative attitudes operate. The conceptual status
of much attitudinal research is suspect because of vague and yielding
operational use of the concept. Schema based approaches (eg stereo-
types and scripts) would be a more useful framework in examining
the events of rape, not least because they stem from current
conceptions in cognitive psychology.

Attribution theory has been a cornerstone in social psychology for
many years. It has provoked a range of research studies within
rape. Unfortunately the theory is merely a heuristic device which
is so vague that almost any result can be interpreted within its
ever expanding domain. The "just world" hypothesis has often been
cited as an explanation for rape victim derogation. This hypothesis
has an intuitive appeal but unfortunately little empirical support.
As Eiser (1980) points out, "just world" is better interpreted as
"just self". Without conceptual clarification in the broad framework
of attribution research there appears to be little point in
pursuing studies of this type.
10.3 **Structure and process of rape**

This thesis has introduced the distinction between the intrinsic and extrinsic consequences of rape. Intrinsic reactions to rape are well documented though dealt with at too broad a level to make useful suggestions about the treatment of the rape victim above that of friendly counselling. It has been argued that the supposed "rape trauma syndrome" is in essence similar to trauma of a general kind. Whether this is the case of reflects the conceptual coarseness of measurements of trauma is debatable. If we are to accept the feminist analysis that rape is a special crime because of its symbolic nature, then it might be promising to examine victim reactions which are linked to those symbolic features.

Extrinsic consequences of rape include attitudes to the victim and the activation of the legal process. Attitudes, attribution of responsibility and the legal factors are clearly not independent. Previous studies have focused on bias in the legal process but have examined bias in a very general fashion. The present study has extended previous research and examined the effects of a range of common conceptions of rape and the relationship of these to suspect attenuation rates at different stages in the legal and judicial process. The interpretation of these suspect "dropout" rates suggests that bias in the management of rape cases is more complex than has previously been acknowledged.

In order to evaluate the sources of biases it is necessary to examine the "facts" of rape in detail. These "facts" are not easy
to obtain for a number of reasons. Factors such as low reporting rates, perceived victim credibility, official coding schedules and missing information all mitigate against obtaining reliable and valid rape data. Despite these methodological misgivings much can be done in extracting useful information from police files. The crucial stage in approaching the problem is the construction of a coding schedule that enables available information to be found in a manner which will be amenable to statistical analysis whilst enabling the categories to be analysed in terms of current psychological theories. The coding schedule utilised in this study aims to meet these criteria.

The results of this systematic examination of the police files generally show that rape is a complex issue and many of the current attempts to describe it are not fully adequate. One way of clarifying the multitude of unresolved issues is to impose a "rape structure/rape process" dichotomy on to available data. "Structure" of rape refers to descriptive analysis of demographic features of rape events. The "process" of rape refers to the dynamics of rape incidents and includes the progression of events from the initial meeting of the assailant and victim to the possible subsequent sentencing of the assailant. The legal and judicial parts of the total rape process were selected for further analysis because of the concern that has commonly been expressed about bias at these stages. The methodology devised for this analysis relied upon obtaining a reliable systems measure. This measure was subject attenuation rate at the various stages of the legal process and use of it
resulted in new and revealing findings. Further investigations using this methodology as a vehicle could prove promising if other measures could be found and applied to other parts of the rape process. One possible research avenue would be the utilization of rates of reported and unreported rapes cast against the relevant features of the offence. This approach could provide access to those cognitive processes by which a victim labels and interprets sexual contact. Practically, it is extremely difficult to obtain information about unreported rape but efforts in this direction would appear crucial in furthering the validity of rape research.

Similarly, examining factors relating to police investigation of any reported rape incidents, in conjunction with other key features of rape, could begin to provide information about how rape victims and offences are coded by investigating officers.

The operation of stereotypes at the individual level and myths at the cultural level appear to be central not only from a feminist stance but also from the cognitive perspective. "Cognitive feminism" is perhaps the direction in which future research should go. However, before this could occur a great deal of empirical research into the processes of social cognition needs to be undertaken.

The experiment described in Part II of this thesis adopted a cognitive perspective and the results suggest that cognitive judgments related to information available from unambiguous stereotypes as a useful way of assessing perceptions of victim
The ultimate utility of this type of research depends upon more systematic analysis of those cognitive structures to which stereotype types are assumed to refer.

Ultimately, the value of rape research will be assessed in the reduction of rape. Current research is still at the stage of trying to understand the offense and the subsequent scientific goals of prediction and control appear only a distant objective. Specific suggestions and advice to the victim and medical and legal pronouncements have been premature and contradictory. Well intentioned suggestions stemming from a limited understanding of the issues can be misleading and even dangerous. At the street level women are sometimes advised to carry a weapon, sometimes advised not to carry a weapon, sometimes advised to strongly resist and sometimes advised not to resist, and so on. At the legal level debate surrounds the issue of appropriate punishment for rapists. Peters (1975) points out that the result of harsh deterrent sentences for rapists had led to police reluctance in enforcing the law and jury reluctance to convict. The realistic penalties which Peters (1979) suggests are not welcomed by all feminists in the area.

Similarly, pressure which resulted in change in the rape laws so that evidence relating to the victim's character was no longer admissible, except at the judge's discretion, has not resulted in this type of evidence being excluded from rape trials (Adler, 1984). Even if evidence about character of the rape victim was completely admissible, it would be unattractive to jurors before set in order the
"Fundamental attribution error" (Ross, 1977). This tendency to overestimate the influence of dispositional factors is one of the most consistent findings in social psychology, and might be aggravated if jurors are not given a full and balanced account about the victim’s character.

More systematic research is clearly required. However, this is not a solution in itself since strong applications of theory to practice are generally characterized by a linking science that operates between the descriptive explanatory approach and application by professionals. Simon (1965) distinguishes an explanatory descriptive science from a prescriptive science of design. In general, a prescriptive science provides a schema for the professional in the field and those attempts at directly applying the findings of explanatory descriptive science are generally ineffectual. Most rape research is explanatory, descriptive social psychology and few, if any, people are actively engaged in building the necessary links between theory and practice.
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APPENDIX 9  Reliability study: Spearman's and correction coefficients for each coding category used in the coding study and equivalent information from the main study 411
(2) The gratification of the individual's desires having resulted in further sexual acts, or the act of rape) should be qualified as "lust murder".

(3) The offender should be charged with the murder of the deceased under the provisions of the Criminal Code of the jurisdiction.

"Summary of Provisional Conclusions"

We shall welcome comment on any aspect of the law relating to sexual offences. The Policy Advisory Committee on Sexual Offences are considering the age of consent for sexual intercourse with a girl and the minimum age for homosexual relations between males. We ourselves will be dealing with prostitution and allied offences in a further working paper. Comment is particularly invited on the matters set out below.

Rape and allied offences

(1) The offence of rape should remain substantially in its present form and punishable with a maximum of life imprisonment but sexual intercourse induced by threats (other than threats of force) or other intimidation or by fraud should not be rape. Procuring sexual intercourse by threats or fraud should, however, be punishable with a heavy penalty under the offences mentioned in paragraph (7) below (paragraph 24).

(2) The presumption that a boy under 14 is incapable of having sexual intercourse (and therefore of committing rape) should be abolished (paragraph 27).

(3) The offence of rape should be extended to enable a prosecution for rape to be brought in all cases where a man has sexual intercourse with his wife without her consent, whether they are cohabiting or not (paragraph 37). A prosecution for marital rape should need the consent of the Director of Public Prosecutions (paragraph 42).

(4) The offence of rape should not be extended to cover other forms of vaginal penetration or any form of oral or anal penetration (paragraph 45).

(5) No special provision should be introduced to make evidence of a man's previous convictions for sexual offences admissible against him on a charge of rape; such evidence should be admissible only where it now is under the present law (paragraph 48).

(6) Two degrees of rape, punishable with different maximum penalties, should not be created (paragraph 50).
(7) The offences under section 2 and 3 of the Sexual Offences Act, 1956 (procuring a woman by threats or intimidation or by false pretences respectively to have unlawful sexual intercourse in any part of the world) should be retained in substantially the same terms as at present. If, as we provisionally propose, unlawful sexual intercourse induced by threats (other than threats of force) or other intimidation or by fraud should not be rape, the present maximum of 2 years' imprisonment for these offences should be increased to 5 years (paragraph 51).

(8) The offence under section 4 of the Act of 1956 of administering to a woman any drug, matter or thing with intent to stupefy or overpower her so as to enable any man to have unlawful sexual intercourse with her should be extended to protect males as well as females and to cover all sexual acts, including homosexual acts (paragraph 52).

Non-consensual buggery
(9) Non-consensual buggery on a man or woman should be retained as a separate offence and not merged with rape or indecent assault (paragraph 54).

(10) The maximum penalty for all forms of non-consensual buggery should be life imprisonment (paragraph 55).

Indecent assault
(11) The maximum penalty for all forms of indecent assault should be 5 years' imprisonment (paragraph 58).

(12) Two degrees of indecent assault, punishable with different maximum penalties, should not be created (paragraph 60).

Sexual intercourse with young girls
(13) There should continue to be two offences of unlawful sexual intercourse with young girls, the more serious being with a girl under 13, the less serious being with a girl under 16 (paragraph 66).

(14) It should be a defence to unlawful sexual intercourse with a girl under 16 that the defendant believed that he was lawfully married to her (paragraph 69).

(15) It should be a defence to unlawful sexual intercourse with a girl under 16 or with a girl under 13 that the defendant believed her to be aged 16 or over (paragraphs 68, 70).

(16) An honest belief, as opposed to a belief on reasonable grounds, should be sufficient for the defences proposed in paragraphs (14) and (15) above (paragraph 68) and for all other defences proposed in this Working Paper. The burden
on the defendant of establishing those defences should be evidential only (paragraph 71).

(17) We reject the suggestion that a man should not be guilty of unlawful sexual intercourse unless there is some fixed age difference (say 4 years) between the parties; nor should it be material to liability that the girl took the initiative (paragraph 72).

(18) The maximum penalty for unlawful sexual intercourse with a girl under 16 should continue to be 2 years' imprisonment. Where a girl is under 13 it should remain at imprisonment for life (paragraph 74).
APPENDIX 2

Additional Stimulus Information given to Subjects in Experiment

The additional information given to subjects in the experiment had the same basic structure which was neutral. The additional information which was manipulated in order to have 21 experimental conditions was inserted at different points in the vignettes and was constructed for each in the following manner:

Interviewee 1
Anne is a 14 year old schoolgirl who is very interested in schoolwork. (insertion 1) She lives at home with her parents and has twin sisters and a brother. Her sisters were born six months ago and have had quite an influence on her 7 year old brother's behaviour - he appears to be jealous of them. Anne does not enjoy Christmas very much because she has to visit aunts and uncles in Derby with her parents. (insertion 2)

Variations:
Insertion 1 - The sexual status of Anne was varied here by inserting one of the following:-
(a) She has a steady boyfriend, they have slept together and are going to get married in two years time. (Not a virgin but in a stable relationship.)
(b) She has had a number of sexual relationships and has been going out with her present boyfriend for nearly seven months. (Not a virgin
and not in a respectable relationship, ie promiscuous.)

(c) For both virgin status and unmentioned status, no insertion was made. Within the victimisation insertion the sexual status of the virgin was stated (eg 'she had been a virgin before the attack' or 'she is still a virgin').

**Insertion 2** - The victimisation status of Anne was varied here by inserting one of the following:

(a) A few months prior to this interview Anne was raped on her way home by a youth. She screamed but no-one came to her assistance (she had been a virgin before the attack). Her attacker was of average build with light brown hair and has not as yet been caught. (Raped by a stranger.)

(b) A few months prior to this interview a youth attempted to rape Anne on her way home. She screamed and passersby frightened her attacker off (she is still a virgin). He was of average build with light brown hair and has not as yet been caught. (Attempted rape by a stranger.)

(c) A few months prior to this interview Anne was raped in her home by an acquaintance (she had been a virgin before the attack). She screamed but no-one could hear her, she has not reported it to the police. (Raped by acquaintance.)

(d) A few months prior to this interview Anne was mugged on her way home by a youth. She screamed but no-one came to her assistance - she lost £2 and received superficial bruising. Her attacker was of average build with light brown hair and has not as yet been caught. (Mugged)
(e) A few months prior to this interview a youth attempted to mug Anne on her way home. She screamed and attracted the attention of passersby who frightened her attacker away. He was of average build with light brown hair and has not as yet been caught. (Attempted mugging)

(f) For no victimisation no insertion was made.

Interviewee 2

Diane is a 23 year old secretary who is very interested in her job. (insertion 1) Her parents have recently moved to Essex near to where her father has obtained a secure job in Colchester. Diane has two sisters - an older sister who is married with three children living in Birmingham and a younger sister who has moved to Colchester with her parents where she is now looking for her first job. Diane had decided to stay in Birmingham rather than go with the family to Colchester. (insertion 2)

Variations:

Insertion 1 - The sexual status of Diane was varied here by inserting one of the following:

(a) She is married with a 1 year old daughter. (Not a virgin but in a stable relationship.)

(b) She has had a number of lovers and has been living with her present boyfriend for about ten months. (Not a virgin and not in a respectable relationship, is promiscuous.)

(c) For both virgin status and unmentioned status, no insertion was made. Within the victimisation insertion the sexual status of the
virgin was stated, (eg 'she had been a virgin before the attack' or 'she is still a virgin').

**Insertion 2** - The victimisation status of Diane was varied here by inserting one of the following:

(a) A few months prior to this interview Diane was raped on her way home by a youth. She screamed but no-one came to her assistance (she had been a virgin before the attack). Her attacker was quite tall with greasy blond hair and has not as yet been caught. (Rape by a stranger.)

(b) A few months prior to this interview a youth attempted to rape Diane on her way home. She screamed and passersby frightened her attacker off (she is still a virgin). He was quite tall with greasy blond hair and has not as yet been caught. ( Attempted rape by a stranger.)

(c) A few months prior to this interview Diane was raped in her home by an acquaintance (she had been a virgin before the attack). She screamed but no-one could hear her, she has not reported it to the police. (Rape by an acquaintance.)

(d) A few months prior to this interview Diane was mugged on her way home by a youth. She screamed but no-one came to her assistance - she lost her purse and received superficial bruising. Her attacker was quite tall with greasy blond hair and has not as yet been caught. (Mugged)

(e) A few months prior to this interview a youth attempted to mug Diane on her way home. She screamed and attracted the attention of passersby who frightened her attacker away. He was quite tall with
greasy blond hair and has not as yet been caught. (Attempted mugging)
(f) For no victimisation no insertion was made.

Interviewee 3

Glenda is a 35 year old secretary who is very interested in her job.
(insertion 1) Her father died about a year ago but her mother is
still alive and living just outside Birmingham in West Bromwich.
Glenda also has an older married brother living in Coventry and a
younger married sister with two children living in York. She visits
her mother more often than her brother or sister, mainly due to the
distance involved, but they all usually get together for one or two
days during the Christmas break. (insertion 2)

Variations:

Insertion 1 - The sexual status of Glenda was varied hereby inserting
one of the following:-
(a) She is married with two sons aged 10 and 14 years. (Not a virgin
but in a stable relationship.)
(b) She has had a number of lovers and has been living with her
present man for nearly a year. (Not a virgin and not in a respectable
relationship, ie promiscuous.)
(c) For both virgin status and unmentioned status, no insertion was
made. Within the victimisation insertion the sexual status of the
virgin was stated (eg 'she had been a virgin before the attack' or
'she is still a virgin').
**Insertion 2** - The victimisation status of Glenda was varied here by inserting one of the following:-

(a) A few months prior to this interview Glenda was raped on her way home by a youth. She screamed but no-one came to her assistance (she had been a virgin before the attack). Her attacker was tall with curly mouse hair and has not as yet been caught. (Raped by a stranger.)

(b) A few months prior to this interview a youth attempted to rape Glenda on her way home. She screamed and passersby frightened her attacker off (she is still a virgin). He was tall with curly mouse hair and has not as yet been caught. (Attempted rape by a stranger.)

(c) A few months prior to this interview Glenda was raped in her home by an acquaintance (she had been a virgin before the attack). She screamed but no-one could hear her, she has not reported it to the police. (Rape by an acquaintance.)

(d) A few months prior to this interview Glenda was mugged on her way home by a youth. She screamed but no-one came to her assistance - she lost £10 and received superficial bruising. Her attacker was tall with curly mouse hair and has not as yet been caught. (Mugged)

(e) A few months prior to this interview a youth attempted to mug Glenda on her way home. She screamed and attracted the attention of passersby who frightened her attacker away. He was tall with curly mouse hair and has not as yet been caught. (Attempted mugging)

(f) For no victimisation no insertion was made.

**Interviewee 4**

Mavis is a 49 year old teacher who is very interested in her job.
Both of her parents are dead but she has a younger sister, Maureen, who is still alive, living in Nottingham. She visits her each Christmas and perhaps once or twice more during the year. Apart from this and the odd letter they do not have much contact with each other. (insertion 2)

Variations:
Insertion 1 - The sexual status of Mavis was varied here by inserting one of the following:-
(a) She is married with a grown-up son who is 22 years of age. (Not a virgin but in a stable relationship.)
(b) She has had a number of lovers and has been living with her present man for over a year. (Not a virgin and not in a respectable relationship, ie promiscuous.)
(c) For both virgin status and unmentioned status, no insertion was made. Within the victimisation insertion the sexual status of the virgin was stated, (eg 'she had been a virgin before the attack' or 'she is still a virgin').

Insertion 2 - The victimisation status of Mavis was varied here by inserting one of the following:-
(a) A few months prior to this interview Mavis was raped on her way home by a youth. She screamed but no-one came to her assistance (she had been a virgin before the attack). Her attacker was of average build with longish brown hair and has not as yet been caught. (Raped by a stranger.)
(b) A few months prior to this interview a youth attempted to rape
Mavis on her way home. She screamed and passersby frightened her attacker off (she is still a virgin). He was of average build with longish brown hair and has not as yet been caught. (Attempted rape by a stranger.)

(c) A few months prior to this interview Mavis was raped in her home by an acquaintance (she had been a virgin before the attack). She screamed but no-one could hear her, she has not reported it to the police. (Rape by acquaintance.)

(d) A few months prior to this interview Mavis was mugged on her way home by a youth. She screamed but no-one came to her assistance - she lost £4 in cash, her cheque book, and received superficial bruising. Her attacker was of average build with longish brown hair and has not as yet been caught. (Mugged)

(e) A few months prior to this interview a youth attempted to mug Mavis on her way home. She screamed and attracted the attention of passersby who frightened her attacker away. He was of average build with longish brown hair and has not as yet been caught. (Attempted mugging)

(f) For no victimisation no insertion was made.
APPENDIX 3

Listing of the bipolar scales used to rate interviewees in the social psychological experiment

1. Very respected Not at all respected
2. Very confident Not at all confident
3. Very unemotional, insensitive Very emotional, sensitive
4. Very idealistic, romantic Very realistic, practical
5. Not at all ambitious or determined Very ambitious, determined
6. Has had lots of boyfriends Has had no boyfriends
7. Likes and gets on well with men Doesn't like or get on well with men
8. Has lots of acquaintances Has no acquaintances
9. Gets up late Gets up early
10. Has no very close friends Has lots of very close friends
11. Very introvert, inhibited, passive Very extravert, active, spontaneous
12. Influenced by others Autonomous, not influenced by others
13. Is physically attractive Is physically unattractive
14. Very suspicious, critical Very trusting, gullible
15. Cares nothing about what others think Cares a lot about what others think
16. Very stable, secure Very unstable, neurotic, anxious
17. Is not feminine Very feminine
18. Has close family ties Doesn't have close family ties

246
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Opposite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Drinks a lot of alcohol</td>
<td>Doesn't drink alcohol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Very submissive</td>
<td>Very dominant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Stays out late</td>
<td>Doesn't stay out late</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Very worldly, experienced</td>
<td>Very innocent, inexperienced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Likes and gets on well with women</td>
<td>Doesn't like or get on well with women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Not at all aggressive</td>
<td>Very aggressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Is a smoker</td>
<td>Doesn't smoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>I like her a lot</td>
<td>I don't like her at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Very well educated</td>
<td>Not at all well educated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Very old</td>
<td>Very young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Very rich</td>
<td>Very poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Unassertive</td>
<td>Assertive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Very quiet</td>
<td>Very talkative, chatty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Not at all like me</td>
<td>A lot like me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Totally dependent on others</td>
<td>Very independent, free</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Likes to go out a lot</td>
<td>Doesn't go out very often</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Listing of questions asked of the Subjects in the Social Psychological Experiment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Basically the world is a just place</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The modern girl is entitled to the same freedom that is given to the modern boy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Women should be concerned with housework and looking after children, rather than with desires for professional and business careers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Swearing is more repulsive in the speech of a woman than of a man</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. By and large people deserve what they get</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. People who meet misfortune have brought it on themselves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. It is insulting to women to have the &quot;obey&quot; clause remain in the marriage service</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Most people would tell a lie if they could gain by it</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Nowadays with women being active outside the home men should share the housework</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
10. Boys should be given more encouragement to go to university than girls

11. The political candidate who sticks up for his/her principles rarely gets elected

12. Our success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside our own control

13. The husband should not be favoured by law over the wife in the disposal of family property or income

14. Students almost always deserve the grades they get

15. Crime doesn't pay

16. Telling dirty jokes should be mostly a masculine prerogative

17. Careful drivers are just as likely to get hurt in traffic accidents as careless ones

18. Being drunk is worse among women than among men

19. I've found that a person rarely deserves the reputation s/he has

20. Economic and social freedom is worth far more to a woman than acceptance of men's definition of the ideal of femininity
21. Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men

22. People who get "lucky breaks" have usually earned their good fortune

23. There should be a strict merit system in job appointment and promotion regardless of sex

24. Many people suffer through absolutely no fault of their own

25a. Do you know anyone who has been mugged?

25b. If yes, who? (eg a friend, acquaintance, member of the family, yourself, etc.)

26a. Do you know anyone who has been raped?

26b. If yes, who? (eg a friend, acquaintance, and so on)

27a. Do you know anyone who has been accused of mugging?

27b. If yes, who? (eg a friend, acquaintance, and so on)
28a. Do you know anyone who has been accused of rape?


28b. If yes, who? (e.g. a friend, acquaintance, and so on)


29. What percentage of rapes do you think are committed by the following: (your answers should total 100%)

- Complete strangers?
- Acquaintances?
- Casual friends?
- Close friends?
- Relatives?

30. What percentage of muggings do you think goes unreported?


31. What percentage of rapes do you think goes unreported?


32. What percentage of reported rapes do you think are false accusations?


33. What percentage of rapists do you think "get away" with their crime?


34. What percentage of rapes do you think are partially the fault of the victim?
35. In what percentage of rapes do you think that the rapist has been drinking?

36. In what percentage of rapes do you think that the victim has been drinking?

37. In a potential rape situation to what extent do you think that the victim's behaviour influences the outcome?

38. Do you think that the way in which some women dress or behave could provoke rape?

39a. What sort of clothing could provoke rape?

39b. What sort of behaviour could provoke rape?

40a. What percentage of women do you think dress in a manner that could provoke rape?

40b. What percentage of women do you think behave in a manner that could provoke rape?

41a. Do you think that some women are more likely than others to get raped?
41b. What type of woman?

42. To what extent would you consciously change your behaviour if someone got mugged in the area where you live?

43. To what extent would you consciously change your behaviour if someone got raped in the area where you live?

44. What specific sorts of things would you do in each case?

45. How likely do you think it is that you could be mugged?

46. How likely do you think it is that you could be raped?

47. How likely do you think it is that you would resist a rape attempt if:
   - the rapist was a friend?
   - the rapist was unknown to you?
   - the rapist was armed with a knife?
   - the rapist used other physical violence?
   - the rapist verbally threatened you?
48. Do you think it is painful, harmful or uncomfortable for a man to get sexually excited and then not proceed to have sexual intercourse?  

Yes  

Not at all

49. Do you think that many women secretly wish to be raped?

50. Do you think that there is something wrong with men who rape women?

51. What percentage of the female population do you think secretly wishes to be raped?

---------------------------------

For the following list of crimes, please give each a severity loading using a scale of 1-10 points. If you think a particular crime is very serious give it a high loading of 8, 9, 10, however if you consider a crime to be minor give it a low loading of 1, 2 or 3. Also put the punishment that you think is appropriate for someone found guilty next to each crime. If you think the person should be imprisoned please state for how long.

Robbery with violence
Speeding
Mugging
Fraud
Murder
Shoplifting
Rape
Manslaughter
Robbery
Drunken driving
Wife battering
Rape with wounding
Any comments?
Analysis of Variance Summary Tables for Neutral Items (Tables a, b, c, d, e, f, g and h) and Stereotypic Items (Tables i, j, k, l, m, n, o and p)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEUTRAL ITEMS</th>
<th>STEREOTYPIC ITEMS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>4x3</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee 1 - Table (a)</td>
<td>Interviewee 1 - Table (i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee 2 - Table (b)</td>
<td>Interviewee 2 - Table (j)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee 3 - Table (c)</td>
<td>Interviewee 3 - Table (k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee 4 - Table (d)</td>
<td>Interviewee 4 - Table (l)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>3x6</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Interviewee 1 - Table (e)</td>
<td>Interviewee 1 - Table (m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee 2 - Table (f)</td>
<td>Interviewee 2 - Table (n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee 3 - Table (g)</td>
<td>Interviewee 3 - Table (o)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee 4 - Table (h)</td>
<td>Interviewee 4 - Table (p)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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TABLE (a)  CRF 4x3 AOV Summary Table: Neutral Items - Interviewee 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOURCE</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>186.396</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>62.132</td>
<td>1.176</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>165.760</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>82.880</td>
<td>1.569</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>420.948</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>70.158</td>
<td>1.328</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.Cell</td>
<td>9510.875</td>
<td>180</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>10283.979</td>
<td>191</td>
<td></td>
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TABLE (b)  CRF 4x3 AOV Summary Table: Neutral Items - Interviewee 2

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TABLE (i)  CRF 4x3 AOV Summary Table: Stereotypic Items
- Interviewee 1

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- Interviewee 2

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TABLE (1)  CRF 4x3 AOV Summary Table: Stereotypic Items  
- Interviewee 4

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- Interviewee 1

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TABLE (o) CRF 3x6 AOV Summary Table: Stereotypic Items
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- Interviewee 4

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263
APPENDIX 6

National and Regional Differences in the Indictable Sexual Offences Recorded by the Police per 100,000 of the Population

The publication Criminal Statistics England and Wales (HMSO) annually declares indictable offences which have been reported to the police. These figures are often cited as a means of determining differences and changes in crime rates.

The indictable sexual offences recorded by the police per 100,000 of the population in England and Wales for the years 1975 to 1978 were:

1975 - 48
1976 - 45
1977 - 43
1978 - 46

The differences between the indictable sexual offences recorded by the police per 100,000 of the population by standard region and the national figures for the years 1975 to 1978 is shown in the following Table.

It can be seen from this Table that the police figures for the rate of reported sexual offences in the West Midlands appears to be the closest of all regions to the national figures for the years 1975 to 1978.
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<td>+6</td>
<td>+3</td>
<td>+5</td>
<td>16 (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yorkshire &amp; Humberside</td>
<td>+18</td>
<td>+16</td>
<td>+13</td>
<td>+12</td>
<td>59 (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Midlands</td>
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<td>+11</td>
<td>61 (+)</td>
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<td>+7</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>17 (+7) (-10)</td>
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<td>-7</td>
<td>-6</td>
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<td>-5</td>
<td>18 (-)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-3</td>
<td>4 (-)</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>8 (-)</td>
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National incidence of rape offences and the incidence of rape in the Birmingham area [using Criminal Statistics England and Wales (HMSO) and Report of the Chief Constable for the West Midlands (Annual Reports)]

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APPENDIX 7(a)

Coding Categories used in the Analysis of Police Rape Crime Files

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<th>Clark &amp; Lewis</th>
<th>Wright</th>
<th>Mazelan Pilot Final</th>
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Coding Categories which are Unique to this Study and the Reason for their Inclusion

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<tr>
<th>Category number</th>
<th>Reason for the inclusion of a category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Some offences were found to be recategorised at a later point in the investigation. This may or may not have some influence in the subsequent investigation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>The same participants were involved in a number of separate incidents over some period of time. Although no other studies reported this it was felt that the pattern of incidents may be important in themselves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Although in some cases the victim did not report the incident immediately she did attempt to report and was either stopped by the offender(s), kept imprisoned or not believed by passers-by. (Equivalent to No. 111)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16, 17</td>
<td>It was felt that perhaps the number of people and who the victim told before reporting the incident to the police may influence how her complaint is processed. This information was available in the rape crime files although other studies did not access this information.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category Number</td>
<td>Reason for the inclusion of a category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>The victim herself was not always the person who reported the incident to the police. Where there was a delay in reporting as well as the victim having sought people to tell - it was apparent that the victim was sometimes persuaded to report the incident.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Rape Crisis Centres have argued that victims are often questioned about intimate and embarrassing subjects in an all male environment. This category was included to check whether there was a female police officer present at the interview scene.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>In a few cases in the pilot study the whereabouts of the victim was given to the offender by someone who knew her. This helped to corroborate some evidence but may have gone against her at a later point in the process. This category was included to check this.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>In the routine questioning of the suspect, the detectives usually asked him why he had done it. The types of reasons or how he tried to avoid blame (i.e. blaming the victim, drinking, or an &quot;urge&quot;) was felt to be an interesting feature in itself.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category Number</td>
<td>Reason for the inclusion of a category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>It has been suggested (personal communication with police) that in cases where the offender uses a contraceptive the victim is a prostitute (this is apparently normal practice) or the offender is frightened of catching VD. In both cases the victim is not viewed positively. Thus the inclusion of this category to investigate this aspect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Sometimes an offender would attempt to make a date with the victim or ask her personal details. More commonly she was told not to tell anyone or threatened. Any pattern in this behaviour might be interesting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40, 41, 42, 43</td>
<td>These items refer to the number of people involved in the incident and the pattern of offences. It appears that the non-inclusion of this category might confound other categories as outlined in Section 7.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47, 48</td>
<td>It has been argued that many convicted rape offenders have no brothers or sisters hence the inclusion of this item. (Brownmiller, 1975)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>The weekly earnings of a suspect (if available) give an idea of his social background and perhaps, lifestyle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category number</td>
<td>Reason for the inclusion of a category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Job stability is viewed by many to be an indicator of the type of character the suspect is. (eg Amir, 71)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60, 61, 95</td>
<td>Taking postcodes pinpoints areas whilst at the same time keeping identities secret. There is a wealth of research on the interconnections between area of offence and residences of victims and offenders - hence the inclusion of these categories as well as numbers 62, 96 and 97.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69, 70</td>
<td>The reaction of the suspect when confronted by the crime was noted by the police or if the offender had been visited by someone on the victim's behalf. Sometimes this in conjunction with what the suspect later said influenced the course (eg if he said he didn't know who the victim was - it could later be seen as incorrect).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73, 74, 75</td>
<td>Not all offenders made statements when they had been charged. In some cases it appeared to be in the offenders interest not to make a statement and say as little as possible over the course of questioning. He was therefore less likely to be inconsistent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79, 80</td>
<td>It was felt that if victims had no brothers then perhaps they were unsophisticated in their dealings with the opposite sex. Hence the number of siblings was checked.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category Number</td>
<td>Reason for the inclusion of a category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81, 82</td>
<td>The height and weight of the victim was often stated. This aspect was analysed to check whether smaller people were more likely to be victimised.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84, 85</td>
<td>Details about whether the victim was a virgin beforehand or remained a virgin was usually available. In a lot of cases the offence was a fumbled attempt at sex rather than full sexual intercourse as appears to be popularly perceived to be rape.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91, 92, 93, 94</td>
<td>Although other studies are mainly interested in the offenders educational background and details about his employment, this study is interested in similar details about the victim and whether they are correlated to either details about the offender(s) or patterns in the management of the case.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98, 99</td>
<td>Evidence from witnesses and who these witnesses were might influence the management of the case.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>This category was included to check whether it was possible to predict the offence. However, in retrospect it appears that this category has the same problems as 112 and 113 in that all behaviour could be defined as such in retrospect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category Number</td>
<td>Reason for the inclusion of a category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>This category was included in order to gain some idea of the stability of the victim's home background.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>Whether the victim was believed or not or how this aspect influenced the management of the case was felt to be an important item.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>It has been argued that there is such a thing as &quot;victim-proneness&quot; - this category was included to check the concept.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106, 108</td>
<td>Whether or not the victim was injured and needed some sort of aftercare has not been included in the other studies. However, it was felt to be an important detail which may influence the management of the case.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>It has been argued that women may be more accident prone at certain points in the menstrual cycle. This category was included to check whether there is a pattern in rape and menstruation. (Shutle &amp; Redgrove, 1980)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>Forensic evidence was not always gathered on all aspects of the crime, nor was it always detailed. This category was included to check whether there was a relationship between extent of evidence and pattern of management of case.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Coding Categories which have been used by other Studies but are Not Included in the Present Study and the Reasons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category Number</th>
<th>Reason for non-inclusion of the category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>Whether or not the victim was still a captive 1½ hours later could be accessed from other categories in the present study. (For example, duration of the offence; reason for delay in reports; or, extent of attempt to report the offence.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>The concept &quot;victim precipitation&quot; is a term devised by Amir (1971) - with much criticism from feminist researchers. The main reasons for its non-inclusion is in practice it is an ill-defined term and in retrospect all behaviour (such as drinking) can be viewed as &quot;victim precipitation&quot;. (Rosenthal, 1975)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>The concept &quot;victim vulnerability&quot; is an Anglicised version of &quot;victim precipitation&quot; - the same criticisms apply to this term.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>The season of the crime is not included as a separate category as it gives no extra information given by the category stating the month of the offence for this present study.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category Number</td>
<td>Reason for non-inclusion of the category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>Whether or not the weather was mentioned was originally thought to be a detail which would be mentioned - especially in cases of rape which occurred outdoors. However, in practice, no mention was made concerning the weather and consequently this category was dropped from the pilot coding schedule.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>The location of the arrest is a feature which appears to be specific to the Clark &amp; Lewis (1977) study and perhaps reflects the special manner in which the Canadian police might operate. There is no equivalent category for this British study.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>Whether or not the evidence was retained by the police appears to be again specific to the Clark &amp; Lewis study and is not included in the present study.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>Whether or not the complainant was advised to take out a warrant again appears to be specific to the Clark &amp; Lewis study - there is no equivalent information in British cases.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>Whether or not a warrant was issued again appears to be specific to the Clark &amp; Lewis study - there is no equivalent information in British cases.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category Number</td>
<td>Reason for non-inclusion of the category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>Whether or not the offence was founded is adequately covered by other categories in the present study. (For example, - whether or not the offender was charged, adjudication, sentence received and so on.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 8

First Version of the Coding Schedule used on the West Midlands Police Force Rape Files

Coding schedule number

1-4

Details about the offence

1. Police reference number

5-13

2. Type of offence as reported
   01  Rape
   02  Attempted rape
   03  Indecent assault
   04  Incest
   05  Buggery
   06  Sex murder
   07  Other (state)

14-15

3. Was offence changed?
   1. Yes
   2. No

16

4. Type of offence being investigated
   01  Rape
   02  Attempted rape
   03  Indecent assault
   04  Incest
   05  Buggery
   06  Sex murder
   07  Other (state)

17-18

5. State year of offence

19-20

6. Month of offence
   Jan 01 - Dec 12
   Not known - 99

21-22
282
7. Day of week
   Mon 01 to Sun 07
   Not known - 99

8. Time of offence
   00.00 to 24.00 hrs

9. Duration of offence in hours

10. How long after the offence was the police report made?
    01 Under 1 hour
    02 1-3 hours
    03 3-6 hours
    04 6-24 hours
    05 1-3 days
    06 3-7 days
    07 1-3 weeks
    08 3+ weeks (state)
    09 Not known

11. If over one hour - what was main reason for not reporting earlier?

12. Was an attempt made to report? State extent and type

13. Who reported the offence?
    01 Victim
    02 Hospital/institution
    03 Parent/blood relative
    04 Husband/boyfriend
    05 Friend
    06 Neighbour
    07 Stranger
    08 Offender
    10 Other (state)
    99 Not known
14. Was victim persuaded to report to police by
   01  No-one decided by self
   02  Hospital/institute
   03  Parent/blood relative
   04  Husband/boyfriend
   05  Friend
   06  Neighbour
   07  Stranger
   08  Offender
   10  Other (state)
   99  Not known

15. How were the police notified?
   1.  By telephone
   2.  In person at a police station
   3.  Discovered by police
   4.  Other (state)
   5.  Not known

16. Did male or female PC take victim's statement?
   1.  Male
   2.  Female

17. Interpersonal relationship between offender and victim
   01  Former spouse, lovers
   02  Daughter, stepdaughter
   03  Blood relative
   04  Close friends
   05  Neighbour
   06  Casual acquaintance
   07  Brief acquaintance (same day)
   08  Strangers but know of existence
   10  Strangers
   11  Other (state)
   99  Not known

18. Was information given to offender of victim's whereabouts?
   01  By victim herself
   02  By parents
   03  By siblings
   04  By close friends
   05  By acquaintances
   06  Others (state)
   99  Not known
   98  Not applicable
19. Place met just prior to the offence
   01  Offender's home by invitation.
   02  Victim's home by invitation
   03  In friend's/acquaintance's home
   04  Victim's home by breaking in
   05  In street (stationary, waiting)
   06  In street (walking, running)
   07  In pub, bar, disco
   08  In field, park, open space
   10  In offender's car
   11  Other (state)
   99  Not known

20. Place of offence
   01  Victim's home
   02  Offender's home
   03  In friend's/acquaintance's home
   04  In car, urban
   05  In car, isolated
   06  Open space (state)
   07  Other (state)
   99  Not known

21. Were other crimes committed? (state)

22. Was the offence planned?

23. Did offender give reason or motive?
24. Weapons used
   01  None
   02  Victim claims offender said he had a weapon but none actually seen
   03  Gun
   04  Knife
   05  Coat
   06  Multiple (state)
   07  Others (state)
   99  Not known

25. Coercion used
   01  Verbal threats to victim
   02  Verbal threats to others
   03  Rough treatment, slapping
   04  Severe beating
   05  Choking
   06  Stabbing
   07  Serious mutilation or murder
   08  Multiple (state)

26. Acts attempted, demanded, threatened
   1.  Kissing
   2.  Breastfondling
   3.  Intercourse
   4.  Multiple intercourse
   5.  Fellatio
   6.  Cunnilingus
   7.  Buggery
      Other (state)

27. Acts performed
   1.  Kissing
   2.  Breastfondling
   3.  Intercourse
   4.  Multiple intercourse
   5.  Fellatio
   6.  Cunnilingus
   7.  Buggery
      Other (state)

28. Did he ejaculate?
29. Victim resistance
01 Verbal protest, screaming
02 Attempt to reason, protest
03 Mild struggle
04 Severe struggle
05 None
06 None (stunned, shocked)
07 Other (state)
08 Multiple (state)
99 Not known

30. Post offence separation
01 Victim escaped
02 Victim rescued by police
03 Victim rescued by passerby/neighbor
04 Victim transported to a different spot from the offence and let go
05 Victim left to leave area of offence
Other (state)
99 Not known

31. State of victim after offence
01 Unconscious, unable to get help
02 Without some of clothes
03 Without any of her clothes
04 Untidy
05 Shocked (quiet)
06 Hysterical
07 Crying
08 Calm
Other (state)
99 Not known

32. Was an attempt made to socialise with the victim?
01 Asked her name
02 Asked for date
03 Asked whether enjoyed it
04 Asked whether she would be his girlfriend
05 Asked whether she would live with him/marry him
06 Asked whether would go for a drink
07 Said goodbye
08 Apologised
10 Not her fault
11 Not his fault
Others
99 Not known
33. Weather
   01 Cold
   02 Raining
   03 Others (state as could be found out at a later date)

Details about offender/s

1. Was offender apprehended?

2. Number of offenders

3. If others apprehended, codes of other schedules

4. Total number of offences

5. Number of separate offences (for particular offender)

6. Age
   1. Under 15
   2. 16-23
   3. 24-28
   4. 29-35
   5. 36-42
   6. 43-50
   7. 50+
   8. Not known
7. Marital status
   01  Married
   02  Cohabitating
   03  Separated
   04  Divorced/widowed
   05  Single
   Multiple (state)
   99  Not known

8. Number of children

9. Height

10. Build

11. Distinguishing marks

12. Place of birth/race

13. Employment
   1.  Full time
   2.  Part time
   3.  Self employed
   4.  Unemployed
   9.  Not known

14. Type of job, status (R.G. classification)

15. Weekly earning (approximately)

16. Job stability

289
17. Education
01 No formal education
02 Educationally subnormal (school?)
03 Primary
04 Secondary/Grammar
05 FE
06 Polytechnic/University
07 Approved school
Other (state)
99 Not known

18. Age when left full time education
1. Under 11
2. Under 16
3. 17-18
4. 19+
Other (state)
9. Not known

19. Post code of offender's residence

20. Post code of the place of offence

21. Area of offence in relation to residence
1. Same city
2. Same town, village, suburb
3. Nearby
4. Not nearby
Other (state)
9. Not known

22. Type of accommodation
1. Parents
2. Not fixed
3. Council house/flat
4. Privately rented house/flat
5. Own house/flat
Other (state)
9. Not known

23. Had offender been drinking?
24. Was offender injured?  

25. Had offender been previously treated for mental disorder?  

26. Does offender have previous criminal record?  
- Motoring offences  
- Burglary  
- Crimes of dishonesty  
- Minor sex crimes  
- Major sex crimes  
- Other offences against the person  
  Other (state)  
- Not known  

27. Offender charged with  
- Rape  
- Attempted rape  
- Indecent assault  
- Incest  
- Buggery  
- Sex murder  
  Other (state)  
- Not known  

28. Offender's reaction when confronted  
- Don't know anything about it  
- Wasn't him  
- Wasn't there  
- Victim consented  
- Victim lying  
  Other (state)  
- Not known  

29. Was offender visited by male friend or relative of victim?
30. Adjudication

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Considered an original sex charge (pleaded G)</th>
<th>Considered an original sex charge (pleaded NG)</th>
<th>Charges withdrawn</th>
<th>Convicted on another crime (state)</th>
<th>Charges withdrawn (no court action, acquittal)</th>
<th>Absolute discharge</th>
<th>Other (state)</th>
<th>Not known</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31. If convicted, what was the most serious sentence?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Imprisonment 5+ years</th>
<th>Imprisonment 2-5 years</th>
<th>Imprisonment less than 2 years</th>
<th>Psychiatric treatment</th>
<th>Borstal</th>
<th>Detention</th>
<th>Probation</th>
<th>Fine</th>
<th>Suspended sentence</th>
<th>Conditional/absolute discharge, binding over</th>
<th>Other (state)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

32. Were offender's statements inconsistent?

<p>| |</p>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
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</table>

33. In what way?

<p>| |</p>
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<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Details about the victim

1. Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Under 12</th>
<th>12-14 years</th>
<th>15-16 years</th>
<th>19-23 years</th>
<th>24-28 years</th>
<th>29-35 years</th>
<th>36-42 years</th>
<th>43-50 years</th>
<th>50+</th>
<th>Not known</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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292
2. Height

3. Build

4. Was she previously a virgin?

5. Is she still a virgin?

6. Marital status
   01 Married
   02 Cohabitee
   03 Separated
   04 Divorced/widowed
   05 Single
   Other (state)
   99 Not known

7. Is her character mentioned?

8. Number of children

9. Employment
   1. Full time
   2. Part time
   3. Self employed
   4. Unemployed
   9. Not known

10. Type of job status (RG classification)

11. Weekly earning

12. Job stability

293
13. Education
   01  No formal
   02  Educationally subnormal
   03  Primary
   04  Secondary/Grammar
   05  FE
   06  Polytechnic/University
   07  Approved school
   Other (state)
   99  Not known

14. Age when left full time education
   1.  Under 11
   2.  Under 16
   3.  17-18
   4.  19+
   Other (state)
   9.  Not known

15. Post code of victim's residence

16. Place of birth/race

17. Were there any witnesses to the event?

18. Had victim been drinking prior to offence
   1.  No
   2.  Yes, heavily
   3.  Yes, a little
   4.  Not known

19. Extent of injury to victim
   1.  None
   2.  Slight
   3.  Serious/critical
      Other (state)
   9.  Not known

20. Was victim vulnerable (agreed to some intimacy but not to extent of offence)?
21. Type of accommodation
   1. Parents
   2. Not fixed
   3. Council house/flat
   4. Privately rented house/flat
   5. Own house/flat
   Other (state)
   9. Not known

22. Has victim been previously treated for mental disorder?

23. Does victim have a criminal record?

24. Has victim been a victim before?

25. Did victim need after care?
   01 VD clinic
   02 Abortion
   03 Criminal
   Other (state)
   99 Not known

26. Was victim on or near menstrual?
   1. Just finished
   2. On period
   3. Near next period
   4. Not known

27. Interpersonal communication made before, during and after event
28. Forensic evidence (state)
Second Version of the Coding Schedule used on the West Midlands

Police Force Rape Files

Coding schedule number

Variable 1

1. Police reference number

2. Type of offence as reported
   1. Rape
   2. Attempted rape
   3. Indecent assault
   4. Incest
   5. Buggery
   6. Sex murder
   7. Unlawful sexual intercourse
   8. Buggery and rape
   9. Burglary

3. Was offence changed?
   1. Yes
   2. No

4. Type of offence being investigated
   (as for item 2)

5. State year of offence

6. Month of offence
   Jan 01 - Dec 12
   Not sure or applicable (state)
7. Day of week
   Mon 1 - Sun 7
   Not sure or applicable (state)

8. Was the offence an ongoing one?

9. Time of offence
   00.00 to 24.00 hrs.
   Not sure (state)

10. Duration of offence

11. How long after the offence was the police report made?
   1. Under 1 hour
   2. 1-3 hours
   3. 3-6 hours
   4. 6-24 hours
   5. 1-3 days
   6. 3-7 days
   7. 1-3 weeks
   8. 3+ weeks (state)
   9. Not known

12. If over one hour - what was the main reason for not reporting earlier? ______________________

13. Was an attempt made to report? State extent and type ______________________

298
14. Who reported the offence?
   01  Victim
   02  Hospital/institution
   03  Parent/blood relative
   04  Husband
   05  Friend
   06  Neighbour
   07  Landlady/lord
   08  Stranger
   10  Offender
   11  Discovered by police
   12  Probation officer/welfare officer/work adviser
   13  Police just told (victim young)
   99  Not known

15. How many people told before police informed?

16. Who was told before the police?

17. Was victim persuaded to report to police by
   01  No-one, decided by self
   02  Hospital/institution
       (as for item 13)

18. How were the police notified?
   01  By telephone
   02  In person at a police station
   03  Discovered by the police
   04  By an informant
   05  Other (state)
   06  To police on patrol
   09  Not known

19. Did male or female PC take statement?
   1.  Male
   2.  Female
   3.  Male interpreter
   4.  Not stated
   5.  No statement (father won't allow it)

20.
20. Interpersonal relationship between offender and victim
   00 Sister/friend's etc. husband/boyfriend/father
   01 Former spouse, lovers
   02 Daughter/Step daughter
   03 Blood relative
   04 Ex boyfriend/boyfriend
   05 Close friends
   06 Casual acquaintance
   07 Brief acquaintance
   08 Neighbour
   10 Stranger but know of existence
   11 Strangers
   12 Friend of the family
   13 Offender says girl friend/victim casual workmates
   99 Not known

21. Was information given to offender of victim's whereabouts?
   1. By victim herself
   2. By parents
   3. By siblings
   4. By close friends
   5. By acquaintances
   6. Friend of the family
   7. Offender had watched victim
   8. Not known/not applicable

22. Place met prior to the offence
   01 Offender's home by invitation
   02 In third party's home by invitation
   03 Victim's home by invitation
   04 Victim's/offender's home (both live same place)
   05 Victim's home by breaking in
   06 In pub, bar or disco
   07 At party
   08 In street (stationary, waiting)
   09 In street (walking, running)
   10 In offender's car
   11 In victim's car
   12 In park/play area (open space)
   13 In derelict ground/field/building site (open space)
   14 In park, field (open space)
   15 On a train/bus
   16 Shop/shopping centre/public toilets
   17 Victim's/offender's place of work/school
   18 Hut/garage/temporary type building
   19 Subway/car park/garden/canal bank/shop doorway
23. Place of offence
01 Victim’s home
02 Offender’s home
03 Both offender and victim’s home
04 In friend’s/acquaintance’s
05 In car, urban
06 In car, isolated
07 Street
08 Open space - park/playground) is weather
10 Open space - derelict ground) mentioned?
11 Open space - field 
12 Workman’s hut/garage/temporary type building/
derelict house
13 In a garden/canal bank/subway/alleyway
14 Unfinished flats/houses
15 Public toilets
16 Office/classroom/school grounds/restaurant

24. Were other crimes committed? (state) ____________

25. Was offence planned? ______________

26. Did offender give reason or motive? ____________

27. Weapons used
1. None
2. Victim claims offender said he had a weapon but none actually seen
3. None but victim thought offender might have one
4. Knife/scissors
5. Victim knocked against wall/post/door/gate/floor/etc.
6. Axe
7. Gun
8. Belt/cosh/fist
9. Not known

28. Single
29-31
28. Coercion used
01 Intimidation/verbally tricked (victim immature)
02 Verbal threats to victim
03 Verbal threats to others
04 Rough treatment, slapping
05 Severe beating
06 Choking
07 Cutting/laceration
08 Stabbing
10 Serious mutilation or murder
11 None (victim thought he was husband/boyfriend)
12 General struggle
13 Weight of offender's body
14 None (quick talker?)
15 Pulled pubic hair
16 Knocked victim out/bound up
17 Pulled hair
18 Tortured victim
19 Made victim intoxicated
09 Not known

29. Acts attempted, demanded or threatened
01 Kissing
02 Breast fondling
03 Breast biting
04 Intercourse
05 Multiple int.
06 Fellatio
07 Cunnilingus
08 Buggery
10 Hand/vagina
11 Hand/penis
12 Vagina biting
13 Only attempt rape

30. Acts performed
01 Kissing
02 (same as for item 29)
15 Wounding
16 Object/vagina

1. Single
2. Multiple

32
36
36
37-39
40
41-43
31. Did offender ejaculate?
   1. Yes
   2. Victim says yes, offender no
   3. Victim not sure or no, offender yes
   4. No
   5. Not known

32. Was a contraceptive used?
   1. Yes, by offender (state)
   2. Yes, by victim (state)
   3. Yes, both
   4. No
   5. Not known

33. Type of victim resistance
   01 Verbal protest, screaming
   02 Attempt to reason, protest
   03 Mild struggle
   04 Severe struggle
   05 None (frightened/intimidated)
   06 None (stunned, shocked)
   07 Escape attempts
   08 None
   10 General struggle
   11 Token struggle but victim ill
   99 Not known

34. Post offence separation
   01 Victim escaped
   02 Victim rescued by police
   03 Victim rescued by neighbour/passerby etc.
   04 Victim let leave area of offence (let go)
   05 Victim transported to a different spot to
      offence and let go
   06 Offender left victim/ran off/victim left on
      own to find own way
   07 Not separated - continued to live in same
      house
   08 Victim and offender/s walking and split up
   99 Not known
35. State of victim after offence
   01 Unconscious, unable to get help
   02 Without some of clothes
   03 Without any of her clothes
   04 Untidy
   05 Shocked (quiet)
   06 Hysterical
   07 Crying
   08 Distressed
   10 Calm
   11 Angry and shaking
   12 Frightened
   13 Bleeding
   14 Hurt

36. Was an attempt made to socialise with the victim?
   01 Not really/not known
   02 Asked her name, address, personal details
   03 Asked for a date/would 'go' with him
   04 Asked whether enjoyed it
   05 Asked whether she would live with/marry him
   06 Asked whether would go for a drink
   07 Said goodbye
   08 Apologised
   10 Told her not to tell anyone
   11 Said he loved victim
   12 Asked victim to do an errand/favour for him
      (as if girlfriend)
   13 Not clear (offender thought it was a date)
   14 Asked victim whether she would report him
   15 Gave advice if victim became pregnant
   16 Made victim a cup of tea
   17 Said he wanted to be friends/not tell anyone and
      was sorry
   18 Unknown (victim deaf)
   19 Told victim where police station was and said would
      give self up anyway
   20 Told victim that he did not enjoy the intercourse
      and it was her fault
   21 Told victim he hadn't raped her
   22 Told victim not to bother to report it

Details about offender/s

1. Number of offenders

2. Was offender apprehended?
3. If others no. of coding schedules
State how the offences are related

4. Total number of offences

5. Number of separate offences (for a particular dyad)

6. Age (state)

7. Marital status
   1. Married
   2. Cohabitee
   3. Separated
   4. Divorced/widowed
   5. Single
   6. Cohabitee/married (not clear, contradictory evidence)
   7. Divorced/widowed + remarried/cohabitee
   9. Not known

8. Number of children fathered by offender

9. Number of siblings) brothers ) sisters

10. Height

11. Weight

12. Build

13. Distinguishing marks

14. Nationality
15. Employment
   1. Full time
   2. Part time
   3. Self employed
   4. More than one job
   5. Unemployed
   6. Still at school
   9. Not known

16. Type of job/status

17. Weekly earning if known

18. Job stability

19. Education
   01 No formal education
   02 Educationally subnormal/special school
   03 Primary
   04 Secondary/grammar
   05 Further education
   06 Polytechnic/university
   07 Approved school
   08 Different country education system
   10 Public school
   Other (state)
   99 Not known

20. Age when left full time education
   00 Not mentioned
   01 No education
   02 Still at educational institution (state age)

21. Post code of offender's residence

22. Post code of offence
23. Area of offence in relation to residence of offender

24. Type of accommodation
1. Parents
2. With friends/short term basis
3. Council house/flat
4. Privately rented house/flat
5. Own house/flat
6. N.F.A.
7. Other (state)
8. Not known

25. Had offender been drinking?
1. No
2. Yes slightly (1-2 drinks)
3. Yes quite a lot (2+)
4. Yes heavily (drunk)
5. Not known/mentioned

26. Was offender injured?
1. Yes (very slightly)
2. Yes
3. Yes (very severely)
4. Not known

27. Had offender been treated for mental disorder?
1. Yes (a number of times)
2. Yes (once or twice)
3. No, but has been since
4. No/not known
5. Went to a special school

28. Does offender have previous criminal record?
01 Motoring offences
02 Burglary
03 Stealing/crimes of dishonesty
04 Minor sex crimes
05 Major sex crimes
06 Other offences against the person (assault)
07 Illegal immigration
08 Receive stolen goods/give false alibi for someone
10 Drunk and disorderly
11 Army deserter
12 Con man who took money from old ladies
13 Soliciting
14 Criminal damage
15 Beyond control
29. Offender charged with
01 Rape
02 Attempted rape
03 Indecent assault
04 Incest
05 Buggery
06 Sex Murder
07 Unlawful sexual intercourse
08 Wounding
09 Not charged/unfounded
10 Burglary
11 Theft
12 Abduction

30. Offender's reaction when confronted
0 Not known
1 Know nothing about it
2 Not him
3 Wasn't there
4 Victim consented
5 Victim lying
6 Admit it
7 Admit (wasn't rape though)
8 Admit (can't understand own behaviour)
9 Escape attempt

31. Was offender visited by male relative/friend of victim?

32. Adjudication
1 Considered on original sex charge (plead G)
2 Considered on original sex charge (plead NG)
3 Convicted/charged on another crime
4 Charges withdrawn (no court action/acquitted)
5 Absolute discharge
6 Other crimes dealt with when caught (sexual nature)
7 Other crimes dealt with when caught (not sexual)
33. If convicted what was total sentence?  
(state if made up of more than one)  
01 Imprisonment 5+ years  
02 Imprisonment 2-5 years  
03 Imprisonment less than 2 years  
04 Psychiatric treatment  
05 Borstal/detention  
06 Probation  
07 Suspended sentence  
08 Fine  
10 Conditional/absolute discharge/ binding over  
11 Pep talk from Chief Constable  
12 Offence to remain on file  
13 Victim retracts  
1. Single  
2. Multiple  
9. N.A.  
107

34. Did offender make a statement?  
1. Yes  
2. No  
3. Yes but not available  
112

35. Was the statement consistent with first reports and state in what ways if it wasn't  
113-114

Details about the victim

1. Age (state)  
115

2. Marital status  
1. Married  
2. Cohabitee  
3. Separated  
4. Divorced/widowed  
5. Single  
6. Married/cohabitee (not clear)  
7. Divorced/widowed + remarried/cohabitee  
9. Not known  
116

3. Number of children  
00 None  
99 Not mentioned/applicable  
117
4. Number of siblings) brothers) sisters

5. Height

6. Weight

7. Build

8. Was the victim previously a virgin?

9. Was the victim still a virgin?

10. Is the victim's character mentioned?

11. If so, by who, in what way

12. Nationality

13. Employment
   1. Full time
   2. Part time
   3. Self employed
   4. More than one job
   5. Unemployed
   6. Housewife
   7. Still at school
   8. Pensioner
   9. Not known

14. Type of job/status ____________________

______________________________

______________________________

127

128

129

310
15. Weekly earning if known

16. Job stability

17. Education
   01 No formal education
   02 Educationally subnormal/special school
   03 Primary
   04 Secondary/Grammar
   05 FE
   06 Polytechnic/University
   07 Approved school
   08 Different country education system
   10 Public school
   Other (state)
   99 Not known

18. Age when left full-time education
   01 No education
   02 Still at educational institute
      (State age)

19. Postcode of victim's residence

20. Area of offence in relation to residence of victim

21. Area of offender's residence in relation to victim's residence

22. Were there any witnesses to the event?

23. If so, who?
24. Had victim been drinking prior to offence?
1. No
2. Yes slightly (1-2 drinks)
3. Yes quite a lot (2+)
4. Yes heavily (drunk)
5. Not known/mentioned

25. Was there possibly any time before actual offence when it became quite possible something would happen?
1. Yes
2. No
3. Not really/perhaps very vaguely
9. Not known

If so, state,____________________________________
_______________________________________________
_______________________________________________

26. Course of case

27. Type of accommodation
1. Parents
2. With friends/short term basis
3. Council house/flat
4. Privately rented house/flat
5. Own house/flat
6. NFA
7. Lives with surrogate mother/care/hostel
8. One parent
9. Not known

28. Has victim been treated for a mental disorder?
1. Yes (a number of times)
2. Yes (once or twice)
3. No, but has been since
4. No

29. Does victim have a criminal record? (as far as item 28 [offender])
1. Single
2. Multiple

139 140 141 142 143 144 145-147
30. Has victim been a victim before?
   1. Yes, similar sexual offence (was reported)
   2. Yes, similar sexual offence (was not reported)
   3. Yes, different offence
   4. No/not known
   If so, state

31. Did victim need aftercare?
   1. VD clinic
   2. Abortion
   3. Criminal compensation
   4. Counselling/own doctor for antidepressants/tranquillisers
   5. Victim receiving ongoing treatment anyway
   6. Hospital treatment
   9. Not known

32. Was victim on or near menstruation?
   1. Just finished
   2. On period
   3. Near next period
   4. No
   5. Too young/old
   9. Not known

33. Extent of injury to victim
    Scale 1 (v. slight bruising etc.)
    to
    Scale 7 (v. serious/critical damages)
    9. Not known

34. Police code for injury
   1. Slight
   2. Serious/critical
   3. None
   4. Blank
   5. Threats

35. Forensic evidence
    Scale 1 (v. general summary type)
    to
    Scale 7 (v. detailed precise evidence)
    9. Not available or undertaken
Evidence available concerning:-

a) Victim's person
b) Clothing of victim
c) Offender's person
d) Clothing of offender
e) Scene of offence

36. Interpersonal communication made before, during and after event (a summary of offence)

a) before
b) during
c) after
Reliability Study: Spearman's Rho Correlation Coefficients for each Coding Category using the Pilot Study and the equivalent information from the Main Study.

The Spearman's Rho correlation coefficients were calculated using the SPSS version 9 on the Aston University "Harris" mainframe computer.

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</table>
Reliability Study; Assailant's justification for the offence

The reliability of the category set of offenders' motivations was computed using the method developed by Spiegelman, Terwilliger & Fearing (1953). (see Holsti, 1965). Two scores were worked out—one using a conservative estimate (all) where each item and the numbers of items selected for each case were in agreement and another score where at least one item of those selected by judges was in agreement.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Pattern of Agreement</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>f (all)</th>
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<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3, 1)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>(1, 1, 1, 1)</td>
<td>5</td>
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</table>

\[ N = 467 \]
\[ \bar{X} \text{ Rank } f = \frac{421 + 92}{467} = 1.0985 \]
\[ \bar{X} \text{ Rank } f \text{ (all)} = \frac{259 + 310 + 6 + 172 + 40}{467} = 1.6852 \]

1 = complete agreement

5 = complete disagreement

The final coding used for further calculation was a "composite"
coding which used items that at least three raters agreed upon.

For example, for case 132:

Rater 1 selected categories 2 and 3
Rater 2 selected categories 2, 3, 9, 10
Rater 3 selected categories 2, 3, 10
Rater 4 selected categories 2, 3, 10

The "composite" rating for this case was 2, 3 and 10 as these were mentioned by at least three of the raters, and it was this rating which was used for further analysis.
# APPENDIX 11

Significance levels and asymmetric Lambda values

(percentage) for contingency tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Lambda</th>
<th>Z-score</th>
<th>p-value</th>
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<td>11 categories</td>
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<td>13 categories</td>
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<td>Place of Offense</td>
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<td>Number of Offenders</td>
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<tr>
<td>11 categories</td>
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<td>Resistance</td>
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<td>1 categories</td>
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Note: Chi-square significant at probability less than 0.05

A = A variables dependent
B = B variables dependent

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