

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA
RAPE: VICTIMS, OFFENDERS AND FACILITATING SITUATIONS
by
LORNE RANDALL GIBSON

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

SPRING, 1978

RAPE: VICTIMS, OFFENDERS AND FACILITATING SITUATIONS

BY

LORNE PANDALL GIBSON

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

© 1978

Permission has been granted to the LIBRARY OF THE UNIVER-
SITY OF MANITOBA to lend or sell copies of this dissertation, to
the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this
dissertation and to lend or sell copies of the film, and UNIVERSITY
MICROFILMS to publish an abstract of this dissertation.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the
dissertation nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or other-
wise reproduced without the author's written permission.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The data upon which this study is based were taken from the files of the Winnipeg Police Department. Gratitude is extended to Deputy Chief Ray Wilson for making these files available to me. Appreciation is also due to Inspector Jack Hinton and Constable Bill McDiarmid for their cooperation and assistance

For his invaluable support and advice throughout the preparation of this work, a special thanks is due to Dr. Eric Linden. His encouragement and perseverance saw me to the end. The critical comments and direction given by Dr. Stuart Johnson were also inestimable in their contribution. An additional thanks is extended to Dr. Joan Townsend who agreed to serve on my committee and whose suggestions substantially improved my thesis.

I am also grateful to research assistants Cathy Fillmore and Diane Donnelly who aided in the data collection.

Finally, I would like to thank my wife, Silvana, for her patience and emotional support - a support without which this work could never have come to an end. Per te Salvatrice, questo tesi e dedicato.

ABSTRACT

Traditionally, rape was explained by psychiatrists and psychologists whose main concern was the personality characteristics which motivated the rapist to commit his crime. The inability of past research to disclose significant psychological differences between rape offenders and males in the general population prompted the present undertaking. This study tried to draw attention to the importance of situational determinants in the explanation of rape. The investigation sought first, to test research findings accumulated to date in a Canadian context; second, to explore some of the unaddressed questions concerning the rape event; and third, to show how situational factors associated with rape influence certain features of its occurrence.

Winnipeg Police data were used to obtain the information necessary for this study. The available rape reports for the ten year period from 1966 to 1975 provided a sample of three hundred and forty-three reported rape complaints of which two hundred and eighty-one were classified as founded and sixty-two as unfounded. The founded complaints were then examined for characteristic patterns.

After analyzing social characteristics of the rape participants, the types of people who are likely to become involved in rape as reported victims and alleged offenders were identified. Characteristics of the setting of rape were then analyzed. Several patterns emerged indicating the temporal and spatial organization of rape. Finally, some of the more salient situational factors which effect the occurrence of rape were examined and discussed.

This research showed that rape is contingent upon much more than

individual motivation. The victim's behavior, ecological factors, structural features of the situation and characteristics of the interaction between the participants were all found to aid in our understanding of how and why rape occurs. It was suggested that a dual approach which includes both historical attributes of the offender and facilitating conditions posed by the immediate circumstances in which the offender is found would be better able to explain the crime of rape.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES AND GRAPHS	
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Nature and Order of Presentation	3
CHAPTER	
II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	6
Psychiatric and Psychoanalytic Views	6
The Victimological Approach	8
Sociological Views	9
Feminist Views	16
Sociological Research on Rape	18
CHAPTER	
III. METHODOLOGY	22
Introduction	22
Data Collection	23
Content Analysis	25
Computer Programing	26
The Data	26
a) Founded and Unfounded Classifications	26
b) Rape and Attempted Rape	37
c) The Number of Victims and Offenders	39
Limitations of the Data	41
a) Unreported Rape	41

	Page
b) Unapprehended Offenders	43
CHAPTER	
IV. THE VICTIM AND THE OFFENDER	45
Introduction	45
Age	45
Marital Status	48
Number of Children	50
Race	51
Previous Criminal Involvement	53
a) Offenders	53
b) Victims	56
Social Class	58
a) Area of the City	58
b) Education	61
c) Employment and Occupation	63
i. Offenders	63
ii. Victims	65
Interpersonal Relationships	67
Conclusions	70
CHAPTER	
V. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SETTING OF RAPE	73
Introduction	73
Temporal Characteristics of Rape	73
a) Month and Season	73

	Page
b) Day of the Week	77
c) Hour of the Day	79
Spatial Characteristics of Rape	81
a) Circumstances Surrounding the Initial Contact.	81
b) Place of Initial Contact	85
c) Place of the Offence	87
Conclusions	93
CHAPTER	
VI. A SITUATIONAL ACCOUNT OF RAPE	95
Introduction	95
A Conjunctive Approach to the Study of Deviance	105
Closure Upon a Deviant Act: Rape	107
a) Facilitating Times	107
b) Facilitating Places	109
c) Facilitating Hardware	115
d) Facilitating Others	116
e) Facilitating Actor	120
f) Facilitating Circumstances	125
Conclusions	128
CHAPTER	
VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	130
Summary	130
Conclusions	138

APPENDIX A	145
MAP 1	163
BIBLIOGRAPHY	164

LIST OF TABLES AND GRAPHS

Table	Page
1. Frequency Distribution of Rape Events by the Number of Victims and Offenders Involved in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975	40
2. Frequency Distribution of Alleged Rape Offenders and Reported Victims by Age in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975	47
3. Frequency Distribution of Alleged Rape Offenders and Reported Victims by Marital Status in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975	49
4. Frequency Distribution of Alleged Offenders and Reported Victims by Number of Children in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975	50
5. Frequency Distribution of Alleged Offenders and Reported Victims by Race in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975	52
6. Frequency Distribution of Alleged Offenders by Type of Past Criminal Record in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975	54
7. Frequency Distribution of Alleged Offenders by Number of Previous Offences in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975	55
8. Frequency Distribution of Rape Victims by Type of Previous Criminal Offence Committed in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975	57
9. Frequency Distribution of Alleged Rape Offenders and Reported Victims by Their Address District in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Year 1975	60

Table	Page
10. Frequency Distribution of Alleged Rape Offenders and Reported Victims by Educational Level in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975	62
11. Frequency Distribution of Alleged Rape Offenders by Employment and Occupation in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975	64
12. Frequency Distribution of Reported Rape Victims by Employment and Occupation in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975	66
13. Frequency Distribution of Rape Events by the Type of Interpersonal Relationship between Victims and Offenders in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975	69
14. Frequency Distribution of Rape Events by Month and Season in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975	76
15. Frequency Distribution of Rape Events by Day of the Week in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975	78
16. Frequency Distribution of Rape Events by Six-Hour Periods of the Day in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975	80
17. Frequency Distribution of Rape Events by Circumstances Surrounding the Initial Contact between the Victim and Offender in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975	84
18. Frequency Distribution of Rape Events by the Place of Initial Contact between Victims and Offenders in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975	86

Table	Page
19. Frequency Distribution of Rape Events by Place of Occurrence in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975	88
20. Frequency Distribution of Rape Events by the Type of Movement which Occurred between the Participants After Initial Contact Was Made in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975	90
21. Degree of Privacy Offered by the Place Where the Rape Event Occurred by the Degree of Intimacy between the Victim and the Offender	92
Graph	
1. Monthly Distribution of Rape in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975	75

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Relatively little is known about rape compared with most major crimes. Much of the research which has been done was conducted by psychiatrists and psychologists who were mainly concerned with the personality characteristics which motivated the rapist to commit his crime.¹ These studies usually looked for evidence of abnormality in the psychosexual development of the rape offender in order to account for his present behavior. Most of this research involved case studies on small and unrepresentative samples of imprisoned or hospitalized sex offenders. The results of this type of research, however, failed to disclose the presence of significant psychological differences between rape offenders and males in the general population.²

Efforts to form principles from the observed facts about rape are just beginning. The problem is one that not only effects our understanding of rape, but also the advancement of criminological theory in general. Thus far, work on the causes of crime has been

-
1. See Karpman, 1934; Oltman and Freedman, 1938; Henninger, 1939; Ruskin, 1941; Bromberg, 1946; Hirning, 1947; Guttmacher, 1951; Guttmacher and Weihofen, 1952; Arlow, 1954; Hammer, 1957; and Abrahamsen, 1960.
 2. For a general review of the psychological, psychoanalytic and psychiatric approaches to the study of rape see M. Amir's Patterns in Forcible Rape, p. 392-419.

mainly concerned with the background of the criminal and has neglected the situations in which the crime takes place. The former approach, which characterizes much of the past research on rape, focuses on the criminal and those factors which motivate him to engage in crime. However, attributing the cause of crime to the action of a particular individual obscures the fact that the source of human action is the interaction process. On the other hand, the situational approach recognizes that it is not the individual that makes things happen all by himself. This approach assumes that the causes of criminality are related to events which are closely tied in location and time to the criminal act. The circumstances in which the individual finds himself and the opportunities for criminality are seen to be the decisive factors to explain why some individuals engage in crime.

With rape becoming a more salient social problem, many interested groups of people have become involved in a renewed search for the cause of its occurrence. Larger and more representative samples of rape cases have recently been employed in research, and theoretical work is advancing. Research in sociology has recently focused upon various situational factors which effect the occurrence of rape. The results of such studies indicate that rape is socially organized to the extent that there are patterns and regularities in its occurrence. Thus, recent research points to the fact that factors in addition to individual motivation seem to be

required in order to account for the occurrence of rape.

As noted previously, research on rape has looked mainly at the rape offender with little regard for the victim, her relationship to the offender, and the rape event itself. These additional considerations have recently been researched in the United States.³ However, no comparable data is available for other countries.⁴ The present study was designed to add to the current body of knowledge regarding the crime of rape. This investigation sought first to test research findings accumulated to date in a Canadian context; second, to explore some of the unaddressed questions concerning the rape event; and third, to show how situational factors associated with rape influence certain features of its occurrence.

Nature and Order of Presentation

In the chapters which follow an attempt will be made to show how rape is patterned or organized. Chapter II presents a review of the relevant literature including the various perspectives which have recently been advanced to explain rape. An evaluation will be made of how well these perspectives explain rape. This chapter will also review some of the major empirical studies which have contributed to a sociological perspective on rape. For the most part, the hypotheses tested in the present study will be formulated

3. See M. Amir, 1971; and J. Macdonald, 1975.

4. Research in this area is presently being conducted in Toronto by Lorene Clark and Debra Lewis. However, most of their work was not available during the preparation of this research.

from the findings of this earlier research.

The methodology used in this study will be presented in Chapter III. This chapter will include a discussion of the data source, the procedures used to collect and analyse the data and a description of the data. In the section describing the data there will be a discussion of unfounded rape. This discussion will be included to justify the exclusion of unfounded cases from the analysis. The classifications of rape and attempted rape will then be discussed along with a delineation of the number of victims and offenders presented in the data. Finally, this chapter on methodology will focus on the limitations of the study. In this regard, two issues will be discussed - unreported rape and unapprehended offenders.

Chapter IV will concentrate on a description of the participants in rape. Various social characteristics of rape victims and offenders will be discussed in order to identify the types of people who are likely to become involved in rape. In this section a variety of indicators will be used to locate the victims and offenders in terms of their class position. Finally, the interpersonal relationships which exist between the participants will be discussed.

Temporal and spatial characteristics of rape will be discussed in Chapter V. In the first section of this chapter the monthly, daily and hourly distribution of rape will be analysed to show when rape is most likely to be committed. The initial contact between victims and offenders and the subsequent location of the rape event will then be analysed to show where rape is most likely

to occur.

Chapter VI is an attempt to formulate a situational account of rape. In this chapter a rationale is provided for the importance of viewing rape in situational terms. Factors which predispose individuals to the roles of victims and offenders will be discussed and various characteristics of the rape situation will be analyzed to show how they interact to determine features of the rape event. Finally Chapter VI will look at the notion of vulnerability in relation to certain individuals and certain situations.

Chapter VII presents a general summary of the research and some of the more important conclusions which were reached. The implications of the study and suggestions for further research will then be discussed.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In an effort to understand the crime of rape, numerous works have recently been published which approach the subject on a variety of analytic levels. Psychiatrists, physicians, social scientists, legal reformers, feminists and many others have looked at this crime in order to discover its cause. This search for an explanation of rape has, however, turned up only partial answers to selected aspects of the problem. The development of a coherent theory of rape still remains. In this chapter, various perspectives which have been advanced to explain rape will be presented and their deficiencies will be discussed. As well, some of the more recent research on rape which was used to derive hypotheses for this study will be reviewed.

Psychiatric and Psychoanalytic Views

A common starting point for these inquiries is the assumption that the rapist is somehow abnormal - why else would he have committed the crime? A mixture of infantile traits (Freud, 1949) and traumatic childhood experiences (Johnson, 1956), guided by surplus sexuality (Alexander, 1956) has been offered by the clinically-minded as an explanation for perverted sexual aggression, and is said to account for the rape offender's motivation. Another related hypothesis centers around the interplay between aggressive and sexual instincts (DeRiver, 1956). Fears of sexual inadequacy or latent

homosexuality (Bromberg, 1946) are aroused by feelings of maternal hostility and can be projected onto personifications of the mother (Freund, 1960). In such a case, an aggressive sexual attack becomes the solution to these fears and sexual tension (Jenkins, 1951).

Similar types of psychoanalytic and psychiatric explanation have focused specifically on childhood trauma in the context of socialization (McCord and McCord, 1962; Henry and Gross, 1940; and Pearson, 1944), a defective superego and the inability to control sexual and aggressive impulses (Arlow, 1954; and Hammer and Glueck, Jr., 1957), failure to solve the Oedipus complex (Freud, 1933; Hammer, 1957; and Abrahamsen, 1960) with resulting castration fears (Bromberg, 1946), feelings of sexual inferiority and inadequacy (Reinhardt, 1957; and Macdonald, 1938), and denial of latent homosexual tendencies (Karpman, 1954). In a slightly different vein, organic defects including mental deficiency (Henninger, 1939; and Karpman, 1940) were thought to account for some cases of rape.

The results of clinical research, although showing traces of psychiatric disturbance, generally "...indicate that sex offenders do not constitute a unique clinical or psychopathological type, nor are they as a group invariably more disturbed than the control groups to which they were compared" (Amir, 1971: 314). This conclusion has particular significance in light of the fact that the groups who were tested came from hospitals, prisons or clinics - those places designated for the examination and treatment of extreme forms of disordered behavior. There is considerable disagreement

over the cause of rape within the psychological approach and the conditions under which we can expect rape have not been specified. However, a common assumption within this approach is that the rape offender is somehow pathological and the fact that he committed rape is tautologically offered as proof of this assumption.

The Victomological Approach

The search for causes continued with the exoneration of the rapist and the implication of the victim. For some, rape was thought to be the result of a conscious or unconscious desire on the part of the victim (Jenkins, 1951; and Gregory, 1968). Psychoanalysis provides a rationale for this view by describing women as "...basically masochistic and passive - as needing a certain degree of male domination in order to feel comfortable and whole" (Halleck, 1974). A broader and more subtle variation of this view that the rape victim is partly responsible for her own victimization can be found in victimology literature. Through the study of victims of crime it has been noted that the victim often fails to protect herself and thus creates a temptation-opportunity situation (Fooner, 1966: 1080). Others suggest that the victim can initiate the action which leads to crime by sending signals to the potential perpetrator (Reckless, 1967: 142) or by actively or passively provoking the attacker (Fattah, 1967: 167). Still others suggest that the victim shares in the responsibility for the crime when reasonable caution in avoiding victimization has not been exercised (Schultz, 1968; Morris and Blom-

Cooper, 1964; and Schafer, 1968).

Applied to certain types of crime, for instance homicide, these speculations gain a measure of credibility.¹ However, in the context of rape, researchers have been unable to come up with satisfactory criteria for determining what constitutes victim-precipitation.² Nevertheless, when the broad definitions which have been developed are applied to the analysis of rape, the frequency of victim precipitation which has been found suggests that this is not a major cause of rape.³

Sociological Views

Within the general framework of sociology there have been a few recent attempts to account for the occurrence of rape. These views have focused upon cultural values, the structure of existing laws and the way in which we are socialized to behave. These positions are not clearly demarcated nor have they advanced to the level of formal theory. They are, however, attempts to explain rape by referring to factors other than the motivation of the individuals involved.

-
1. See Wolfgang's Patterns in Criminal Homocide, 1958.
 2. See definitions by Amir in Patterns in Forcible Rape, 1971 and by Curtis in Criminal Violence, 1974.
 3. The definition of victim-precipitation used by Amir (1971) found 19 per cent of the rapes to have been precipitated by the victim. In other studies Mulvihill et al (1969) found only 4 per cent and Curtis (1974) found 2 to 4 per cent of victim-precipitation in the rape cases they analyzed.

One such explanation has been advanced to account for the finding that rape occurs among particular groups of people. The preponderance of lower-class victims and offenders involved in rape is said to be the outgrowth of a subculture of violence. Normative rules of conduct in the subculture run counter to those of the dominant culture, and aggression, including sexual aggression towards women, is said to prevail. Members of such a subculture are socialized in a climate of violence, and a violent response to certain situations is expected and valued. "Under these conditions, aggressive and exploitative behavior towards women becomes part of their normative system, for those members who do not conceive such behavior as wrong or as a deviation from the normal" (Amir, 1971: 327).

Objection to the subcultural notion has been made on the grounds that research implicating the lower class in this crime is based on biased samples from official statistics (Kostash, 1975). Here it is recognized that many rapes are not reported to the authorities and that rape occurs among all social classes. It could be that the lower class are more likely to report an incident of rape and hence, more likely to be included in official statistics.

Another effort to explain rape has focused upon the interplay between the structure of existing rape laws, enforcement and prosecution, and traditional attitudes about social and sexual roles (LeGrand, 1973; and Rioux, 1975).⁴ This approach argues that, al-

4. A similar approach to the study of rape has been taken by Clark (1976). Clark, however, traces the origins of European rape law

though societal attitudes were initially responsible for the construction of law concerning rape, the nature and function of this law influences the relationship between men and women in our society. Unfounded beliefs about the infrequency of this crime, the motivation of its perpetrator and the psychology of its victim have led to a network of restraints on the action of police, prosecutors, juries and judges which restricts acknowledgement and punishment of this crime. This, in turn, supports the myths that men who commit rape are not responsible for their actions, that women generally make false complaints, and that true incidents of rape are a rare occurrence. These myths protect rape offenders from being charged and convicted, and foster the attitude that sexually active females are

to an economic interest of men. She argues that, historically, European rape was an offence against property, not against persons. In early times a woman was regarded as a form of property and was originally controlled by her father. A woman's ownership was then transferred to the husband following marriage. However, in the Middle Ages ownership could also be effected by abduction and rape. A man choosing the latter route had the opportunity to advance in his economic position if the woman he selected was a wealthy heiress. Marriage, in this case, was consummated by sexual intercourse and the abductor then gained access to the family wealth. Therefore, a law (rape) was developed to control the transfer and exchange of this form of property: women. However, it was not only the propertied classes who benefited from this law, as the "value" of a woman was also judged according to the condition in which she was received. Chaste women were considered to be more valuable than those who were tainted by sexual intercourse because, symbolically, the virgin represented an object of exclusive sexual relationship. Thus, it was in the father's and the potential husband's interest to keep their women from falling prey to scoundrels seeking an unearned path to upward mobility and to men who otherwise defiled their women.

legitimate prey. Regardless of the original cause of rape, a double standard of sexuality and the impediments to conviction perpetuate the crime (LeGrand, 1973: 919-941).

Support for the existence of sexist attitudes regarding female sexuality was found in recent research at the University of Calgary. Kasinsky (1975) reports that, whereas one-half of the male students who completed her questionnaire agreed with the statement that "many women are stimulated sexually and want to be raped by a man," almost 100 per cent of the females in her sample disagreed with such a statement (p. 21). It was also found that the majority of males and females agreed that "it is impossible to rape a woman against her will," and that "women rape victims lead men on and are therefore responsible for provoking men sexually" (p. 20). Kasinsky concludes that rape represents "...a fundamental conflict in our competitive, aggressive society,..." and that it is "...justified by the sexist notion that males should control and dominate a woman's sexual being as well as the economic life" (p.21).

In another study, the consistency between legal and social definitions of rape was investigated (Klemmack and Klemmack, 1975). The results of this study indicated that the situation which was most likely to be defined by the respondents (all female) as rape was one in which a woman was accosted in a parking lot at night. Ninety-two per cent of the respondents agreed with the legal definition in this situation. The situation which was least likely to be defined as rape was one in which a woman, after engaging in

light petting with her date at his apartment, was forced to have sexual intercourse. Only 18.8 per cent of the respondents agreed with the legal definition in this situation (p. 139).

After analysing social background characteristics of their respondents, Klemack and Klemack suggest that subtle clues from our male dominated society are given off to women, affecting their conception of the rape victim as responsible rather than innocent. These authors conclude that the myths regarding the sexuality of both males and females create ambiguities surrounding the way rape is viewed (p. 146).

Coming full circle to those who, in real life, decide upon the validity of a complaint of rape, research suggests that sexist attitudes also exist among the judiciary. Bohmer (1974) classifies judicial attitudes toward rape into three types. First, there were those cases which involved "genuine victims" who, typically, were brutally attacked by a total stranger. The second type was that involving "consensual intercourse" or the "friendly rape." In this situation the victim was described as having "asked for it." The third type involved "female vindictiveness" where the woman was trying to "get even" with the accused for whatever reason.

The prevailing double standard of sexuality in our society is said to be derived from the stereotypic conceptions of male and female roles that exist in our culture. An inferior role is ascribed to women, which effects the view they have of themselves and the view that men have of them. In our society, women are taught to be

submissive, weak, gentle, patient, quiet and dependent. They should be chaste until marriage and passively receptive (uninterested) in sexual intercourse (Kaplan, 1973: 3). However, there is a dualism in views of female sexuality. Women are also taught to beautify themselves and to dress in a seductive manner for potential male mates (Kasinsky, 1975: 18). This leads to an equally prevalent view of women as seductive flirtatious, coy, and somehow evil (Klemmack and Klemmack, 1975).

On the other hand, males are encouraged to be strong, aggressive, competitive, successful and basically dominant. They are socialized into a position as providers and protectors which reinforces women's dependency upon men (Kasinsky, 1975). Related to these stereotypically masculine qualities is the need "to be sexually competent and sexually athletic, and of course, to be desired by women for these qualities" (Kaplan, 1973: 12). Males as well as females, believe that men have stronger sexual urges and needs than do women. To wit, virility is equated with masculinity.

Stereotypically traditional views of male and female sexuality have made rape a "normal" (Kasinsky, 1975) or an "over-conforming" act (Russell, 1973). Rape is said to be an extreme acting-out of qualities that are regarded as super-masculine in this society. The common cultural notions of masculinity have been referred to as the "masculine mystique" and the impact of this mystique on male sexuality is said to result in a more specific "virility mystique." The act of rape is said to be just one of the consequences of these

closely related mystiques (Russell, 1973).

Women typically accept these over-socialized conceptions of male and female sexuality. In interviews with eighty-five rape victims in California, Russell (1973) points out that many women do not see themselves as rape victims, especially if the rapist was someone they knew or if they were not subject to much brutality. Weis and Borges (1973) state that sex-role learning acts to mould women into victims and provides the procedures necessary for legitimating them in that role. These authors contend that "the rape situation is societally structured by the culturally prescribed norms, rights and obligations, which define the role expectations for males and females and establish the rules by which these roles relate to one another" (Weis and Borges, 1973: 90). In an analysis of the dating system they argue that rape is a more or less inevitable outcome. This is so because the dating system "places actors with highly socialized but differing expectations into a socially approved but ambiguous situation in which there is maximum privacy" (Weis and Borges, 1973: 89).

The view that culturally prescribed norms of sexual conduct account for the occurrence of rape is evidenced by anthropological research. According to Margaret Mead (1935) the Arapesh of New Guinea know virtually nothing of rape. Sexual intercourse is part of the total relationship between a husband and his wife who have been living together in the family. The Arapesh have no conception of masculinity which would make rape comprehensible. For these people,

aggression and sexuality are viewed as antithetical to nurturance and growth.⁴ In sharp contrast to the Arapesh is the Gusii tribe found in the Kenya Highlands. The Gusii men procure their brides from an enemy tribe, which results in a relationship involving coercion and brutality. "There is also a good deal of teasing behavior on the part of Gusii girls, who are apt deliberately to encourage young men in the preliminaries of courtship because they enjoy the gifts and attention they receive. There are, however, strong supernatural sanctions against fornication and adultery, so that the girls will resist the sexual overtures they encourage" (Geis and Chappell, 1971: 435). The rape rate among the Gusii is conservatively estimated to be four or five times greater than in the United States. These examples of other societies from anthropological literature show the potential impact that cultural prescriptions on sex roles can have on the prevalence of rape.

Feminist Views

In our own society it has been suggested that sex role socialization is epiphenomenal to a more basic struggle between the sexes. In this context, rape is said to be the "logical expression of the essential relationship now existing between men and women" (Manhart and Rush, 1974). Rape is seen as an act of oppression against women. This position is favored by feminists who feel that "(r)ape

4. Ethnographic research on the Arapesh was originally conducted by Margaret Mead. This material was cited in Renee Kasinsky (1975).

is a political, not a sexual act. It is a political act of terror against an oppressed group" (Deckard, 1975: 403). One view traces the oppression of women to economic factors such as the institution of private property and the first division of society into classes (Biffault, 1969). Another view holds that the origins of the oppression of women lie in the biologically determined reproductive roles of men and women. Concerning this view, Firestone (1970) suggests that until reliable birth control methods became available a woman's biology made her dependent on males for physical survival (1970: 8). Today, women are becoming more independent and the pervasive threat of women rising to a position of power has made man uneasy. His weapon of defence has been to rape. Brownmiller suggests that rape "...is nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear" (1975: 15). The social, political and legal institutions in our society are planned for perpetuating a system which discriminates against and exploits women and ideologically our culture is said to encourage sexual hostility toward women.

The feminist views are of recent development and they lack clear specification. There is, however, evidence to suggest that the interpretation of rape as a power struggle may have some validity. Oddly enough, support for this view comes from research on male homosexual rape. In a study conducted by Davis (1968) rape was reported to be wide spread within prison walls. It was estimated that about 1,880 forcible rapes had occurred within a prison

in Philadelphia during a twenty month period. Findings such as this can be taken to indicate the effect of exerting physical dominance in a system where an imbalance of power is highly valued. Sexual assault in prison, as well as in society at large appears to be one way of establishing and maintaining a system of relations based upon physical and sexual supremacy.

This presents an overview of the more prominent attempts to explain rape. These efforts have run the gamut from theories of individual motivation to speculations on the ideological structure of our society. Still the empirical evidence is lacking to allow for the acceptance of any of these formulations. While each of these perspectives is seen to have contributed to the total understanding of the crime of rape, it becomes apparent that too little is known about rape at the present time to specify the conditions under which it is likely to occur.

Sociological Research on Rape

Presently the empirical research on rape is grossly deficient. Scholarly literature in the United States has concentrated for the most part on clinically oriented case studies and criminologically oriented group studies. The case studies, drawn from psychiatric evaluations of offenders, attempt to explicate the psychodynamics

of the rapist, while the group studies, drawn from the court or correctional institutions, rely heavily on personal interviews and survey questioning of convicted rape offenders. However, with rape becoming more salient in recent times, research has taken on a broader focus. Not only is the rape offender being studied, but also the victim of rape and her relationship to the offender. The circumstances of the offence have also begun to receive empirical consideration. This change of focus has been made in an effort to account for the expanse of cases now included in rape research.

The results of some of the more recent studies that have contributed to the sociological treatment of rape were compared with findings from the present study. A brief discussion of the studies themselves will help to clarify the nature of these comparisons.

One of the earliest sociological surveys of rape was conducted by Svalastoga (1962). He analysed the court records of 141 cases of rape and attempted rape coming before the court in Denmark in the years 1946 through 1958. The study was primarily concerned with the role of anonymity and the status differential between offenders and victims as components of the social situation that accompanies the offence of rape. Variations in the sex ratio were also discussed to account for the unequal regional distribution of rape. The variables discussed included social characteristics of the victim and the offender, the place of the offence, the degree of violence used, and the temporal distribution of rape.

Imprisoned rapists were recently studied in Canada by McCaldon

(1967). McCaldon interviewed thirty men who were serving sentences for rape in a Federal penitentiary to elicit the outstanding psychodynamics of the convicted rapist. He also presented information on the social characteristics of offenders and their victims and various factors associated with the rape event itself. It was felt that this piece of research would be useful to show the differences between conclusions reached on the basis of prison and police data.

In another study Macdonald (1975) reviewed the Denver Police files in 1968 and 1969 on two hundred consecutive cases of forcible rape. Macdonald was present when many of the victims were interviewed by detectives or by medical staff. In addition, he questioned some of the victims privately. Macdonald also interviewed at length several of the men who had raped these victims and over a hundred other rape offenders. The study is basically an enumeration of victim and offender characteristics with an unsophisticated discussion of causes and the prevention of rape. Unfortunately, the analysis offered by this author failed to go beyond the mere percentaging of data and the presentation of anecdotes to support the discussion.

The major empirical work in this area was conducted by Amir (1971). This study was designed to explore and disclose patterns of forcible rape among 646 cases occurring in Philadelphia in the years 1958 and 1960. An analysis of forcible rape was made on the basis of police data, i.e., all rapes known to the police. This study differs from past research on rape, and is relevant to the

present study in that, rather than concentrating on psychological dimensions of the offenders of rape, emphasis was placed on social characteristics, social relationships, and on the act itself.

Amir's study, however, is replete with conceptual and methodological errors (Reiss, 1975; and Lotz, 1975) which, in part, prompted the present undertaking.

It can be seen from this review of rape literature that there is much work to be done in the area. The perspectives which have been offered to explain rape have little empirical support and research on rape has contributed little toward the development of theory. The results of the more recent sociological research, however, have provided some insights into the understanding of this crime.

The first task in the present study was to extract these scattered findings from the available research. The relevant findings from past rape research were then treated as hypotheses and were tested with the present data. As the findings from past research do not point directly toward a coherent theory of rape they were presented and discussed along with the findings from the present study. The conclusions which were reached were then used in the development of a situational account of rape.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Research on rape has traditionally been based on small samples of institutionalized sex offenders. Working with such samples gave researchers the opportunity to psychologically examine rapists and the occasion to test their clinically-based theories of sexual deviance. Court samples have also been used but they are subject to the same criticism which can be levelled against prison samples. The biggest problem with these samples stems from the fact that the criminal justice system operates as a funnel-like filtering system. The total volume of crime reported to or detected by the police passes through successive stages at which formal and informal adjudication takes place. At each level of administration in the system, potential cases are filtered out for a variety of reasons. The result is that only a fraction of those cases that initially enter the system ever reach the final stages. With regard to rape, the fraction of cases that conclude successfully is small.¹ What

-
1. In a review of other rape research and statistics LeGrand (1973: 927-928) concludes that of those cases reported to the police, about 20 per cent are classified as unfounded. Investigation of the founded cases results in the arrest of a suspect in 56 per cent of the cases. Of those arrested, only 62 per cent were prosecuted, and of those prosecuted, only 36 per cent were convicted of rape. This means that of those cases entering the criminal justice system, roughly 10 per cent conclude success-

(cont.)

this means for research conducted of samples drawn from the latter stages of the criminal justice system is that there is a greater likelihood of sample bias being introduced the further one departs from police statistics.

Recently researchers have realized the benefits afforded by conducting their investigations on the basis of police data. Considerable information is amassed by the police during their investigation of a rape complaint. Not only do rape reports contain information concerning the alleged offender, they also reveal a great deal about the complainant and the particulars of the rape event itself.

Data Collection

In the present study, it was decided that police data (i.e. all cases known to the police) would be used to obtain the necessary information. This decision was based on the assumption that police data provide the most reliable index to the volume and nature of the offence of rape. Although the self-report method of data gathering

fully with a conviction of rape. One study conducted in Toronto (Clark, 1976) notes that 63.8 per cent of the rape cases reported to the police were classified as unfounded. Of those cases deserving of further investigation, 59.5 per cent resulted in the apprehension and arrest of a suspect. And finally, of those that went to trial only 19.4 per cent resulted in a conviction of rape. Therefore, only 4.2 per cent of those cases entering the system in Toronto conclude successfully. Further, if these estimates of filtering are adjusted by estimates of the rate of reporting of this offence (20% or 25%), the chances of a rape offender escaping incarceration are approximately 98 or 99 out of 100.

has its advantages,² the design of the present study sought other types of information which could not be reliably obtained through a self-report survey.

Access to the Winnipeg Police Files was secured with permission from police authorities. The conditions of this authorization included the strict preservation of anonymity and confidentiality of names and other pieces of information which could be used to identify those involved in the offence, the witnesses and other persons questioned during the police investigation. The data collection was conducted at the Winnipeg Public Safety Building where the police records are kept, as the reports are not allowed to leave the police station.

A data collection instrument was then designed to assemble the information required for this study (see Appendix A). A preliminary scanning of the rape files revealed the necessity of deleting some of the questions which were asked by past researchers due to insufficient information contained in the reports. The data schedule sought five basic types of information: 1) a description of the offence; 2) a description of the victim; 3) a description of the offender; 4) the police process; and 5) the medical process. For this purpose a total of ninety separate categories were used.

2. This method offers the potential of adding to the estimates of the incidence of rape and of delineating the difference between reported victims and those who fail to report their victimization to the police. However, practical difficulties in gathering such data preclude its use here.

The researcher, with the aid of two assistants, took the necessary information from the files over a period of three months. To ensure that there would be consistent recording of information among researchers, a prior check was made of several sample reports. Data schedules were completed by each researcher. A comparison of the completed schedules revealed that the data collection procedures were reliable.

Content Analysis

For the most part, categories of response to questions contained within the data schedule were established on a a priori basis. However, where response categories were not self evident, or where the existing literature failed to guide this process, it was necessary to analyse the content of all responses to that particular question. These questions were left open-ended on the data schedule.

For these open-ended questions, relevant information was transcribed verbatim from the police report. The source of this information was usually the complainant's allegations and the suspect's statement to the police. After completion of the data collection the responses to each open-ended question were recorded on separate sheets of paper. The content of these responses was then analyzed for trends or characteristic patterns. Patterns typically emerged through a systematic examination of the manifest content of each response. However, in the exceptional case, it was necessary to

inspect the latent content of the response in order to form a set of categories which could meet the pragmatic constraints of coding. All of the categories which were formed by this process were mutually exclusive and exhaustive.

Computer Programing

The response categories to each question were coded numerically. These numerical codes were then key-punched on standard I.B.M. computer cards. The computer program used in the analysis of the data was the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). S.P.S.S. is an integrated system of computer programs which was designed to aid in the analysis of social science data. It performs different types of analysis in a simple and convenient manner through the use of natural-language control statements. Various descriptive and inferential statistics were available in the S.P.S.S. system.

The Data

It was decided that the available rape reports for the ten year period from 1966 to 1975 would provide a sample sufficient for descriptive and analytic purposes. These years presented a total of 343 rape complaints of which 281 were classified by the police as founded, and 62 as unfounded.

a) Founded and Unfounded Classifications - Generally speaking, rape complaints are classified as founded when there is sufficient evi-

dence to substantiate a charge of rape. On the other hand, the classification of unfounded refers not only to cases in which insufficient evidence has been gathered to substantiate the complainant's claim, but to those cases which, in addition, have been refuted by other evidence. Refutative evidence is usually supplied by the complainant's retraction of the complaint and confession of false reporting. Lack of medical or material evidence alone, however, is insufficient to determine police classification of the rape complaint. The apprehension of a suspect is not a requirement for classification. This means that unsolved cases can still be classified as founded unless contradictory evidence presents itself.

The unfounded cases were excluded from the analysis as rape events in the present study for two basic reasons: First, it was found that those cases deemed as unfounded typically contained an incomplete account of the alleged rape event. Some investigations were terminated at the request of the reporting victim before all the essential information had been compiled by the police, while other investigations were never completed by the police when they found evidence of discrepant or inaccurate information given by the complainant. Second, by virtue of the fact that these reports were judged to be unfounded, it would be misleading to classify and analyze them as rape events.

Research has suggested that unfounded and founded classifications made by the police have little to do with the validity of the

rape complaint. For instance, LeGrand (1973) states that the term unfounded "...is a technical one, meaning that police, for various reasons, have decided not to advise prosecution. It does not imply that the woman's report of the rape is inaccurate" (1973: 928). A similar point is made by Clark (1976). She states that "... in classifying a rape report as 'unfounded' not even the police necessarily believe that a rape did not in fact occur" (Clark, 1976: 8). Clark attributes police classification of rape complaints to pragmatic concerns such as the likelihood of the Crown proceeding with the case and the interest the police have in appearing efficient in terms of the ratio of the number of offences charged to the number of convictions achieved.

The reasons cited by LeGrand for classifying a complaint as unfounded include evidence that the victim was intoxicated, a delay in reporting, lack of physical condition to support the allegation, a previous relationship between the victim and offender, the use of a weapon without accompanying battery, failure to preserve necessary physical evidence, and victims who are too emotionally upset, too young, too afraid, or too embarrassed to cooperate with the ordeal of the police investigation (LeGrand, 1973: 928-929). Clark also lists a set of characteristics which correlate with unfounded classifications. These include police perceptions of the victim as drunk, rapes in which the victim voluntarily accompanied the offender to his residence, cases arising through hitchhiking, cases occurring between persons well-known to each other, the absence of

a weapon, the absence of injuries sustained by the victim, the absence of deadly threats, the absence of sexual acts in addition to forcible intercourse, young victims, victims living in a common-law relationship, victims who are known to the police or reported to have had bad reputations, and victims in low-status occupations, on welfare, or unemployed (Clark, 1976: 11-28). These variables, Clark asserts, "...account for the selection of rape cases as appropriate or inappropriate for consideration at further points in the criminal justice system" (p. 28).

Despite the fact that all of these conditions were found to characterize individual cases in the present study, the claim that they are reasons for judging a complaint to be unfounded or that they account for police selection of cases to proceed to Preliminary Hearing was unsupported by the Winnipeg data. Unfounded complaints in the present study were typically those which had been terminated by the complainant. However, not all of those cases terminated at the request of the complainant were classified as unfounded. It appeared as though her reason for halting the investigation played a significant role in police classification. When the reason was fear, whether of publicity, court appearance, or threats by the offender, or when the reported victim settled her complaint out of court with the offender or his counsel, the complaint remained classified as founded. On the other hand, when the complainant failed to cooperate with the police investigation after being advised of inaccurate and/or discrepant information in

her complaint, an unfounded classification was likely to result.

The marked discrepancy between the reasons for unfounded classifications presented in the preceding discussion is, in all probability, due to differences in police usage of this discretionary power. From Clark's (1976) report it appeared as though the Toronto Police classified the complaint as either founded or unfounded and then proceeded to investigate on the basis of this classification. This was not the case with complaints made to the Winnipeg Police. Police classification followed investigation in Winnipeg. Clark also notes that 74 or 63.8 per cent of the 116 reported cases of rape in her study were classified by the police as unfounded. Compared to the figure of 62 or 18.1 per cent of the 343 reported cases in the present study, it appears as though the Toronto Police have less stringent criteria for classifying rape complaints as unfounded than do the Winnipeg Police. In order to justify the exclusion of these cases in the present study, a detailed examination was made to determine the reason for classifying cases as unfounded.

This query about the unfounded classification used by the police in rape complaints is part of a more general criticism levelled against the police and courts with regard to their treatment of rape cases. It has often been alleged that complaints of rape are treated with indifference by the police and that the credibility of the rape victim is questioned more than for any other victim of

crime.³ Wood (1973) asserts that the treatment of the victim may be impersonal and unsupportive if not frankly disbelieving and hostile. This attitude is attributed to the assumption that women make false accusations against men and is evidenced in statements such as that made by Justice Hale (1778). Hale comments that rape is a charge "...easily to be made and hard to be proved, and harder to be defended." It has also been suggested that:

a woman in a sex offence should always be examined by competent experts to ascertain whether she suffers from mental or moral delusion or tendency .⁴causing distortion of the imagination in sex cases.

Once a complaint has been filed with the police it is part of their duty to conduct an investigation and to search for relevant evidence to establish the veracity of the victim's claim. However, upon examination of the case, evidence may indicate that the complaint is undeserving of further investigation. When such a situation results, the police have at their discretion the power to classify the complaint as unfounded. As noted previously, the police have been criticized as to their use and abuse of this power in regard to complaints of rape (Clark, 1976; and LeGrand, 1973). It has been suggested by these critics that police classification of rape cases as unfounded reflects little more than their cynicism, their anticipation that the case will not survive the scrutiny of

-
3. See Rape and Its Victims: A Report for Citizens, Health Facilities and Center for Women Policy Studies in The Police Response: A Handbook.
 4. See the 1937-38 Report of the American Bar Association Committee on the Improvement of the Law of Evidence.

the courts and their own desire to appear efficient by reducing the ratio of solved to unsolved cases.

In the present study each of the 62 unfounded complaints of rape was analysed to determine the basis for police classification and not merely the characteristics of the victim in unfounded complaints. It must, however, be recognized that during the investigation of a complaint of rape, the police receive insights that cannot always be regained through reviewing their reports. When the reason for classifying a complaint as unfounded is not the complainant's admission of a false report, other evidence must be assessed to determine why the investigation was terminated.

In reviewing the unfounded complaints, the bizarre circumstances out of which they arise became immediately apparent. An attempt was made to categorize these circumstances according to the complainant's reason for reporting the rape to the police. Of the 62 unfounded complaints in the present study, twenty-one (33.9%) were made in order to conceal a misdeed on the part of the reporting victim. In a good number of these cases the alleged victim was not the person who filed the complaint. In other cases she was pressured to make a complaint of rape in order to appear honorable in the eyes of those whom she was deceiving. The most common situations which were concealed by the allegation of rape involved women who had contracted venereal disease, became pregnant or were otherwise discovered to be engaging in sexual intercourse by their husbands, boyfriends or parents. It was also noted that in a con-

siderable number of these cases the actual complaint of rape was not received by the police until some time after the alleged offence was to have taken place. This was obviously true of cases where the alleged victim, her spouse or her parents discovered that she was pregnant or had contracted venereal disease.

A sample of incidents which led to this type of false complaint appears below.

- #1 In this case the alleged victim arrived home late one evening with her face badly bruised. When her husband demanded an explanation for her condition the woman explained that she had been raped by four strange men. It was later discovered by police that the victim was indeed with four strange men that evening. However, it was also discovered that the alleged victim had been dancing without her clothes on at their party and that the bruises she received were inflicted by another female in attendance who became jealous when the alleged victim began flirting with her husband.
- #2 In this case the complaint was filed two months after the alleged incident by the victim's husband. After an investigation, the alleged victim finally explained to the police that she had become pregnant as a result of an affair she had been having with another man. The complainant, in this case, needed an explanation for the pregnancy as her husband was sterilized.
- #3 In this case the alleged victim went grocery shopping at 4:00 P.M. and returned without the groceries at 4:30 A.M. To explain her lengthy absence she told her husband that she had been abducted on the way to the store by a strange man. She later confessed that she had met a single girlfriend of hers and went to a dance. She met a man at the dance and spent a portion of the night at his apartment.
- #4 During the investigation of this case the alleged victim was advised of numerous inconsistencies in her story. She finally explained that she had no intention of reporting rape but that her husband assumed rape after discovering that she had contracted venereal disease.

In twelve (19.4%) of the unfounded cases the alleged victim's complaint represented passing anger or a desire to avoid any further relationship with the alleged offender. The alleged victim's attitude was not always vindictive, although this element was present in a number of these cases. The most common situation in these cases involved a woman who had voluntarily engaged in sexual intercourse or other sex acts with the alleged offender(s) but later became angry with him/them for a variety of reasons.

- #5 In this case the alleged victim and a girlfriend were in attendance at an all male party held by a local motorcycle club. The alleged victim told the police that she had been at the clubhouse before and had sexual intercourse with 10 to 12 members of the club on that occasion and enjoyed it. The problem this time was that one of the males in attendance wanted to engage in anal intercourse. The alleged victim stated that "that's one thing I can't take." She told police that she wanted revenge but later retracted the complaint. The reported victim had venereal disease and was afraid of what would happen to her when the club members found out.
- #6 The alleged victim reluctantly had sexual intercourse on her first date with a man whom she had just recently met. She told the police that "you're not supposed to have sex on your first date, it says so in my Medical book." However, the man promised to meet the alleged victim the next day and she submitted. When he failed to show up the woman considered herself to have been raped and phoned the police.
- #7 In this case the alleged victim had met a man at church four years prior to the report and had been having sexual intercourse with him periodically. The woman explained that the man was starting to come over too often now and that she wanted a stop put to it.

In nine (14.5%) of the unfounded reports the complaint of rape was simply a fabrication to bring desired attention to the alleged victim. In these cases the complainant usually had a past history

of false reporting.

#8 In this case the alleged victim reported that she was forced to commit fellatio and then raped by five strange men. During the police questioning she admitted enjoying her experience with these men and agreeing to have sex with them. When police asked why she had reported this incident as rape, the alleged victim replied that she "wanted a ride to the hospital to be checked for venereal disease."

#9 This complaint was filed by two nurses who were attending the alleged victim in the hospital. The alleged victim was in the hospital for a hysterectomy. She explained to the police that she had told the nurses of her being raped in order to arouse sympathy. It was also found that the alleged victim falsely reported rape to the police in the past.

#10 In this case the alleged victim was mentally retarded. Her mother informed the police that she had complained of being raped several times prior to this incident. The alleged victim admitted that her complaint of rape was made only to have her mother show more concern for her.

In six (9.7%) of the unfounded cases the alleged victim thought that she had been raped but was too intoxicated to remember for sure.

#11 In this case the alleged victim was found unconscious on the street with some of her clothing missing. She was taken to the hospital by the police where the gynecologist determined that there was no evidence of recent intercourse. When the alleged victim sobered up she was satisfied with the medical report and asked the police to terminate the investigation.

In seven (11.2%) of the unfounded cases the alleged victim became uncooperative with the police when they advised her of inconsistencies, gaps, and discrepancies in her account of the rape. The alleged victim in these cases did not formally request that the investigation be terminated but she did, however, refuse police assistance with the matter. This fact was understandable considering that, in a good number of cases, the alleged victim did

not file the initial complaint.

#12 This case was reported by the alleged victim. She said that she was picked up by a man at a hotel where she had been drinking. She willingly went to his parent's house and necked with the alleged offender for some time. She then stated that she found herself in his car without her clothes on. When police constables asked how this came to be the alleged victim said that it was none of their business. When detectives interviewed the girl to determine the sequence of events, the alleged victim walked out of their office saying "forget it."

Two of the unfounded complaints were the result of an encounter between a prostitute and her client.

#13 In this case the alleged victim admitted "turning a trick" for a man who later refused to pay for her services. The alleged victim struck the man across the face. He retaliated hitting her in the mouth, breaking her upper dentures. The alleged victim's concern was to have the man at least pay for her dentures.

In one case, too much time had elapsed between the alleged incident and the complaint of rape. The alleged victim reported the incident approximately four months after its occurrence. The alleged offender, a family friend, was interviewed and stated that he has never been alone with the victim. The investigation was terminated on these grounds.

In two incidents the alleged victim reconsidered and withdrew her complaint of rape. One woman said that she "really didn't mind and wasn't mad" and the other said that she would "consider it an experience." In the latter case, the alleged victim was staying at a downtown hotel and couldn't pay her bill. The alleged offender paid her bill on the condition that she stay with him for the night. The alleged victim reports that she thought that she was pregnant and became hysterical and complained of rape.

In the two remaining unfounded cases there was no indication of the reason for discontinuing the investigation. These reports were incomplete and classified as unfounded.

Examination of the rape complaints classified as unfounded by the Winnipeg Police points to a wide discrepancy in the use of this discretionary power. Contrary to past research and discussions of the use of the unfounded classification in complaints of rape, it was found that this classification was, in fact, reserved primarily for false reports of rape. In a review of the rape complaints classified as unfounded by the Toronto Police in 1970, Clark (1976) notes that only twelve (16.2%) of the seventy-four unfounded reports were genuinely unfounded. In the present study it was found that fifty-eight (93.5%) of the sixty-two unfounded complaints were genuinely unfounded, that is, cases in which no rape in fact occurred. In the remaining four cases it was difficult to determine whether rape had occurred. There was, however, no conclusive evidence to the contrary.

From the present study, it appears as though the unfounded classification performs a valuable function by filtering out false complaints of rape. There is, however, the possibility of this discretionary power being abused by the police as appears to be the case in other jurisdictions.

b) Rape and Attempted Rape - Of the two hundred and eighty-one founded cases in the present study, there were two hundred and seventeen completed rapes and sixty-four attempted rapes. The

classification of the offence used in the present study was that which was given to the complaint by the police. The classifications of rape and attempted rape were based on whether or not the complainant allegedly experienced sexual intercourse with the offender during their encounter. The offence with which the suspect was later charged was not considered due to the fact that a suspect was not apprehended in a considerable number of cases.

All available police reports which were classified as either rape or attempted rape were examined in the present study. The classification of attempted rape was treated synonymously with rape as it was felt that the requirement of successful penetration of the labia⁵ was inconsequential to the intended nature of the act and, hence, to the purpose of this research.

The Canadian Criminal Code (1976) definition of rape is as follows:

Sec. 143. A male person commits rape when he has sexual intercourse with a female who is not his wife,

- a) without her consent, or
- b) with her consent if consent
 - (i) is extorted by threats or fear of bodily harm
 - (ii) is obtained by personating her husband, or
 - (iii) is obtained by false or fraudulent representation as to the nature and quality of the act

Sec. 144. Everyone who commits rape is guilty of an indictable offence and is liable to imprisonment for life.

-
5. The judicial interpretation of penetration states that "...sexual intercourse is complete upon the penetration of the labia, either labia majora or labia minora, no matter how little, even though the hymen is untouched nor is there any penetration of the vagina." (Annex B concerning Sec. 3(6)).

Sec. 145. Everyone who attempts to commit rape is guilty of an indictable offence and is liable to imprisonment for ten years.

Statutory rape is also recognized in the Canadian Criminal Code. However, complaints of this offence were not included in the present research. The reason for excluding statutory rape was because it is more of an offence against public morals than an offence against the person. The essential requirement in this offence is that the female involved be below a certain age, and is not the use of force or the lack of consent.

c) The Number of Victims and Offenders - The two hundred and eighty-one founded cases included in this study presented a total of two hundred and eighty-six reported victims and three hundred and eighty-two alleged offenders.⁶ Of the three hundred and eighty-two alleged offenders, three hundred and seventy-nine were male and three were female. The females involved as offenders did not actively participate in the sexual assault. However, they did take part in the offence by helping their male accomplice to subdue the victim. Investigation of the two hundred and eighty-one founded cases led to the apprehension of two hundred and sixty-two suspects.⁷

-
6. The difference between the number of reported victims, the number of alleged offenders and the number of founded cases is due to the fact that in some cases more than one victim or offender was involved.
 7. Information pertaining to the rape event and the details of its occurrence for those cases where a suspect was not apprehended was obtained from the reported victim's statement to the police, police observations and statements given by witnesses (where available). In those cases where a suspect was apprehended consideration was given to his version of the rape episode as well.

Of the two hundred and eighty-one rape events analysed for this study two hundred and twenty-two (79%) were single rapes involving one victim and one offender. Thirty-one events were pair rapes involving one victim and two offenders and twenty-five events involved one victim and multiple offenders (3 to 8). In addition, one event involved two victims and one offender and another two events each involved three victims and one offender.

A frequency distribution of the number of reported victims and alleged offenders who were involved in the rape event is presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1

Frequency Distribution of Rape Events by the Number of Victims and Offenders Involved in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975

Number of Offenders	Number of Victims	Rape Events	
		No.	Per Cent
one	one	222	79.0
one	two	1	.4
one	three	2	.7
two	one	31	11.0
three	one	16	5.7
four	one	4	1.4
five	one	2	.7
six	one	1	.4
seven	one	1	.4
eight	one	1	.4
Total		281	100.0

Limitations of the Data

a) Unreported Rape - The actual rate of commission of any crime is never known. With some crimes such as murder, official statistics produce very good estimates of their rate of occurrence. Not even all instances of murder, however, are brought to the attention of the authorities. For other crimes, such as rape, the rate of reporting is much lower. In fact, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967) has noted that rape is one of the most underreported major crimes in the United States.⁸

While no one knows precisely what percentage of these offenses are reported to the police, victimization studies contend that the rate of commission of forcible rape far exceeds the reported rate. Estimates of the gap between the two rates vary. The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Pilot Survey which was conducted in two American cities suggests that two rapes occur for every one that is reported. Medea and Thompson (1974) report that out of every three rapes that had come to their attention through the distribution of a questionnaire, only one had been reported to the police. Two studies, the National Victimization Study conducted in the United States in 1967 for the President's Crime Commission and a survey by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) found that rape occur-

8. The same conclusion is drawn by Roger Hood and Richard Sparks in a discussion of unrecorded and unreported crime in Key Issues in Criminology, 1971, p. 32.

red at about three and one-half times the reported rate. Other estimates range as high as one in six (Schiff, 1971) and one in nine (Schafer, 1968).

These estimates of the rate of unreported rape are clouded by at least two factors: First, not all victimization studies employ the same questions nor do they use the same definition of rape (Drapkin, 1974). This could be one of the reasons for the inconsistency in the estimates. Second, we are unaware of how truthful the respondents are to the victimization survey. Curtis (1974) notes that in one study where a "reverse records check" was made in conjunction with the victimization survey, only two-thirds of the women who reported being raped to the police disclosed the crime during the household victimization interview. With regard to this problem it has been suggested that the rape victim feels stigmatized and strives to maintain her anonymity. Thus, the investigator is not usually aware of the universe of potential respondents (Weis and Borges, 1973).

The important question, however, is not one of determining the actual incidence of rape, for this issue cannot be reliably resolved. It is sufficient to say that those complaints which are received by the police are only a fraction of the total number of rapes that occur. The question which is of importance concerns the representativeness of those cases which have been reported. Suggestions have been offered as to why some victims fail to report their victimization (U.C.R., 1965; Sutherland and Scherl, 1970; and Klemmack



and Klemmack, 1975) but the lack of rigor with which this issue has been dealt prevents us from being able to see if unreported and reported rape cases differ. The present research is effected by this issue to the extent that reported rape is unrepresentative of all rape that occurs. Therefore, until systematic research demonstrates the existence and nature of the difference between unreported and reported rape, the findings from the present study cannot be generalized to all rape offenses.

b) Unapprehended Offenders - Another limitation of the data concerns the fact that not all of the alleged offenders were apprehended by the police. The police failed to apprehend a suspect in eighty-five of the two hundred and eighty-one cases. These eighty-five unsolved cases represented a total of one hundred and twenty (31.4%) of the three hundred and eighty-two offenders. Information pertaining to these unsolved cases was provided mainly by the victim's account of the rape event. In the remaining cases, where a suspect was apprehended, the details of the rape event were gleaned from both the complainant's and the suspect's account and cross-referenced for accuracy. However, in the event of a discrepancy between the two accounts which could not be resolved through police investigation, the present study favored the complainant's report. In this regard it was reasoned that the victim would be less likely to distort the truth than the offender.

The effect of the missing suspect information on the social characteristics of the alleged offenders is unknown. For instance,

it may be that offenders who escape detection are in some ways different from those who are apprehended. Perhaps they have even escaped detection from a similar offence in the past.⁹ While this missing information regarding approximately one-third of the alleged offenders does not invalidate a delineation of suspect social characteristics, the findings should be interpreted with caution.

9. At this point it should be noted that there is some duplication of offender information where the same offender committed more than one rape. This does not, however, present a significant problem considering the infrequent occurrence of multiple rapes by the same offender in the present study.

CHAPTER IV

THE VICTIM AND THE OFFENDER

Introduction

A number of studies have examined the social characteristics of rape offenders while the victim of rape has received less attention. The recent shift to police records as the data source for rape research has not only allowed for the inclusion of the social characteristics of the victim, it has also given researchers access to a broader range of rape cases, and hence to a more representative sample of the total number of rapes which have occurred. This move to police statistics has resulted in the accumulation of a more reliable body of empirical knowledge regarding the crime of rape and conclusions about rape victims and offenders which have greater generalizability.

In this chapter a variety of characteristics of rape victims and offenders will be analysed and discussed. The findings in the present study will be reported and compared to previous research using police data. Where this type of comparison was not possible the reader is cautioned to keep in mind the nature of the sample which is being compared to the present one.

Age

The results of past rape research show that the modal age category for offenders is 15-24 years (Amir, 1971; Macdonald, 1975;

and McCaldon, 1967). The average age of sex offenders in general is relatively high, thirty or over (Pollens, 1938; and Guttmacher, 1951), but seldom is the rapist older than thirty (Doshay, 1943; Hirning, 1947; Bowling, 1950; and Macdonald, 1975). The top risk age category for victims was also found to be 15-24 years (Amir, 1971; and Macdonald, 1975). Curtis (1974), however, reports that the victim is typically younger than her assailant (p. 38).

On the basis of these findings we would expect both rape victims and offenders to be between the ages of 15 and 24 years. However, rape offenders are likely to be older than their victims.

The Winnipeg data support these findings indicating that 61.8 per cent of the rape suspects and 58.8 per cent of the reported victims were between the ages of 15 and 24 years. In addition, only 12.6 per cent of the alleged offenders were thirty years of age or older. The data, however, indicate that the mean age of the alleged offenders is not much greater than that of the victim (23.2 years compared with 22.9 years).

A frequency distribution of ages for alleged offenders and reported victims of rape is presented in Table 2.

Table 2

Frequency Distribution of Alleged Rape Offenders and Reported Victims by Age in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years-1966-1975

<u>Age</u>	<u>Offender</u>		<u>Victim</u>	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
14 or less	10	3.8	44	15.4
15 - 19	77	29.4	108	37.8
20 - 24	85	32.4	60	21.0
25 - 29	57	21.8	22	7.7
30 - 34	13	5.0	11	3.8
35 - 39	9	3.4	11	3.8
40 - 44	6	2.3	8	2.8
45 - 49	4	1.5	5	1.7
50 - 54	1	0.4	2	0.7
55 - 59	--	----	4	1.4
60 or over	--	----	11	3.8
Total	262*	100.0	286	100.0

*Information regarding age was not available in the case files for the 120 alleged offenders who were not apprehended.

Offender - Mean Age 23.2
 Modal Age 18.0
 Median Age 22.0

Victim - Mean Age 22.9
 Modal Age 16.0
 Median Age 18.7

Marital Status

Research indicates that rape offenders and victims are typically unmarried (Amir, 1971; Svalastoga, 1962; and McCaldon, 1967). This finding follows from the predominantly young age of both offenders and victims. In McCaldon's study, 43 per cent of the convicted offenders and 18 per cent of their victims were married. In Denmark, Svalastoga's study showed that 24 per cent of the rape offenders who appeared before the courts and 15 per cent of their victims were married. Based on these findings from past research we would expect that both rape victims and offenders will be unmarried.

The Winnipeg data indicates that 54.2 per cent of the alleged offenders and 70.2 per cent of the reported victims were single. A further 17.2 per cent of the alleged offenders and 17.5 per cent of the reported victims were either divorced, separated or widowed. The remaining 35.9 per cent of the alleged offenders and 17.1 per cent of the reported victims were either married or living in a common-law arrangement. These findings appear to support past research using police and court samples.

A frequency distribution of the marital status of reported victims and alleged offenders is presented in Table 3.

Table 3

Frequency Distribution of Alleged Rape Offenders and Reported Victims by Marital Status in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975

<u>Marital Status</u>	<u>Offender</u>		<u>Victim</u>	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Single	136	54.2	181	70.2
Married	72	28.7	32	12.4
Common-law	18	7.2	12	4.7
Separated	18	7.2	23	8.9
Divorced	6	2.4	4	1.6
Widowed	1	0.4	6	2.2
Total	251* 100.0		258* 100.0	

*Information regarding marital status was not available in the case files for 131 alleged offenders and 28 reported victims.

Number of Children

It can be seen from the present study that a number of the alleged offenders and reported victims were parents at the time of their involvement in the rape incident. In those cases where information was available the records showed that 29.8 per cent of the alleged offenders and 27.7 per cent of the reported victims had one or more children. In addition, four (1.7%) of the alleged offender's wives and two (.9%) of the reported victims were pregnant at the time of the offence.

A frequency distribution of the reported victims' and the alleged offenders' number of children appears in Table 4.

Table 4

Frequency Distribution of Alleged Offenders and Reported Victims by Number of Children in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975

<u>Number of Children</u>	<u>Offender</u>		<u>Victim</u>	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
None	161	68.5	162	71.4
One	37	15.8	30	13.2
Two	21	8.9	15	6.6
Three	8	3.4	8	3.5
Four	4	1.7	10	4.4
Five	4	1.7	2	0.9
Total	235*	100.0	227*	100.0

*Information regarding number of children was not available in the case files for 147 alleged offenders and 59 reported victims.

Race

The race of the reported victim and the alleged offender is a characteristic which is not consistently recorded by the police. This is the case with national origin as well. Where information regarding the race of the alleged offenders was available it was usually included in the case files for investigative purposes where the suspect had not yet been apprehended. As well, the alleged offender's race was sometimes found in the statement and description given by the complainant.

In those cases where information was available, native Indians and Metis appeared to be over-represented among both the reported victims and the alleged offenders. However, an accurate distribution of the race of the rape participants could not be obtained from the police files. Inspection of the available data suggests that the characteristic of race was more likely to be included in the police report in cases where participants were non-white and thus more noticeable in our predominantly white society.

A frequency distribution of alleged offenders and reported victims by race appears in Table 5.

Table 5

Frequency Distribution of Alleged Offenders and Reported Victims
by Race in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975

<u>Race</u>	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Victims</u>	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Caucasion	16	4.2	6	2.1
Negroid	10	2.6	1	0.4
Native Indian or Metis	50	13.1	29	10.1
Mongoloid	1	0.3	---	----
No Information	305	79.8	250	87.4
Total	382	100.0	286	100.0

Previous Criminal Involvement

a) Offenders - In Philadelphia, Amir (1971) found 49.3 per cent of the offenders in his study to have previous arrest records. The records revealed that 9.9 per cent of the rape offenders had committed rape in the past and that 3.5 per cent had been arrested for a sexual offence other than rape. On the basis of this finding we would expect that a substantial proportion of the rape offenders will have criminal records.

Inspection of the Winnipeg data reveals that, of the two hundred and sixty-two alleged offenders where information concerning previous criminal involvement was available, one hundred and seventy-five (66.8%) had past criminal or delinquent records. These one hundred and seventy-five offenders had committed a total of two hundred and forty-nine offences. Of those offences, 10.4 per cent were for rape, 9.2 per cent were for sexual offences other than rape, and 6.0 per cent were for assault.

A frequency distribution of the type of past criminal offence committed by the alleged offender appears in Table 6.

Table 6

Frequency Distribution of Alleged Offenders by Type of Past Criminal Record in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years-1966-1975

<u>Type of Offence</u>	No.	Per Cent
Murder	1	0.4
Rape and Attempted Rape	26	10.4
Other Sex Offence	23	9.2
Assault or Assault Causing Bodily Harm	15	6.0
Robbery or Armed Robbery	16	6.4
Theft, Break Enter and Theft or Possession of Stolen Goods	54	21.7
Minor Offence (Breach of the Liquor Act or Wilful Damage)	26	10.4
Escaped Lawful Custody	7	2.8
On Parole, Probation or Mention of Previous Record Only	81	32.5
Total Offences	249	100.0
Offenders With Criminal Record	175	66.8
Offenders With No Known Criminal Record	87	33.2
Total Offenders	262*	100.0

*Information regarding previous police record was unavailable in the case files for 120 alleged offenders.

The Winnipeg data also shows that among the one hundred and seventy-five alleged offenders with a previous police record, one hundred and twenty-six (48.1%) had a record of one offence only, thirty-two (12.2%) had committed two offences, eleven (4.2%) had committed three offences, and six (2.3%) had records of four or more offences.

A frequency distribution of the number of previous offences committed by the alleged offenders is presented in Table 7.

Table 7

Frequency Distribution of Alleged Rape Offenders by Number of Previous Offences in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975

Number of Previous Offences	No.	Per Cent
None	87	33.2
One	126	48.1
Two	32	12.2
Three	11	4.2
Four	4	1.5
Five	2	0.8
Total	262*	100.0

*Information regarding the number of previous offences committed was unavailable in the case files for 120 alleged offenders.

b) Victims - Turning now to the victims, research shows that a substantial proportion of the women who become involved in rape have criminal records. In Philadelphia, Amir (1971) found that 19.2 per cent of the victims in his study had an arrest record. It was noted that 37.9 per cent of these victims had been charged with some sort of sexual offence. It should be added that this figure of 19.2 per cent may be a conservative estimate of those rape victims with previous arrest records, as police are less likely to investigate the past criminal record of the complainant than of the suspect. Based on this research we would expect only a small proportion of rape victims to have criminal records with the police.

The Winnipeg data show that 7.7 per cent of the reported victims had police records. Of those victims with police records, 31.8 per cent had been charged with sexual immorality or performing an indecent act. The most frequent charge (40.9%), however, was theft-related.

A frequency distribution of the type of criminal offence committed by the reported victim is presented in Table 8.

Table 8

Frequency Distribution of Rape Victims by Type of Previous Criminal Offence Committed in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975

<u>Type of Offence</u>	No.	Per Cent
Sexual Immorality or Performing an Indecent Act	7	31.8
Theft, Break Enter and Theft or Possession of Stolen Goods	9	40.9
Breach of the Liquor Act	2	9.1
Juvenile Repeater	4	18.2
Total		100.0
Victims with Criminal Record	22	7.7
Victims With No Known Criminal Record	264	92.3
Total Victims	286	100.0

Social Class

In terms of social class, previous research has found that both the offenders and victims of rape tend to concentrate at the lower end of the socio-economic scale. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967) noted that several studies in different cities in the United States show that for rape, the victims and the offenders are found most frequently in the poorest, most deteriorated and socially disorganized areas of the cities. In Denmark, Svalastoga(1962) showed that the rapist is underprivileged in terms of education and the social and economic status of his parents. In Philadelphia, Amir (1971) found that 90 per cent of the rapists in his study belonged to the lower part of the occupational scale. Amir goes on to suggest that the "risk of (rape for) lower-class women in low status and low income occupations is greater than that of middle-class women" (1971: 69-70).

In the present study an attempt was made to locate rape victims and offenders in terms of their social class. The indicators of social class to be used included the area of the city in which they resided, their educational level and their employment and occupation. On the basis of past research we would expect to find victims and offenders to reside in poorer areas of the city, to be low in educational attainment, and to hold low status occupations.

a) Area of the City - Rape complaints for the entire city were not available for several of the years under study. During the years 1966 to 1973, and for a portion of 1974, rape complaints

were available only for three districts in the city. Therefore, an assessment of the distribution of rape victims and offenders by the area of the city in which they lived could not be obtained by analyzing all of the rape events. However, in 1975 data was available for the entire city. The analysis which follows was, therefore, made of the reported victims and the alleged offenders involved in complaints of rape in 1975 only.

An analysis of these cases shows results which are similar to those found in past research regarding the area of the city inhabited by rape offenders and victims. The area found to have the heaviest concentration of both alleged offenders and reported victims is referred to as District #1 (see Map 1). District #1 corresponds closely to the core area of the city and is comprised mainly of rooming houses, deteriorated apartment blocks and dilapidated homes. This housing is interspersed with commercial business which brings about a substantial increase in the area's daily population. The city's core area has a high native Indian population and has the highest incidence of reported crime in Winnipeg (Annual Police Report, 1975). Second to District #1 in terms of deteriorated housing is District #3. District #3 also has the second highest concentration of alleged offenders and reported victims residing within its boundaries. Together with District #1, these two areas include only one third of the city's total population, yet they account for almost one half of the city's reported crime (Annual Police Report, 1975). Districts #1 and #3 account for the

residences of 52.1 per cent of the alleged rape offenders and 53.5 per cent of the reported victims of rape.

Districts #2 and #5 have the lowest residency rates for reported victims and alleged offenders. These Districts also have the lowest percentages of crime in the city (Annual Police Report, 1975).

A frequency distribution of the alleged offender's and reported victim's address district is presented in Table 9.

Table 9

Frequency Distribution of Alleged Rape Offenders and Reported Victims by Their Address District in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Year 1975*

<u>Address District</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Offender</u>		<u>Victims</u>	
	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
#1. Inner City	16.8	23	33.3	26	30.2
#2. St. James-Assiniboia	13.4	2	2.9	8	9.3
#3. West Kildonan	15.6	13	18.8	20	23.3
#4. East Kildonan and Transcona	17.2	11	15.9	9	10.5
#5. St. Boniface and St. Vital	15.0	10	14.5	7	8.1
#6. South End	22.0	8	11.6	13	15.1
Rural		2	2.9	3	3.5
Total	100.0	69**100.0		86**100.0	

*The year 1975 presented 85 complaints of rape involving 125 alleged offenders and 87 reported victims.

**Information concerning address district was unavailable in the case files for 56 alleged offenders and 1 reported victim in 1975.

b) Education - The educational attainment of convicted rape offenders has been found to be low (Glueck, 1956). McCaldon (1967) reports that 80 per cent of the convicted rapists in his study had never entered high school. Svalastoga (1962), in his study of Danish rapists, showed that at least 80 per cent had only seven years of schooling and that only three per cent attained an intermediate high school diploma. Research regarding the education of rape victims could not be found.

The Winnipeg data indicates that of the alleged offenders who were sixteen years of age or older, only 9.9 per cent had never entered high school. However, most of the alleged offenders did not go much farther with their education. Roughly 82 per cent had not completed high school at the time of their offence and only 6.3 per cent had attended college or university.

Of the reported victims who were sixteen years of age or older, 9.8 per cent had never entered high school. Reported victims, however, appeared to be better educated than the alleged offenders, with 27.9 per cent having attended college or university.

A frequency distribution of the educational level of reported victims and alleged offenders appears in Table 10.

Table 10

Frequency Distribution of Alleged Rape Offenders and Reported Victims by Educational Level in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975 (Age \geq 16)

<u>Educational Level</u>	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Victims</u>	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
No Formal Schooling	5	2.6	3	4.9
Some Elementary	4	2.1	1	1.6
Completed Elementary	10	5.2	2	3.3
Some High School	138	72.3	36	59.0
Completed High School	22	11.5	2	3.3
Some College or University	8	4.2	12	19.7
College or University Degree	4	2.1	5	8.2
Total	191*	100.0	61**	100.0

*Of the 382 alleged offenders, 120 were not apprehended by the police. Another 17 alleged offenders were less than sixteen years old and excluded from analysis. Information concerning educational level was not available in the case files for another 54 alleged offenders.

**Of the 286 reported victims, 60 were less than sixteen years old. Information concerning educational level was not available in the case files for another 165 reported victims.

A valid comparison between the educational levels of alleged offenders and reported victims with males and females in the general population of Winnipeg cannot be made with the available data. However, from an inspection of the 1971 Canadian Census information, reported victims apparently have a similar education distribution to Winnipeggers in general. The alleged offenders, however, fall short in the proportions having completed high school, attended college or university, and obtained a college or university degree.

c) Employment and Occupation

Offenders - Previous research suggests that rape offenders are located at the lower end of the occupational hierarchy with a substantial proportion falling into the category of unemployed (Amir, 1971). Similarly, rape victims have been found in low income occupations (Amir, 1971).

The Winnipeg data show that 30.8 per cent of the alleged offenders were either unemployed (except student) or were collecting city or provincial welfare. Employed offenders were found to be concentrated at the lower end of the occupational scale. Alleged offenders most often performed unskilled labour (31.7%), skilled labour (7.5%) or were still attending school (9.7%). The most common occupation held by alleged rape offenders was that of truck driver (6.6%).

A frequency distribution of alleged offender employment and occupation is presented in Table 11.

Table 11

Frequency Distribution of Alleged Rape Offenders by Employment and Occupation in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Offenders</u>	
	No.	Per Cent
Unemployed	60	26.4
On Welfare	10	4.4
Unskilled Labourer	72	31.7
Beer Waiter	3	1.3
Truck Driver	15	6.6
Services	6	2.6
Skilled Labourer	17	7.5
Clerk	4	1.8
Armed Forces	2	0.9
Student	22	9.7
Salesman	5	2.6
Self-Employed Farmer	1	0.4
Managerial	4	1.8
Entrepreneur	3	1.3
Professional	2	0.9
Total	226*	100.0

*Of the 382 alleged offenders, seventeen were less than sixteen years old and excluded from the analysis. Another 120 alleged offenders were not apprehended by the police, and information concerning employment and occupation was unavailable in the case files for the remaining nineteen alleged offenders.

Victims - Regarding the reported victim of rape, the present study indicates that she is also to be found at the lower end of the occupational hierarchy. The unemployed (except student and homemaker) and those on city or provincial welfare account for 19.7 per cent of the reported rape victims; a lower percentage than was found among alleged offenders. The type of work most frequently performed by reported victims in the present study included the occupations of waitress (11.4%), domestic¹ (9.1%), secretary/receptionist (9.1%), sales/clerk (6.1%), unskilled labour (4.5%) and nurse and nurses aid (4.5%). In addition, a high proportion (18.2%) of reported rape victims were students.

A frequency distribution of reported victim employment and occupation appears in Table 12.

1. The category "domestic" included the occupations of house cleaner, baby sitter and chambermaid.

Table 12

Frequency Distribution of Reported Rape Victims by Employment and Occupation in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Victims</u>	
	No.	Per Cent
Unemployed	15	11.4
On Welfare	11	8.3
Domestic	12	9.1
Hairdresser	1	0.8
Unskilled Labourer	6	4.5
Waitress	15	11.4
Dancer/Masseuse	3	2.3
Sales/Clerk	8	6.1
Secretary/Receptionist	12	9.1
Student	24	18.2
Pensioner	4	3.0
Homemaker	9	6.8
Missionary	1	0.8
Nurse and Nurses Aid	6	4.5
Managerial	1	0.8
Teacher	4	3.0
Total	132*	100.0

*Of the 286 reported victims, sixty were less than sixteen years old and excluded from the analysis. Information concerning employment and occupation was unavailable in the case files for another ninety-four reported victims.

Using the 1971 Canadian Census information, approximate estimates were made of the unemployment rates for males and females in the general population of Winnipeg. The ratio of unemployed victims to the total number of victims who were sixteen years of age or over was slightly higher but comparable to the unemployment rate estimates from the 1971 Census. The alleged offenders in this study, however, were found to have an unemployment rate which was almost five times greater than the rate for males in the general population of Winnipeg.

Interpersonal Relationships

The interpersonal relationship between the rape offender and his victim has been explored by several researchers. Before this, it was commonly believed that rape was a crime which took place almost exclusively between strangers. Svalastoga (1962), however, reports that 43 per cent of the cases in his investigation were encounters between mutual acquaintances, close friends or relatives. Macdonald's (1975) study revealed that 17 per cent of the victims were raped by casual acquaintances, 12 per cent by friends, and another 10 per cent were raped by step-fathers, the mother's boyfriend, employers, neighbours, close friends or boyfriends, friends of the family or by relatives. In Philadelphia, it was found that 33.7 per cent of all rapes involved acquaintances or neighbours and another 13.8 per cent involved close friends, boyfriends, friends of the family or relatives.

Despite the fact that a substantial proportion of rape victims and offenders were found to have known each other, we would expect, from previous research, that they would most often be strangers.

Of the two hundred and eighty-one reported rape events in the present study, it was found that 73.3 per cent involved strangers or individuals who may have had general knowledge of each other but no personal contact.² Of those victims and offenders who stood in some kind of personal relationship to each other, 11.0 per cent were acquaintances, 3.2 per cent were neighbours and 1.4 per cent were business associates. Relationships characterized by a greater degree of intimacy included close friends (2.9%), ex/boyfriends (1.8%), family friends (1.8%) and relatives (4.6%).

A frequency distribution of the type of interpersonal relationship between victims and offenders for each rape event is presented in Table 13.

2. In those cases which involved multiple victims or offenders, assessment of the interpersonal relationship was based on the reporting victim and the principal offender.

Table 13

Frequency Distribution of Rape Events by the Type of Interpersonal Relationship between Victims and Offenders in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975

<u>Type of Interpersonal Relationship</u>	No.	Per Cent
Strangers	173	61.6
Strangers but General Knowledge	33	11.7
Acquaintances	31	11.0
Neighbours	9	3.2
Business Associates	4	1.4
Close Friends	8	2.9
Ex/Boyfriends	5	1.8
Family Friends	5	1.8
Relatives	13	4.6
Total	281	100.0

Conclusions

From the foregoing analyses it can be seen that there are certain types of people who are more likely to become involved in rape as victims and offenders. First, it was found that the young and unattached are over represented among those who are alleged to have committed rape and those who report being raped. This finding could be attributed to the unavailability of normal sexual outlets for young unmarried males. However, there was a substantial proportion of older, married males who were also accused of committing this offence. It is more probable that this relationship was due to the lifestyle led by these individuals. Young unmarried people, both male and female, are more likely to be found dating, drinking in taverns and hotels, hitchhiking and loitering on the street. These activities would provide the opportunity for potential victims and offenders to make contact.

It was also found that the majority of rape offenders had previous arrest records. For a considerable number of offenders, this was not the first time that they had been accused of rape or some other sexual offence. Rape victims, on the other hand, were not as likely to have criminal records. However, of the reported victims who did have police records, a substantial proportion had been charged with sexual immorality or performing an indecent act.

When traditional indicators of social class, such as education, employment, occupation and area of residence were applied to reported victims and alleged offenders of rape, a definite pattern emerged.

Alleged offenders and, to a lesser extent, reported victims rank low in educational attainment, occupy low status occupations or are unemployed, and come from the poorer and deteriorated areas of the city. This association with low social class is consistent with findings from research using prison statistics (McCaldon, 1967), court statistics (Svalastoga, 1962) and other research using police data (Amir, 1971).

It is, however, possible that this relationship between rape and low social class is due to a greater tendency on the part of the lower class to report crimes of this nature. Perhaps the stigma which is attached to being identified as a rape victim prevents women in the upper classes from contacting the police. It is clear that rape is not confined to the lower class, but just how rape is distributed among the social classes remains unknown. There is no evidence to suggest that rape complaints are in any way representative of all rapes that occur, nor is there evidence to the contrary. While police data probably give us a more accurate sample than other types of official statistics, there is no way of determining how accurately these statistics represent the total universe of rapes committed.

Regarding interpersonal relationships, we find that rape victims and offenders are more likely to be strangers than known to each other. While other research has recently shown that increasing numbers of reported victims and alleged offenders are known to each other, this does not appear to be the case in the present study.

In fact, a very small proportion of those involved in rape were found to have had a close relationship prior to the offence. Perhaps where a greater degree of intimacy exists between the victim and the offender, the victim is less likely to report the offence to the police. However, if the decision to commit rape is premeditated, it would be a wise decision to select a stranger. Obviously, the offender would have a greater chance of avoiding apprehension in such a case.

CHAPTER V

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SETTING OF RAPE

Introduction

Having described the types of people who become involved in rape as victims and offenders, characteristics of the setting of rape were then explored. Specifically, attention was focused on the temporal and spatial distribution of rape. The distribution of rape by month and season, the day of the week and the hour of the day was examined to indicate the times when rape is most likely to occur. The place of initial contact between victims and offenders and the place where the offence occurred was then analysed to determine where the rapist meets his victim and where the offence will occur. These characteristics of the setting of rape will be reported and compared with findings from past research.

Temporal Characteristics of Rape

a) Month and Season - Early work in criminology hypothesized that temporal variations influenced the occurrence of sex crimes. Certain times of the year, days of the week and hours of the day were all found to effect the incidence of sex crimes including rape.¹ The

1. For instance see Aschaffenburg, 1913; Bonger, 1916; Ferri, 1917; Von Hentig, 1948; Radzinowicz, 1957; Svalastoga, 1962; Verkko, 1951; and Falk, 1952, cited in M. Amir's Patterns in Forcible Rape.

reasons offered for the increase in sex crimes during the summer months included explanations that sexual activity in general increases in the warm summer months (Aschaffenburg, 1913; Bonger, 1916; and Ferri, 1917) and that evil passion increases with high temperatures (Gafofalo, 1914). Recent research suggests that rape occurs most often in the hot summer months and tapers off toward the winter months (Amir, 1971; Macdonald, 1975; and Svalastoga, 1962). Amir and Macdonald both found July to be the month with the greatest number of reported rapes. On the basis of these findings we would expect that rape will be most prevalent during the summer months and least prevalent during the winter months. In general, it was expected that the frequency of rape would vary according to seasonal weather conditions.

In the combined ten years, the Winnipeg data show that rape was most prevalent during the summer months, with 34.3 per cent occurring in June, July and August. In contrast, the winter months of December, January and February were the lowest period accounting for only 17.1 per cent of the cases. Spring and fall were found to be roughly equivalent, with 23 per cent of the cases occurring in March, April and May and 26 per cent occurring in September, October and November. The peak month for rape was August, accounting for 12.5 per cent of all rapes. On the other hand, rape reached a low point in the month of January accounting for only 3.2 per cent.

The present data show that rape tends to increase in the spring,

reach a maximum in the summer, and then tapers off in the fall, reaching a low in the winter (see Graph 1).

Graph 1

Monthly Distribution of Rape in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975

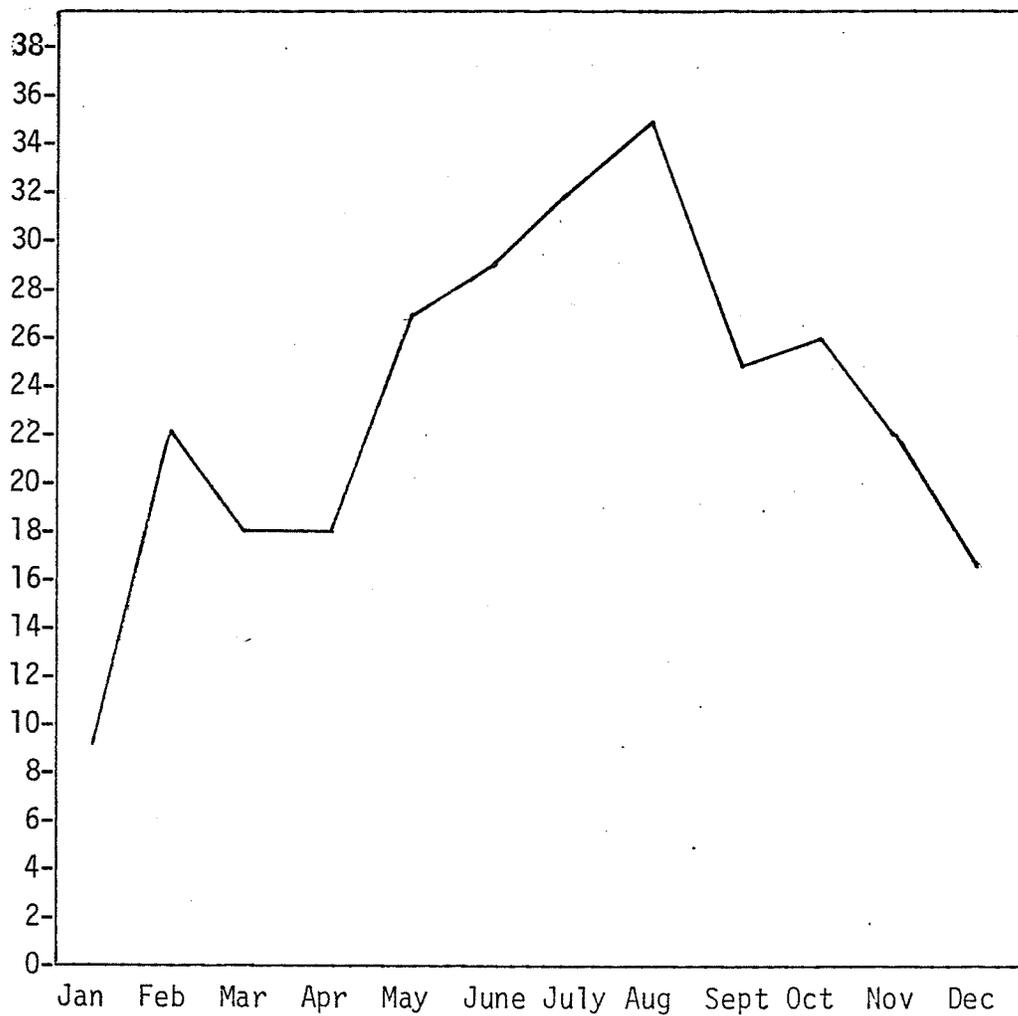


Table 14

Frequency Distribution of Rape Events by Month and Season in
Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975

<u>Month and Season</u>	<u>Rape Events</u>	
	No.	Per Cent
January	9	3.2
February	22	7.9
March	18	6.4
April	18	6.4
May	27	9.4
June	29	10.4
July	32	11.4
August	35	12.5
September	25	8.9
October	26	9.3
November	22	7.9
December	17	6.1
Total	280*	100.0
Summer (June, July, and August)	96	34.3
Fall (September, October and November)	73	26.1
Winter (December, January and February)	48	17.1
Spring (March, April and May)	63	22.5
Total	280*	100.0

*Information regarding month of occurrence was unavailable in the case files for 1 rape event.

The high concentration of rapes in the summer months is not surprising considering that 29.2 per cent of the rape events occurred outdoors. The warm weather brings about increased outdoor activity and interaction and an increased opportunity for the rape offender to meet his victim. This is evidenced by the fact that in 48.2 per cent of the rape events initial contacts between the victim and the offender were made outdoors. The decrease in outdoor activity in the cold weather probably accounts for the decrease in rape during the winter.

b) Day of the Week - A daily pattern of rape emerges from the available literature. The day of maximum incidence was found to be Saturday (Amir, 1971) while the day of lowest frequency has been reported as either Monday (Amir, 1971), Tuesday (Svalastoga, 1962) or Wednesday (Macdonald, 1975). As well, the highest concentration of rapes was found to be on the weekend. Amir (1971) reports that 53.3 per cent of the rapes in his Philadelphia study occurred on the weekend. Based on past research we would expect to find rape more prevalent on the weekend and particularly on Saturday.

Analysis of the Winnipeg data indicates that rapes most frequently occur on Saturday (24.1%). The day of lowest frequency was found to be Monday (8.3%). A high concentration of rapes occurred on the weekend with Friday, Saturday and Sunday accounting for 58.3 per cent of all rape events.

A daily distribution of rape events appears in Table 15.

Table 15

Frequency Distribution of Rape Events by Day of the Week in Winnipeg
Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975

<u>Day of the Week</u>	<u>Rape Events</u>	
	No.	Per Cent
Sunday	43	15.5
Monday	23	8.3
Tuesday	26	9.3
Wednesday	38	13.7
Thursday	29	10.4
Friday	52	18.7
Saturday	67	24.1
Total	278*	100.0
Weekend (Friday, Saturday and Sunday)	162	58.3

*Information regarding day of occurrence was not available in the case files for 3 rape events.

The increase in the number of rapes that occur over the weekend is, in all probability, due to the lifestyle that we have developed in our society. During the week days most people are occupied with some form of work or attending school. On the weekend, with an increased amount of leisure time, our habits change. We are typically engaged in more social activities such as attending parties, visiting friends, dating and drinking. These events allow for intensive interaction and the meeting of new people. As well, they often culminate in more intimate interaction which may lead to rape.

c) Hour of the Day - Previous studies of rape consistently note that the hours of darkness are the most dangerous for women. Among the two hundred women in Macdonald's (1975) Denver study, 53 per cent were raped in the six-hour period between 10 P.M. and 4 A.M. In Denmark, Svalastoga (1962) found that 67 per cent of the one hundred and forty-one cases of rape and attempted rape that he analyzed occurred between 10 P.M. and 4 A.M. Similarly, Amir (1971) reports that "the most perilous hours are between 8:00 P.M. and 2:00 A.M., when almost half of all cases of rape (49%) occur" (p. 84). The least dangerous period is reported by Amir to be between 8:00 A.M. and 2:00 P.M. (8.0%). On the basis of past research we would expect to find that rape is more likely to occur during the hours of darkness.

The present study confirms the contention that rape is primarily a nocturnal crime. The hours of greatest risk were found to

be between 8:00 P.M. and 1:59 A.M. Fifty-two per cent of the rapes occurred during these hours. The late morning and early afternoon hours (8:00 A.M. - 1:59 P.M.) were found to be relatively quiet with only 4.1 per cent of all rapes occurring during this time period.

A frequency distribution of rape events by time of occurrence is presented in Table 16.

Table 16

Frequency Distribution of Rape Events by Six-Hour Periods of the Day in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975

<u>Time of the Day</u>	<u>Rape Events</u>	
	No.	Per Cent
2:00 A.M. - 7:59 A.M.	78	29.1
8:00 A.M. - 1:59 P.M.	11	4.1
2:00 P.M. - 7:59 P.M.	39	14.6
8:00 P.M. - 1:59 A.M.	140	52.2
Total	268*	100.0

*Information concerning time of occurrence was unavailable in the case files for 13 rape events.

The high concentration of rape during the late evening and early morning hours corresponds closely to those hours which most people have for their leisure time. It is during these hours that most of our social activity occurs including drinking, dating and attending parties. These hours also correspond to the hours of darkness which effectively obstructs vision and the detection of deviant acts.

Spatial Characteristics of Rape

In this section an attempt will be made to show how the victim and the offender came into contact, the place of the initial contact and the subsequent location of the rape event. The type of movement from the place of initial contact to the place of the rape event will be traced and an attempt will be made to predict the place of occurrence by the interpersonal relationship between the victim and the offender.

a) Circumstances Surrounding the Initial Contact - The popular notion of the rapist waiting in the shadows for an unsuspecting woman to pass his way has been brought into question by recent rape research. The findings of such research clearly show that a substantial proportion of rape offenders have had some prior contact with their victims (Amir, 1971; Macdonald, 1975; and Svalastoga, 1962).

The present data indicate that only 19.2 per cent of the rape victims were attacked on the street, lane, park or in their garage.

However, another 8.9 per cent of the rape victims were abducted from the street or parking lot and taken in a vehicle to the location of the offence. The offender forced his way into and attacked the victim in her automobile in 2.1 per cent of the cases and 13.2 per cent of the rape events involved offenders who attacked in the victim's home after entering the premises forcibly or without the victim's knowledge. Together, these modes of initial contact accounted for 43.4 per cent of the two hundred and eighty-one rape events. All of the above circumstances represent instances in which the offender initiated contact with the victim, ie. the victim's involvement was largely involuntary.

In the remaining 56.6 per cent of the rape events the victim either initiated contact with the offender, agreed to entertain him in her home, or voluntarily accompanied him. In 10 per cent of all cases the victim accepted a ride offered to her by the offender and in another 4.3 per cent of the cases the victim solicited contact with the offender by hitchhiking. The victim and the offender were on a date or attending a party together in 16.7 per cent of the cases and 6.8 per cent of the rape events involved victims who agreed to accompany their offender after being introduced and drinking in a licensed premises. The victim went to the offender's residence for some reason in 6.4 per cent of the cases and the offender was invited or allowed to enter the victim's residence when she was alone in another 8.5 per cent. Finally, 2.5 per cent of the rape events involved individuals who lived in the

same residence and 1.4 per cent involved employers and employees after work at their place of business.

A frequency distribution of the circumstances surrounding the initial contact between victims and offenders is presented in Table 17.

Table 17

Frequency Distribution of Rape Events by Circumstances Surrounding the Initial Contact Between the Victim and Offender in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975

<u>Circumstances of Initial Contact</u>	<u>Rape Event</u>	
	No.	Per Cent
Victim Attacked on the Street, Lane, in the Park or in her Garage	54	19.2
Victim Abducted from the Street or Parking Lot	25	8.9
Victim Attacked in her Automobile	6	2.1
Victim's Home Forcibly Entered or Entered Without her Knowledge	37	13.2
Victim Accepted a Ride Offer	28	10.0
Victim Hitchhiking	12	4.3
Victim on a Date or Attending a Party	47	16.7
Victim Agreed to Accompany Offender After Drinking Together in a Licensed Premises	19	6.8
Victim Goes to Offender's Residence for Some Reason	18	6.4
Offender is Invited or Allowed into Victim's Residence	24	8.5
Participants Lived in Same Residence	7	2.5
Employer and Employee at Place of Business	4	1.4
Total	281	100.0

b) Place of Initial Contact - The circumstances surrounding the initial contact between victims and offenders, of course, define the meeting place where contact is made. Amir's (1971) research indicates that the most frequent meeting place is the street with 47.6 per cent of the initial contacts occurring while the victim is waiting for transportation, in front of a bar or walking on the street. The next most frequent meeting place, accounting for 34.6 per cent of initial contacts, was found to be the victim's residence or the place where she was staying. The offender's home was the place of initial contact for another 6.7 per cent of the rape events. Further, the tavern was found to account for 7.8 per cent, the park accounted for another .7 per cent and picnics or parties were the places of initial contact for the remaining 2.6 per cent of the rape events analyzed in Philadelphia. On the basis of this research we would expect outdoor locations to be the most prevalent places of initial contact between rape victims and offenders.

Analysis of the Winnipeg data uncovers a similar distribution of initial meeting places to what was found by Amir. Of the two hundred and eighty-one rape events included in the present study, 48.2 per cent of the initial contacts were made outdoors on the street or in an alley, 20.4 per cent were made in the victim's residence and 6.1 per cent of the initial contacts took place in the offender's residence.

Other indoor locations such as a residence other than the

victim's or the offender's, public buildings, restaurants, apartment hallways and places of employment, were the locations of initial contact between victims and offenders in another 10.7 per cent of the cases. Finally, licensed premises saw the initial contact of the offender and his victim in 14.6 per cent of the rape events.

A frequency distribution of the places of initial contact between the victim and the offender appears in Table 18.

Table 18

Frequency Distribution of Rape Events by the Place of Initial Contact Between Victims and Offenders in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975

<u>Place of Initial Contact</u>	<u>Rape Event</u>	
	No.	Per Cent
Outdoor	135	48.2
Victim's Residence	57	20.4
Offender's Residence	17	6.1
Other Indoor Location	30	10.7
Licensed Premises	41	14.6
Total	280*	100.0

*Information concerning the place of initial contact was unavailable in the case files for 1 rape event.

c) Place of the Offence - Analysis of the data up to this point indicates that a sizable proportion of initial contacts between victims and their offenders take place on the street, in an alley or in other outdoor locations. There are, however, certain places which afford more privacy and offer more protection from intrusion and interruption during the actual commission of the rape itself. By reason of physical barriers (like walls) and the absence of intruding others, some physical locations may be considered as more or less "safe places" to commit rape.

Past research on rape seems to support this logic by showing that the vast majority of rapes take place indoors or in a motor vehicle (Macdonald, 1975; and Amir, 1971). Research by Amir and Macdonald indicate that 82.2 per cent and 84 per cent of the rape events respectively, occurred in the participants' residences, in some other indoor location or in automobiles or trucks. Based on this research we would expect to find that rape is more likely to take place indoors or in a motor vehicle than in outdoor locations.

The present research found 70.8 per cent of the rape events to have taken place indoors or in a motor vehicle. This 70.8 per cent consisted of rapes occurring in the victim's residence (22.4%), in the offender's residence (12.8%), in other indoor locations (12.1%), and in motor vehicles (23.5%). The remaining 29.2 per cent of the rape events occurred on public streets, alleys, public parks, parking lots or open fields.

A frequency distribution of the places of rape appears in Table 19.

Table 19

Frequency Distribution of Rape Events by Place of Occurrence in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975

<u>Place of Occurrence</u>	<u>Rape Event</u>	
	No.	Per Cent
Victim's Residence	63	22.4
Offender's Residence	36	12.8
Other Indoor Location	34	12.1
Motor Vehicle	66	23.5
Outdoor	82	29.2
Total	281	100.0

Since offenders do not usually rape their victims in licensed premises or outdoors on the public street, a change of location from the place of initial contact to the place of the offence often occurs. This was found to be the case in several previous studies (Amir, 1971; Macdonald, 1975; and Svalastoga, 1962). Analysis of the Winnipeg data also indicated that a large number of reported rapes underwent a shift in location. By comparing Tables 18 and 19 it can be seen that initial contacts which were made in licensed premises or in outdoor locations, such as the street, moved to the residences of the victim or the offender, other indoor locations, or to a motor vehicle as the location where the offence actually occurred.

The present study provides a detailed analysis of the movements which occurred before the actual rape episode. In 31.2 per cent of the two hundred and fifteen rape events where movement occurred after initial contact, the offender transported his victim by a motor vehicle to the location where the offence occurred. The offender followed his victim in a motor vehicle or on foot and then attacked her in an outdoor location or in her own vehicle in another 5.6 per cent of the cases. The victim was dragged, pulled or pushed from one location to another location outdoors in 18.6 per cent and the same type of involuntary movement occurred indoors in 16.7 per cent of the rape events. Finally, the victim's movement with the offender from one location to another was voluntary in the remaining 27.9 per cent of the rape episodes. These cases

included victims and offenders who were in each other's company, on a date or visiting with friends prior to the actual offence.

A frequency distribution of the type of movement which occurred between victims and offenders appears in Table 20.

Table 20

Frequency Distribution of Rape Events by the Type of Movement which Occurred Between the Participants After Initial Contact Was Made in Winnipeg, Manitoba for the Years 1966-1975

<u>Type of Movement</u>	<u>Rape Event</u>	
	No.	Per Cent
Victim Transported by Vehicle to Rape Location	67	31.2
Victim Followed, Then Attacked	12	5.6
Victim Dragged, Pulled or Pushed Outdoors	40	18.6
Victim Dragged, Pulled or Pushed Indoors	36	16.7
Victim and Offender in Each Other's Company	60	27.9
Total	215*	100.0

*Information pertaining to movement after initial contact between the victim and the offender was absent from 66 cases.

In an effort to be able to predict the place where the rape event will occur, Amir (1971) hypothesized that the closer the relationship between the victim and the offender, the greater will be the proportion of rapes committed indoors. Analysis of the Philadelphia data supported this hypothesis.

A similar test was made in the present study. The degree of intimacy between the victim and the offender was hypothesized to be directly related to the degree of privacy offered by the place where the rape event occurred. It was reasoned that the residence of either participant or some other indoor location would offer the most privacy to an act of rape. A motor vehicle was considered to offer a certain degree of privacy but not as much as an indoor location. Finally rapes committed outdoors were considered to benefit from the least amount of privacy and protection from intrusion.

Analysis of the Winnipeg data lends additional support to Amir's hypothesis. It was found that a strong positive association ($\text{Gamma}=.54$) exists between the degree of privacy offered by the place where the rape event took place and the degree of intimacy between the individuals who were involved in the offence. This means that when the victim and the offender are close friends, family friends or relatives, the rape event is more likely to occur in the residence of one of the participants or in some other indoor location. Conversely, when the victim and the offender are strangers the rape event is more likely to occur outdoors (Table 21).

Given the fact that a particular residence is more likely to be accessible to someone who is known than to a stranger, this finding was to be expected.

Table 21

Degree of Privacy Offered by the Place Where the Rape Event Occurred by the Degree of Intimacy Between the Victim and the Offender

<u>Degree of Privacy</u>	<u>Degree of Intimacy</u>			
	<u>None</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Most</u>	
	Strangers or Strangers but General Knowledge	Acquaintances Business Associates or Neighbours	Close Friend, Family Friend, Ex/Boyfriend or Relative	
<u>Most</u> - Victim's Res., Offender's Res. or Some Other Indoor Location	77	31	25	133
<u>Some</u> - Motor Vehicle	59	5	2	66
<u>Least</u> - Outdoor Locations	70	8	4	82
Total	206	44	31	281

Gamma = .54

Conclusions

In this chapter various features of the setting of rape were analyzed. The two most basic questions which were addressed concerned the times when rape was most likely to occur and the places where rape was most likely to be committed. Several patterns emerged indicating the temporal and spatial organization of rape.

First, it was found that the frequency of reported rape tends to increase in the spring, reaching a peak in the summer months. The frequency of reported rape then tends to decrease during the fall reaching a low point in the winter. Winnipeg's annual cycle of weather conditions, in part, accounts for this monthly pattern. The cold and harsh winter weather conditions in Winnipeg would effectively deter outdoor incidents of rape. However, the increase in temperature during the summer months and its decrease during the winter also corresponds closely to increases and decreases in general activity levels during the year. Increased social activity during the summer would provide an increased opportunity for offenders to make contact with their victims.

It was also found that rape tends to be more prevalent during the days of the week and the hours of the day that we have set aside for our leisure activity. The data in the present study indicated that rape was more likely to occur on the weekend and during the late evening and early morning hours. It is during these times that people are more likely to be involved in social activities such as dating, attending parties, drinking in hotels and

visiting with friends. Not surprisingly, these were also found to be the kinds of activities which led to the initial contact between victims and offenders. As well, travelling to and from these kinds of activities resulted in the initial contact between the participants of rape in a sizable number of cases.

The initial contact between victims and offenders most often occurred outdoors. This finding was consistent with the fact that rape victims and offenders were usually strangers. On the other hand, outdoor locations were the least likely places for the occurrence of rape. This conclusion follows from the fact that the street or alley offers the least amount of protection from detection of this act and that the initial contact between victims and offenders was more likely to be voluntary than imposed by the offender. The place of occurrence of rape was also found to be contingent upon the interpersonal relationship between the victim and the offender. To wit, with increasing amounts of intimacy between the victim and the offender the location of the rape event was more likely to be one which offered a greater degree of privacy from intrusion and interruption.

CHAPTER VI

A SITUATIONAL ACCOUNT OF RAPE

Introduction

As noted previously, the study of criminal behavior can be examined from either of two different perspectives. One approach concentrates on the processes operating in the earlier history of the criminal and is accordingly termed "historical" or "genetic" (Sutherland and Cressey, 1974: 74). This type of explanation views criminality as the behavioral outcome of such factors as biological inheritance or a faulty learning process, ie. the learning of definitions favorable to law violation. The other perspective is a "situational" or "mechanistic" one, and assumes the causal processes operating in some instances of criminality to be the outgrowth of events that are closely connected in location and time to the criminal act (Gibbons, 1971: 270). The historical or genetic explanation accounts for the motivation to engage in criminal activity and the situational approach focuses on the processes operating at the moment of the occurrence of crime.

In the past, attention was centered on the historical type of explanation to the relative neglect of the importance of criminogenic situations. Sutherland argued that the opportunity to commit a criminal act was provided by the objective situation. However, different individuals would define the situation differently; some seeing the situation as conducive to criminality and others

not. Therefore, it was reasoned that only individuals motivated to engage in criminal behavior would do so when confronted by particular situations (Sutherland and Cressey, 1974: 74-75). Sutherland adhered to this logic and directed criminological theorizing along the path of historical explanation with his formulation of differential association theory.

Gibbons (1973), however, points out that the assumption of motivation inside the actor need not be a prerequisite for criminal behavior. "Many offenders may not be any more motivated to engage in criminality than non-offenders. Their law breaking behavior may arise out of some combination of situational pressures and circumstances, along with opportunities for criminality, which are totally outside the actor" (Gibbons, 1973: 219). Gibbons recognizes the importance of genetic or historical factors in some instances of criminality but adds that they are not always implicated in crime causation. "In many cases, criminality may be a response to nothing more than provocations and attractions bound up in the immediate circumstances out of which deviant acts arise" (Gibbons, 1973: 220).

Generally speaking, in selecting the historical or genetic approach one must assume that behavior is caused - that there are forces or pressures arising from an individual's past history that pattern his behavior in an almost predetermined way. To select the situational approach is to assume that behavior is facilitated through the presence or occurrence of events which make a particu-

lar action more or less likely. In the former case, only certain individuals are seen as capable of, say, criminal behavior by possessing that combination of past experiences which would make such behavior possible. On the other hand, a situational view sees every individual as potentially capable of criminal behavior. The expression of such behavior is contingent upon the proper kind and sequence of antecedent events in the individual's immediate social environment. These events would combine in an additive fashion to facilitate or increase the probability of the occurrence of a particular behavior.

Instances of criminality which are amenable to historical explanation are numerous. They usually account for the particular criminal career pattern of the offender. Certain other forms of criminality, though, are comprised mainly of situational inducements, with little to be understood from close inspection of the individual's past development. Behaviors such as certain types of deviant sexual conduct involving exhibitionism, voyeurism or pronounced sexually aggressive acts are best analyzed from an historical perspective. Gagnon and Simon suggest that the causes of these behaviors stem from the peculiar family and personality structure rather than from contingencies of the social structure (1967: 9). Situational elements, however, have primacy when the concatenation of events immediately preceding the criminal act are required in order for the act to take place. For example, Liebow (1967) reports on the marked increase of burglary and other

property crimes during the winter when Negro construction workers are laid off and turn to crime in order to make a living. Gibbons comments that "little in that report suggests that criminality is a preferred pattern of behavior, that these persons are favorable to law violation, or that their law breaking is the outgrowth of a lengthy genetic process of differential socialization" (1973: 220). Another example of situationally induced crime is provided by Lemert's (1953) examination of naive check forgers. He finds contingencies such as unemployment, business failure, gambling losses, dishonorable discharge or desertion from the armed forces, and mental conflict all to figure prominently in the case histories of naive check forgers. These contingencies do not cause forgery, Lemert maintains, as others faced with similar crises do not commit crimes. They merely provide the initial conditions which isolate persons from conventional social controls and offer deviant alternatives as a way out of an untenable situation.

Along the same lines, Geller reports that "both the opportunity to commit a sexual offence and the availability of a female victim are the salient etiological variables that determine the occurrence of a sexual offence" (1977: 27). During the 1974 Toronto Transit Strike, Geller found that while the total number of sexual offences against females remained unchanged, the number of sexual offences against female hitchhikers increased nine times.

In this case, the twenty-three day transit strike prompted an increase in female hitchhiking which in turn affected the par-

ticular method by which victims were contacted.

From the preceding examples it can be seen that some types of criminal behavior are best explained by using an historical or genetic approach to causation while others appear to be the result of criminogenic situations. Gibbons (1971) notes that the problem is not one of an either-or choice between genetic or situational processes in understanding the causes of crime. Rather, an attempt has to be made to explicate those relationships where genetic factors dominate, those where situational components are decisive, and those where the two influences converge to produce the offensive behavior. Some work has been done regarding the conjunctive approach. For example, Lofland and Stark (1965) in their analysis of conversion to a "deviant perspective", recognize several predisposing conditions which form a pool of deviant perspective converts. With these identified, they go on to show the situational contingencies that lead to the successful recruitment of persons predisposed to the deviant perspective enterprise. Predisposed individuals, apart from the situational inducements, will not necessarily choose the deviant route and likewise the situational conditions are not sufficient to bring about conversion. It is the combination of these factors which results in conversion to a deviant religious perspective.

With regard to rape, the historical or genetic type of explanation has been supported by several research findings. These findings suggest that rape is the result of peculiar social and psych-

ological background experiences of the offender: poor marital ties (Gillin, 1946), early alienation from familial bonds (Gebhard, et. al., 1965), past criminal and sexually offensive behavior (Amir, 1971), class linked toleration of violence with a disposition to display force (Gibbons, 1973), relatively low intelligence (Gillin, 1946; Guttmacher, 1951; and Ellis and Brancale, 1956), neurotic character disorder (Guttmacher, 1951; and Ellis and Brancale, 1956), and feelings of sexual inadequacy (Gebhard, et. al., 1965). These are just a few of the characterizations implicated through historical or genetic delineations of rape. This type of explanation has located the causal nexus of rape within the rapist. By focusing primarily on the offender, in isolation from the victim, and to the exclusion of the circumstances of their interaction and other situational arrangements, such explanations have led to the popular notion of the sex fiend who lurks in the shadows waiting for the opportunity to attack an unsuspecting victim. While it is recognized that this type of rape does occur, the situation is an atypical one.

A purely situational account of rape is more difficult to envision. In formulating a situational explanation of the act, the responsibility for rape must now be shifted from the offender and his motives to the immediate social circumstances in which he is found. In making this move the onus is often attached to the rape victim. Psychodynamic theory relieves the offender of blame by suggesting that the female victim of rape intentionally or unconsciously invites the sexual attack by behaving seductively, thus

tempting the offender to commit the offence (Gregory, 1968). While the psychodynamic explanation does not have empirical support, a branch within criminology, called victimology, recognizes that it is not always the offender alone who is to be blamed and condemned as responsible for the offence. Sometimes the victim can be said to have precipitated the offence. Victimization studies have observed that the victim, by her relationship to the offender and by her behavior, can often create a criminogenic situation. Sometimes, however, victimology also over emphasizes the victim's share of responsibility. In the leading study of rape, Amir contends that "If the victim is not solely responsible for what becomes the unfortunate event, at least she is often a complementary factor" (1967: 493).

The actual term, "victim precipitation," was coined by Wolfgang (1958) in his study of criminal homicide in Philadelphia. The definition of victim-precipitated homicide used by Wolfgang saw "...the role of the victim (as) characterized by his having been the first in the homicide drama to use physical force directed against the subsequent slayer" (1958: 252).

Amir (1971) introduced the term "victim-precipitated rape." However, unlike the victims of homicide to which Wolfgang was referring, the rape victims in Amir's study who were said to have precipitated the offence were not the first to introduce the element of coercion. Amir extends the definition of victim precipitation to refer to:

Those cases of rape in which the victim actually, or so it was deemed, agreed to sexual relations but retracted before the actual act or did not react strongly enough when the suggestion was made by the offender(s). The term also applies to cases in risky situations marred with sexuality, especially when she uses what could be construed as indecency in language and gestures, or constitutes what could be taken as an invitation to sexual relations (1971: 220).

Using this definition, Amir found nineteen per cent of the six hundred and forty-six cases he analyzed to be victim-precipitated while Mulvihill et al. (1969), using the same definition, found only four per cent of the cases they reviewed to be victim-precipitated. In a study by the National Commission on the Cause and Prevention of Violence, Curtis (1974) used a definition of victim precipitation similar to Amir's. Victim-precipitated rape was defined as "...a situation ending in forced intercourse where a female first agreed to sexual relations, or clearly invited them verbally and through gestures, but then retracted before the act" (Curtis, 1974: 87-88). Application of this definition revealed that victim precipitation occurred in 2 to 4 per cent of the cases in the data collected.

It can be argued that these definitions of victim precipitation favor the offender. The offence can be said to have been victim-precipitated simply by the situational context in which the rape occurs. Another problem has been that of accurate replication. The differences in the incidence of victim precipitation in these situations could be attributed to institutional filters. Each police department has its own bias towards a complaint of rape and it is entirely possible that this bias could enter and colour a rape re-

port. This could result in their filing more reports which could be construed as precipitative.

These considerations obscure the possibility of making an epidemiological generalization about victim precipitated rape. In the present study, however, efforts were made to improve upon the definition of victim-precipitated rape by including the victim's and the offender's perception of the encounter and by avoiding the possibility of certain situational contexts per se being interpreted as precipitative. The term was also redefined to circumvent the possibility of cultural differences accounting for a differential perception of victim precipitation.¹

In the present study, victim-precipitated rape referred to those complaints in which the reported victim gave some indication that she felt partly responsible, deserving, or that she shared the blame for what had happened. The offender's statement to the police also had to contain some indication that he perceived the victim to have put herself in a vulnerable and tempting situation. Finally, the circumstances surrounding the offence had to substantiate claims of mutual responsibility for the act.

Of the two hundred and eighty-one rape cases in the present study twenty-six (9.2%) met the criteria set out above. In all of these cases the victim was implicated as being partly responsible

1. In an examination of the concept of victim precipitation, Silverman (1973) also cautions against the effects that cultural differences may have on the perception of victim precipitation.

for the offence both by herself and by the offender. The circumstances which gave rise to these cases were found to be similar to the ones described by other research. In the majority of cases the victim was being overly friendly with, or enticing, the offender. Several victims initially agreed to have intercourse with the offender but later retracted for a variety of reasons and some victims reported being out to get "picked-up." In the remaining cases which were judged to have been precipitated by the victim, the victim was found to be unclothed or had removed her clothing prior to the threat of rape.

Despite the fact that roughly 9 per cent of the rape cases analyzed in this study represented situations in which the victim's behavior was partly accountable for the offence, the bulk of rape incidents are left unexplained. Consideration of a dual approach, concentrating on both historical attributes of the offender and a broader range of situational inducements, may be of value in explaining the large residual category of this offence. Clearly not all rape offenders are pathological or somehow deranged nor are all victims of rape the seductive instigators of this crime. These accounts occur too infrequently to be of much value in formulating a general explanation of rape.

A model which appears to provide a more fruitful explanation of rape has been suggested by Lofland (1969). Lofland's approach to the study of deviant behavior is a conjunctive one which accounts for individual proclivities toward deviance and the facilitative

(or inhibitory) effect that situational factors can have on the expression of deviant behavior. A formal test of Lofland's theory cannot, however, be made with the available data. Nevertheless, the relevance of including situational contingencies in an explanation of rape can be demonstrated. After a brief summary of Lofland's theory, the importance of situational factors in explaining rape will be discussed by referring to some of the findings of the present research.

A Conjunctive Approach to the Study of Deviance

According to Lofland (1969), there are two broad classes of deviant acts; those which are a defensive response to perceived threat and those which are sought out of adventure. An assumption upon which this theory is based is that there exists optimum levels of excitation among man.² When threat or its possibility is experienced by man and when the resulting fear becomes overwhelming or unmanagable he seeks to reduce it. Similarly, man acts so as to increase threat or its possibility should it fall below a certain level. It is also recognized that individuals differ in their propensity to define events as threatening or to define their life circumstances as in need of excitement. Those who have low self-esteem, ie. those who are insecure of their social

2. The research in this area has been summarized by Hebb and Thompson (1968). These authors contend that the phenomenon of optimum excitation extends not only to man but also to vertebrates in general and to mammals and primates in particular.

worth, would be more likely to define a larger number of occurrences as threatening. Individuals with strictly programmed lives without the opportunity for conventional adventure and individuals with loosely organized lives with the most opportunity for conventional adventure would have the greatest capacity for adventurous orientations.

Although our capacities for defensive deviant acts and adventurous deviant acts differ, the expression of deviance is said to be primarily a response to immediately occurring events. Deviance does not occur in direct response to threat or boredom but is possible only through the occurrence of the proper combination or sequence of proximate events. As the individual experiences the proper concatenation of these events his range of possible alternative behavior is narrowed. Lofland remarks that "the theoretical imagery involved is that of a funnel with numerous holes at the top and fewer holes toward the bottom. As the fluid moves through the funnel, there is enormous initial slippage or loss (alternatives) but rapidly decreasing loss (a decrease of alternatives) as the fluid moves downward" (1969: 42).

Three sequential and culminating phases of an individual's subjective experience most strongly facilitate the occurrence of a defensive deviant act. These phases have been called threat, encapsulation and closure. Corresponding phases called the adventurous orientation, enchantment and closure are said to lead to an adventurous deviant act. The phase of this model which is of prime concern and

which can be dealt with in some depth with the available data is the closure phase. It is during this phase that situational features of the physical and social environment become imperative in the explanation of deviant behavior and consequently of rape.

Having been brought to a state where his range of conventional alternative forms of behavior have been restricted, the individual is faced with a set of circumstances which will either allow or prevent a deviant response. The individual is not believed to have a preference for deviant behavior per se, he has only a preference for the most effective and efficient solution to the threat or boredom which he is experiencing. The conditions or facilitants of closure upon a deviant act are the contingencies which would make possible the expression of deviance from all available acts as a general class.

Closure Upon a Deviant Act: Rape

The facilitants of closure upon a deviant act have been identified as routine things such as the time of day, physical places, physical objects or hardware, Others and the Actor himself. Each of these considerations emphasize the situational character of deviant acts. In the sections which follow, an examination of the facilitants of closure upon a deviant act will be made with specific reference to rape and the decision to commit such an offense.

a) Facilitating Times - The crime of rape is of a particularly surreptitious nature due to, among other things, the potentially severe legal penalties involved. It is conceivable, then, that the

presence (or absence) of certain situationally structured arrangements could encourage (or discourage) the commission of rape. Privacy coupled with a low risk of intrusion and interruption would appear to be important preconditions facilitating the occurrence of rape. The time of day and the locality of the actors could provide the privacy needed to commit the act and could minimize the possibility of disclosure. We would, therefore, expect the evening and early morning hours to be most conducive to rape occurring outdoors or in a motor vehicle by virtue of the visual concealment offered by darkness at these times. This assumption was confirmed in the present study. The Winnipeg data indicated that the rape event was more likely to take place during the evening and early morning hours (8:00 P.M. - 7:59 A.M.) when the location of the offense was outdoors or in a motor vehicle than when it occurred indoors. The association between these variables was found to be quite strong (Yule's $Q=.54$). Commensurate with the decreased visibility that accompanies darkness, the daily cycle of outdoor interaction decreases in the late evening and does not recommence until mid-morning. This provides the opportunity for secretive acts to go unnoticed and uninterrupted.

With reference to indoor episodes of rape, concealment by darkness is not as important. However, evening and early morning hours may accompany the type of interaction which precedes the actual rape event. In the present study it was found that 81.3 per cent of the initial contacts between victims and offenders occur-

red between the hours of 8:00 P.M. and 7:59 A.M. Dates, parties, social visits, entertainment events and hotel drinking typically occur during the evening and were found to be the location of initial contact and interaction in 38.4 per cent of the rape cases in this study. Moreover, travelling to and from these sorts of activities could lead to the initial contact between rape victims and offenders. A considerable number of rape cases involved women who accepted rides from strangers, female hitchhikers and women who were followed home from a late night event. Many of these cases were also found to result in more intimate interaction occurring indoors or in a motor vehicle commensurate with late evening or mid-morning hours.

b) Facilitating Places - There are clearly certain places which afford more privacy and offer more protection from intrusion and interruption during the performance of an act of rape. By reason of physical barriers (like walls) or the regular absence of others, even if there are few or no obstacles to vision and action, a physical location may be considered as more or less conducive to rape. Places such as the home with no others present, motor vehicles parked in secluded spots, desolate and rural areas, and alleys, streets, or vacant lots at night could all be considered as private and unobtrusive locations which facilitate the commission of rape and reduce the risk of intrusion. The most private and unobtrusive of these locations would appear to be the residence of the victim or the offender, or some other residence. In the present study

these were found to be the most likely places for rape, accounting for 47.3 per cent of the rape events.

The location most conducive to a particular rape event would depend to a great extent upon the interpersonal relationship which exists between the victim and the offender. Here, a qualification as to whether the offender is a stranger or known to the victim must be made. As varying degrees of previous interaction are met with a roughly linear increase in trust between two persons, pre-established role relationships of a personal nature would allow for easier access into someone's home. Strangers, however, are typically received with apprehension. As a consequence, we are more likely to allow those we know into our homes than those who are strangers.³ The Winnipeg data supports this logic indicating that a rape event was twice as likely to occur in the victim's or the offender's residence when the participants were known to each other (56.0%) than when they were strangers (27.7%).

In the situation where the victim and the offender are strangers, the offender's home would scarcely be considered as the best location for committing rape. His identity could easily be revealed through identifying the home in which the offense took place unless, of course, the victim was blindfolded or in such a state

3. A woman may feel "safe" if she can define a man as trustworthy. This is likely to be the case if the man stands in some kind of personal relationship to her in which she can assume that he would play the role of male protector. A woman may also feel secure with a man if his presence can be explained in terms of some

(cont.)

where recollection would be doubtful, ie. unconscious or intoxicated. The victim's place of residence could be considered an ideal location for rape under certain circumstances. Her home would have to be accessible to the offender (a relationship of familiarity being an asset) and free of intruding others. In an episode of rape between strangers which occurs in the victim's home, the absence of locks, unlocked or poorly locked doors and open or poorly bolted windows were found to enhance the victim's vulnerability to break and entry. These data would suggest that the offender breaks and enters the victim's home with the specific intention to rape. This, however, was not always the case. It would appear that rape is one of the occupational correlates of burglary. The opportunity to rape was not refused in 5.3 per cent Winnipeg rape cases where the offender's initial intention was to rob the victim of money or other possessions.

The situation where the victim lives alone or where there are no others present in the household is another factor which facilitates the occurrence of rape. The Winnipeg data indicates that the victim lived alone in 50.8 per cent of the cases which occurred in the victim's residence. Not only during the commission of a crime would the absence of others be advantageous to the offender, this condition was often inspected prior to forced

official role which he plays (eg. public utility man, repair man or delivery man) which should assure her of safety because the situation is defined in nonsexual terms.

entry into the victim's home. In such cases, previous knowledge of the victim's vulnerability was found to favor the decision to commit rape.

A residence other than that of the victim or the offender would also be considered safe by virtue of the protection it offers from visibility of the act. In this situation we may be confident in assuming that at least one of the rape participants will know the occupants of the residence, but previous knowledge of each other is not necessary.

A motor vehicle parked in a secluded spot as the site for rape would be less contingent upon a relationship of familiarity between the victim and the offender. This would be so particularly where the victim was hitchhiking or where she accepted a ride offer from a passing motorist. In these situations, since neither of the participants are likely to know each other, it is doubtful that the rape will take place in either the victim's or the offender's residence. In the present study it was found that, of the forty cases where the victim was hitchhiking or where she accepted a ride offer from a passing motorist, none of the rapes occurred in the victim's residence and only four occurred in the offender's residence. The victim typically has a destination in mind, however, the offender can decide to take her wherever he pleases without her consent. Again, the most protected location for rape in this situation would be some secluded place or a desolate rural area, away from ongoing pedestrian and vehicular traffic.

Whether the actual rape episode takes place in the vehicle or outside on the ground may depend upon the size of the vehicle, the amount of protection offered by the particular site, or a compromise between the participants.

In the situation where the victim accepts a ride offer or asks for a ride from a friend of a new acquaintance, there is considerably more latitude as to the location of the rape event. With the heightened element of trust as a result of previous interaction, the participants may go to one of their residences. However, if there is some disagreement over the desire for further interaction, these situations may take on the character described for stranger episodes.

The street, alley, vacant lot, or car park, at night and free of ongoing traffic, are most often the locations of rape between strangers or those with a minimal amount of previous interaction. Of those cases in the present study which took place in these locations, 85.4 per cent occurred between strangers and only 14.6 per cent occurred between individuals who were known to each other. These locations offer the least amount of protection from detection and intrusion, and would not have been selected as the site for rape had there been the opportunity for intimate interaction at some more private locale. These situations typically include a victim walking or driving to some destination with the offender following on foot or by car. When the victim is accosted in these situations it is often associated with limited prior contact or

interaction where the offender's attempts to sustain contact failed or were thwarted by the victim. In an effort to re-establish contact the offender often follows the victim. Usually some form of nonsexual advance will be made by the offender (asking for directions or the time) before the situation results in a sexual episode. Rarely does the rape offender wait for an unspecified victim to pass his way.

In addition to the structural arrangements germane to the type of victim-offender relationship, the ideal rape situation would include a minimum chance for the victim to escape or to summon help (Weis and Weis, 1975). This may radically effect the outcome of a sexual attack in terms of whether it results in success or failure, ie. a completed rape or an attempted rape. As cries for assistance and efforts to escape would be relatively ineffective indoors when no other persons are present or in a motor vehicle, we would expect to find a higher proportion of completed rapes in these situations. On the other hand, the relative lack of structural protection offered by the street, alley or some other outdoor location would be more conducive to such circumvention and intrusion by threatening others. The Winnipeg data reveal that there is a moderate association (Yule's $Q=.26$) between the place of the offense and the success or failure of the sexual attack. A case was found to have been one and one-half times more likely to result in an attempted rape than a completed rape when the offender attacked his victim on the street

or in some other outdoor location.

c) Facilitating Hardware - Many deviant acts require elaborate physical accoutrements or hardware for their commission. The absence or unavailability of such hardware greatly reduces the likelihood of these acts occurring. Deviant acts requiring no such hardware are ipso facto highly facilitated. Rape, for example, requires little in the way of physical objects for its commission. Physical objects such as knives,⁴ however, are often used by the offender but they are not necessary in a technical sense. Unfortunately, the kinds of implements most often used to secure compliance from victims of rape are routinely available to would-be offenders.

Although not technically necessary, another type of hardware which greatly facilitates the commission of rape is the motor vehicle. Motor vehicles were found to be used by a substantial proportion of rape offenders in the present study for purposes of following and initiating contact with the victim, supplying a relatively well protected place for the act itself, and as a means of quick and efficient departure after completion of the act. In fact, one offender who was accused of committing several rapes ap-

4. Weapons were used by the offender to secure compliance and cooperation from the victim in sixty-one (21.7%) of the two hundred and eighty-one rape events in the present study. The weapon most often used was a knife (18.1%). The offender carried a gun in four cases and threatened to use or used beer bottle glass or a club in another two cases each. In one case a chain was used and in another the offender threatened his victim with a hatchet.

peared to have customized his van for that specific purpose. Equipped with a mattress and with the passenger's inside door handle removed, female hitchhikers found themselves at his mercy.

d) Facilitating Others - The question of concern under this rubric relates to the way in which Others conduct themselves so as to facilitate the occurrence of rape. By definition, the minimum requirement for an act of heterosexual rape to occur is the presence of one male and one female. However, the presence of more than one male could understandably lessen any resistance offered by the rape victim. In the present study it was found that 20.0 per cent of the rape events involved more than one offender. The effect of the confederates in these episodes was to keep the victim subdued and compliant. Perhaps this would explain the finding that victims sustain fewer injuries following an episode of group rape (Amir, 1971).

The presence of others in addition to the victim and the offender could also have an impact upon the offender's decision to commit rape. The offender may even have friends who actively encourage such behavior. This appeared to be the case in several incidents of group rape in the present study. Confederates in these episodes were not always willing participants but often had to be coaxed and sometimes coerced to take part in the rape. The offender may also have the possibility for rape pointed out to him. In the present study it was not uncommon to find that the offender had been informed of the victim's vulnerability to rape in advance

of the actual incident.

This leads to the facilitating effect that rape victims can have on their own victimization. It is simply untrue to say that all women are equally prone to becoming victims of rape. In fact, women who have been instructed in the art of self-defense or who are physically stronger than their attackers are almost immune to sexual assaults. Most women, however, are weaker in terms of physical strength than most men. Nevertheless, this fact does not consign women to the role of victim. Efforts to resist the threat of rape have proven to be effective in a large number of cases.⁵

In an effort to determine how successful reported victims were in resisting their assailants, the impact of resistance efforts on the outcome of the sexual attack was analyzed. It was hypothesized that greater efforts to resist the attack would result in an increased chance of the attack resulting in an attempted rape as opposed to a completed rape. In testing this hypothesis, reported victims who were rendered helpless by their assailants and victims who were judged to be too young to fully realize the offender's intentions⁶ were excluded from the analysis.

Analysis of the Winnipeg data strongly supported the hypothesis that there would be an increased chance of a sexual attack resulting

-
5. There is reason to believe that the proportion of attempted rapes or sexual attacks which were successfully resisted by the victim is much greater than was found in the present study. Information from rape crisis centers suggests that attempted rapes are less likely to be reported to the police than completed rapes.
 6. This age requirement was arbitrarily set to exclude victims who were nine years of age or younger.

in an attempted rape where greater efforts were made by the victim to resist the attack. The association between these variables was found to be very strong ($\text{Gamma}=.70$). An inspection of this relationship indicates that where the encounter resulted in a completed rape, the victim was more likely to have submitted to her assailant (96.5%) than to have fought with him (57.4%). Where the encounter resulted in an attempted rape, the victim was more likely to have put up a strong fight against the attacker (42.6%) than to have submitted (3.5%).

Women, however are not accustomed to behaving in a physically aggressive manner. Passivity is more likely to be engrained by their sex role socialization. Another hindrance to advocating retaliatory behavior is that efforts to resist an attack of rape may evoke an increased amount of violence on the offender's part and may result in the victim sustaining greater physical injury. In order to test this assumption it was hypothesized that the victim would receive more severe injury as her efforts to resist the sexual attack increased. It was further reasoned that this relationship would vary according to the outcome of the encounter between the victim and the offender. To wit, a second hypothesis was that the association between the victim's reaction to the threat of rape and the severity of injury sustained by her would be stronger where efforts to resist the sexual attack failed and a completed rape resulted.

Analysis of the Winnipeg data supports these hypotheses show-

ing moderately strong associations between the degree of resistance offered by the victim and the severity of injury sustained by her for completed rape cases ($\text{Gamma}=.34$) and for attempted rape cases ($\text{Gamma}=.31$). Rape victims were likely to suffer more severe injury when their efforts to resist the rape attack became more vigorous. Victims were also more likely to suffer more severe injury when their efforts to resist the rape attack failed.

From the preceding analyses it appears that the victim can be effective in deterring rape. If the victim is able to offer resistance it would be to her advantage to lodge an all-out counter attack in order to increase her chances of preventing undesired intercourse. However, by doing so the victim is more likely to sustain physical injury. If her efforts to resist the offender fail, she faces an even greater chance of being physically injured.

Other factors, in addition to physical strength and sex role socialization, seem to make some women more vulnerable to rape than others. Factors of special vulnerability for the victim were found to be present in 35.9 per cent of the rape cases. The most commonly encountered factors included living alone (31.7%), being very young or very old (24.8%), being mentally retarded or otherwise mentally handicapped (10.9%), and being intoxicated (9.9%). For many of the victims special vulnerability was a temporary state. Very young victims do, in most cases, eventually grow up and intoxicated victims eventually sober up. Night workers could obtain daytime employment, and those who live alone could change

their living arrangements. For others, factors such as blindness, paralysis or mental retardation are usually permanent and make those so afflicted subject to many kinds of harm throughout their lives.

The notion of victim precipitation also becomes important in this context. It will be recalled that in the present study this term referred to cases in which the victim was implicated as being partly responsible for the rape event both by herself and by the offender. Clearly, these cases present situations in which the victim has behaved in a manner which facilitates the occurrence of rape. It could also be true that a response of passivity or submission to the suggestion of intercourse may be interpreted by the person later defined as the offender as ambiguous interest. Such imputations by the offender would hardly be considered as a defense against the charge of rape but we should not ignore the facilitating effect that compliance has in an explanation of rape. In fact, evidence contained in the police reports suggests that submission and compliance on the part of the rape victim contributes to the repeated performance of this crime by offenders who have escaped detection in the past.

e) Facilitating Actor - Many deviant acts require specialized knowledge and skills for their commission while others require only the more basic motor and cognitive abilities. The occurrence of a deviant act is said to be greatly facilitated to the extent that it requires only the more basic of such knowledge and skills. With regard to rape, there is little in the way of technical knowledge and skill

demanded of its perpetrator. The rape offender, in most cases, need only to be able to effect a minimal amount of coercion and to perform copulation. Although it may seem apparent that these kinds of skills are acquired through conventional socialization, they can also be extinguished so as to reduce the risk of rape occurring. In fact, one procedure which has been suggested to prevent recidivism is castration of all convicted rape offenders. The logic behind such a suggestion is to reduce the competency of potential offenders. Techniques of behavior modification not unlike those used on the character, Alex, in A Clockwork Orange have also been advocated. Along slightly different lines, efforts have also been made to dissuade would-be offenders from applying these conventional skills to deviant ends. One report notes the deterrent effect of vaginal teeth in some Asian countries. Dentata, as they are called, operate on the principle of sharks teeth and are designed to lacerate the penis upon penetration of the vagina (Brotsky, 1976).

Although the contingencies posed by the time of day, the place, hardware, Others and the Actor's knowledge and skills may be opportune for the commission of rape, the individual's subjective conception of the morality and of the objective consequences of the act must also be reckoned with in a situational explanation of rape. Lofland states that "acts which Actor feels to be moral or neutral may be referred to as subjectively available. Acts defined as immoral, or of dubious morality, may be referred to as unavailable or inaccessible" (1969: 84-85). Most men would probably conceive rape to be immoral or, at

least, reprehensible. On that account they would be unlikely to engage in such an act. Under special circumstances, however, acts which are felt to be immoral may be justified as not entirely wrong. Such justifications act so as to facilitate the occurrence of rape.

Two circumstantial justifications for rape are common. The offender can either define his victim as deserving of victimization or he can claim that he was not a responsible person. In the first instance, it is not uncommon to hear claims in the offender's statement to the police that the victim was "asking for it" or that she was "just a whore." It is not clear, however, whether these kinds of justifications were formed prior to the rape incident or after apprehension. In the present study, though, only 47.0 per cent of the offenders who were apprehended admitted committing rape to the police.

The verbal and non-verbal behavior of the offender during the rape episode was also quite revealing. Forty-five (16.0%) of the two hundred and eighty-one rape events presented instances where the offender attempted to normalize⁷ his actions to the victim. The particular form of normalization varied. In each case, however, the alleged offender sought to redefine the situation in order to justify his behavior. The themes which were projected on the situation

7. The concept of normalization was originally discussed by Goffman (1961) with reference to the redefinition of deviations from constitutive rules between persons in a trusting relationship. Successful attempts to redefine a breach of conduct are said to result in the mutual acceptance of the deviation.

by the offender included efforts to have the incident appear to be an accident, an encounter between lovers or otherwise intimate parties, a normal transaction between a prostitute and her client and the result of a sick or disturbed mind in need of help.

Six of the offenders who tried to normalize the rape incident offered the victim monetary compensation for the act. The amount of money varied from five cents to twenty dollars and was either offered before the actual rape incident or just after its occurrence. None of the victims accepted the offerings before the rape, however, one woman kept the money and subsequently turned it over to the police. In those cases where money was offered after the rape there was an element of degradation present. In most cases the money was thrown at or dropped over the victim as the offender prepared to depart.

A number of offenders (15) tried to arrange a meeting with the victim for some later date. In some instances this was accomplished by the exchange of (false) phone numbers. One offender gave his victim an identification card (real) to prove his sincerity. Two incidents involved offenders who expressed their love and longing for their victims. In three episodes where attempts to normalize the rape occurred, the offender asked his victim if she enjoyed herself, if she thought the offender was a good lover, or whether her boyfriend had as large a penis.

In fourteen incidents the offender apologized for his behavior; several of these offenders insisted that the victim forgive them be-

fore their departure. One offender explained his actions as a case of mistaken identity. He told the victim that he thought she was his girlfriend and that his girlfriend would not have objected to intercourse. Most of the apologies included an explanation of an overwhelming "urge" or "need" for sex. An additional five cases involved efforts by the offender to obtain sympathy from the victim in addition to the apology. Two offenders cried, one claiming that he could not find a girlfriend. The other four offenders explained to the victim that they were sick or unable to control themselves.

Justifications depicting a lack of personal control would not only allow an individual to act against his moral grain in a particular instance, they would also facilitate the commission of deviant acts in the future.

The offender's perception of the objective consequences of committing rape could also serve to inhibit or promote such behavior. The fear of severe penalties for committing rape would, in most cases, effectively deter an individual who was contemplating rape. However, previous knowledge of the rate of unreported rape, rape clearance rates and the legal impediments to conviction in rape cases could understandably neutralize such fear. As noted previously, it is estimated that only one out of every one hundred rape offenders will ever be incarcerated for rape under the present judicial system. Thus, the attractions of rape could very well outweigh potentially negative consequences for its offender.

f) Facilitating Circumstances - With the above considerations in mind, a special situation which is associated with rape can be discussed. This situation concerns the impact that alcohol has upon the rape event and the offender's decision to commit rape. The Winnipeg data indicate that alcohol was present in the victim only in 8.2 per cent of the rape events and present in the offender only in another 26.0 per cent of the cases. In a further 34.5 per cent of the cases alcohol was present in both the victim and the offender. Thus, alcohol was found to have been present in, at least, 68.7 per cent of the rape situations.⁸

With reference to the effect that alcohol has upon individual behavior, research suggests that it may have physiological effects which increase aggression levels (Taylor and Gammon, 1976). Research also suggests that alcohol consumption increases the likelihood of an individual engaging in risk-taking behavior (Shuntich and Taylor, 1972). The implications of this are evident especially where alcohol has been consumed by both the victim and the offender. Commenting on this relationship, Gibbons suggests that the probability of rape may

8. It should be noted that the police reports did not contain a precise record of the blood-alcohol concentrations of the rape victim and the offender. They did, for the most part however, supply evidence as to the presence of alcohol in the complainant and the accused. For each case included by the researchers, statements given by the alleged victim, the accused (if apprehended), and witnesses were analyzed to determine whether those involved had been drinking prior to the commission of the crime. In addition the recorded observations of the police were considered in the assessment of whether alcohol was present in the victim and the offender for each case. Unless the presence of alcohol was specifically mentioned in the case file, the absence of alcohol was

(cont.)

be increased following a period of "sexually provocative interaction between a male and female during an evening of drinking" (1977: 231). While this hypothesis cannot be tested with the available data, several interesting relationships regarding the presence of alcohol in the rape situation were found in the present study.

As noted previously, the most frequent place of initial contact between the victim and the offender was in the location designated by the term "outdoor." When the place of initial contact data was cross-tabulated with the presence or absence of alcohol in the victim and the offender, a moderate degree of association was found (Cramer's $V=.30$). An examination of this relationship suggests that with the presence of alcohol in the rape situation there was an increased likelihood that the initial contact would have taken place in the residence of the offender or in a licensed premises.

The relationship between the presence of alcohol in the rape situation and the amount of violence which was used in committing the offence was also explored. Since alcohol consumption has been found to increase levels of aggression (Taylor and Gammon, 1976) and because the presence of alcohol has also been found by several researchers to be associated with crimes of violence,⁹ it was hypothesized that there

assumed. This decision was based upon an inspection of the cross-tabular analysis of the data. Analysis revealed that those cases where no information was available as to the presence or absence of alcohol closely resembled those cases where alcohol was definitely absent from the rape situation. Therefore, if there is a bias in any direction, it is in the direction of the absence of alcohol.

9. For example, see Bartholomew, 1968; Blum, 1968; Nicol *et. al.*,

(cont.)

would be a greater amount of brutality used by the offender when alcohol was present in the rape situation. When this hypothesis was tested a very weak association was found between the amount of brutality suffered by the victim and the presence of alcohol in the victim only ($\text{Gamma}=.04$), and the presence of alcohol in the offender only ($\text{Gamma}=.05$). However, when the amount of brutality was cross-tabulated with the presence or absence of alcohol in the offender or both, and then in the victim or both, the strength of the association was found to increase markedly. With alcohol in the offender or both, Gamma increased to .22. Likewise, with alcohol in the victim or both, a moderately strong Gamma of .26 was obtained. Thus, it appears that the presence of alcohol in both the victim and the offender has the effect of increasing the amount of brutality used in the rape situation.

Finally, the presence or absence of alcohol in the rape situation and whether or not the victim was injured was examined. As injuries are contingent upon brutality, it was hypothesized that the victim would be more likely to be injured in situations where alcohol was present. Analysis of the Winnipeg data revealed a moderately strong association between these variables (Yule's $Q=.25$) indicating that the presence of alcohol did result in an increased likelihood of injury for the victim.

1973; Gibbens and Silberman, 1970; Wolfgang, 1958; Cleveland, 1955; Fisher, 1951; Shupe, 1954; Bowden, Wilson and Turner, 1958; Virkunen, 1974; Verko, 1951; Selling, 1940; and Amir, 1971.

It may be that a woman appears to be more vulnerable to rape when she becomes drunk or is drinking with men. A woman may be even be defined as legitimate prey by her drinking companions. This, of course, is not to say that drinking causes rape since it is apparent that most incidents of alcohol use do not result in rape. As Macdonald has stated "many men drink, but relatively few of them rape" (1975:39). Alcohol does, however, appear to act as a catalyst for such behavior. In this regard, some researchers have suggested that certain kinds of "anger and frustration"¹⁰ triggered by a night of drinking, may set off a chain of events culminating in forced intercourse by a (man) with a victim from a bar or one picked up or kidnapped from a city street" (Geis and Chappell, 1971: 431). In this situation drinking is seen as an important precondition which would increase the likelihood of rape occurring.

Conclusions

The foregoing discussion was an attempt to show the kinds of factors that come into play to influence the occurrence of rape. It was indicated that an approach which concentrates solely on the rape offender and which searches for evidence of psychological abnormality to account for the rapist's motivation would likely result in little explanatory power. A similar result would be obtained by focussing exclusively on the rape victim and the precipitating

10. The "angers and frustrations" being referred to by these authors are said to result from "relative deprivation" in what some men regard as free-and-easy sexual relationships in our sexually permissive society.

effect that her behavior could have on the rape offender. It was felt that ecological factors, structural features of the situation, and characteristics of the interaction between the participants would better explain the occurrence of rape.

In order to demonstrate the impact that situational factors have on the offender's decision to commit rape, Lofland's theory of deviant behavior was employed. Several factors which facilitate the occurrence of rape were identified and discussed in relation to the data which was obtained for the present study. It was found that contingencies posed by the time of day, the place, hardware, Others and the Actor himself all play a significant part in the explanation of this crime. That is to say, the rape offender's behavior was seen to have been influenced by a combination of events and circumstances which provided him with the opportunity to commit rape.

It is felt that with a more complete understanding and a clearer specification of the contingencies operating in close proximity to the crime, these contingencies could be ordered in such a way as to produce a more encompassing explanation of rape.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The present study sought to explicate certain features of rape in order to complement our present body of empirical knowledge concerning this crime. Various perspectives were advanced to show where past speculation and research have located the causes of rape. It was observed that some of the earlier explanations were based on faulty assumptions concerning the frequency of rape and the motives of the rape offender. More recent explanations were found to be less fully developed and lacking in empirical support.

The major problem in understanding rape was thought to be related to a matter of focus as past empirical research has been based predominantly on unrepresentative samples of convicted rape offenders. By including a broader range of rape cases and by concentrating on social patterns of rape, it was hoped that the present study could direct criminological theory and research toward a more encompassing explanation of rape. It was suggested that a more thorough understanding of rape could be gained by analysing the situational contingencies which facilitate the occurrence of this crime.

The first task was to find out what types of people become involved in rape as victims and offenders. While the data were incomplete in this regard, certain patterns emerged. The rape offenders were usually young men between the ages of fifteen and twenty-

four (61.8%). The majority of rape victims were also found in this age category (58.8%), but were slightly younger than their assailants. Most victims (70.2%) and offenders (54.2%) were single, although a substantial proportion of offenders were married (28.7%) or living in a common law arrangement (7.2%). Where information was available regarding race, it was found that native Indians and Metis were overrepresented among rape victims and offenders. Approximately two-thirds of rapists who were apprehended were found to have previous criminal records with the police. Almost 20 per cent of these records were for rape, attempted rape or some other sexual offence. The data also showed that 7.7 per cent of the reported rape victims had previous criminal records; 31.8 per cent of those victims with police records were charged with sexual immorality or performing an indecent act.

In order to determine the social class position of rape victims and offenders the study looked at the area of the city in which they lived, their education, and their employment and occupation. Most rape victims and offenders were found to reside in the core areas of the city. The residences of 52.1 per cent of the offenders and 53.5 per cent of the victims were located in these poorer districts. In terms of education, rape offenders were found to have less formal education than Winnipeggers in general. Rape victims were found to have an education distribution which was roughly similar to that of the general population. A considerable proportion of offenders were unemployed, collecting welfare, or were still in

school (40.5%). Of those who were employed, the vast majority worked at unskilled labour (31.7%), skilled labour (7.5%) or drove delivery or transfer vehicles (6.6%). The proportion of victims who were unemployed, collecting welfare or still in school (37.9%) was similar to that found for offenders. Of the rape victims who did hold jobs, the most common occupations included that of waitress (11.4%), domestic (9.1%), secretary/receptionist (9.1%) and sales/clerk (6.1%). These findings pointed to the fact that reported victims and their alleged offenders are, by and large, from the lower echelons of society.

One possible explanation of this finding could be that the incidence of rape is distributed more or less evenly throughout the population but that lower class victims are simply more likely to report rape to the police than victims from other social classes. The geographical proximity of victims to offenders would, in turn, account for the high proportion of lower class rape offenders found in police statistics. If this were true, a question of concern becomes one of why lower class victims are more likely to report rape to the authorities. Certainly the lower class have no greater chance of seeing justice done. In fact, research suggests that social status is a variable which is used by the police and the Crown for selecting out complaints of rape to proceed to trial. If anything, the lower class are less likely to have their day in court. It may be the case that lower class women are less concerned about the stigma attached to being publicly identified as a victim of

rape, however, we simply do not know enough about the distribution of rape within society to be able to accept this position.

Next, the characteristics of the setting of rape were examined. It was reasoned that a delineation of the temporal and spatial distribution of rape might provide some clues as to when and where rape is most likely to occur. Temporally, it was found that the occurrence of rape corresponds to the times when interaction levels between individuals are high. The concentration of rapes during the summer months was hypothesized to be due to increased outdoor activity and with this, an increased opportunity for offenders and victims to make contact. Inspection of the daily distribution of rape showed that our times of leisure and social activity are the most perilous. Nearly two-thirds (58.3%) of the rape events in this study took place on the weekend. In addition, more than one-half (52.2%) of the rapes occurred during the late evening and early morning hours. Together, these findings can be taken to indicate that rape takes place during the times in which people are free to engage in recreational and social activities.

Additional support for this interpretation came from an examination of the spatial occurrence of rape. It was seen that a large proportion of rape victims and offenders came into contact while out on a date or attending a party together (16.7%), while drinking together in a licensed premises (6.8%) or while visiting at each other's homes (14.9%). As well, a substantial proportion (14.3%) of victims initially contacted the man who later raped them

by hitchhiking a ride or by accepting a ride offered to them while they were walking on the street or waiting for public transportation. In all, these circumstances accounted for 52.7 per cent of the initial contacts between victims and offenders.

A common place of initial contact between rape participants was found to have been outdoors (48.2%). However, this location was not the most likely place of occurrence. Initial contacts which had been made outdoors or in licensed premises were found to shift in location to the residences of the victim and the offender or to an automobile as the place where the offence took place. The change in location from the place of initial contact to the place of the offence was found to have been affected by a motor vehicle in a large proportion (31.2%) of cases.

To understand the choice of location for the rape event, the interpersonal relationship which existed between the victim and the offender was thought to be a crucial factor. It was reasoned that where a greater degree of intimacy existed between the participants there would be more latitude as to the location of the offence. Since the residences of the victim and the offender would provide the most privacy for the act to take place, it was expected that these locations would be the most likely choices for individuals who knew each other on an intimate basis. For those who had had little previous contact, it was reasoned that the most likely place of occurrence would be outdoors. Analysis of the data revealed that the interpersonal relationship between the victim and the

offender was a good predictor ($\text{Gamma}=.54$) of the location which was chosen for rape.

Finally, some of the more important situational factors which effect the occurrence of rape were analyzed and discussed. It was noted that there are two common assumptions about rape which have not contributed much to our understanding of this crime. The first was the belief that rape offenders are psychologically disturbed and the second was that rape victims are responsible for their own victimization. These two factors were found to be involved in rape causation but they were seen to occur too infrequently to add much to a general understanding of this crime.

It was suggested that a dual approach which includes both historical attributes of the offender and facilitating conditions posed by the immediate circumstances in which the offender is found would be better able to explain rape. The framework for such an approach was provided by Lofland's theory of deviant behavior. While the data which were available for this study could not be used to test for predisposing factors which motivate the rapist, the facilitative significance of proximately occurring events was demonstrated. These events or conditions were identified as the time of day, the physical location or place, physical objects or hardware, Others and the Actor himself.

First, it was observed that rape is most likely to occur during the late evening and early morning hours. The visual concealment offered by darkness during these times was found to be parti-

cularly important when the offence took place in a relatively unprotected location such as outdoors or in a motor vehicle. Indoor episodes of rape were also accompanied by darkness but, in this case the relationship was due to the type of interaction which was engaged in by the participants prior to the rape event. Dates, parties, entertainment events and hotel drinking usually occur during the evening and give offenders the opportunity to make contact with their victims. The decreased visibility that accompanies darkness, coupled with a decrease in the daily cycle of outdoor activity and an increase in the opportunities for contact between victims and offenders, were believed to highly facilitate the occurrence of rape.

Analysis of the place of offence data indicated that indoor locations were the most likely places for rape to occur. This was to be expected as indoor locations would offer greater amounts of privacy and protection from intrusion and interruption during the commission of rape. However, a large proportion of rapes were also found to occur outdoors. This fact was disconcerting considering the relatively unprotected nature of the street or alley. However, when the place of offence data were cross-tabulated with the interpersonal relationship which existed between the victim and the offender a clear pattern emerged. When the participants were previously known to each other, the fact of familiarity and accessibility to each other's homes led to an increased likelihood of the rape event occurring in the victim's or the offender's residence. When the victim and the offender were strangers, the rape event was more likely to take place

outdoors or in a motor vehicle. In the latter case, hitchhiking and accepting rides from passing motorists provided ideal opportunities for offender's to make contact with their victims.

Factors such as unlocked doors and the victim living alone were also found to increase a woman's vulnerability to rape. Finally, it was noted that the success or failure of the sexual attack was contingent, to some degree, upon the location of the offence. Attacks which took place outdoors were more likely to be thwarted by the victim than were attacks which occurred indoors or in motor vehicles.

Physical objects or hardware are not technically necessary for the commission of rape. However, objects such as motor vehicles and weapons are often used to initiate contact with the victim and to secure compliance from her after contact is made. Therefore, the lack of physical objects required for the commission of rape and the routine availability of those objects which are used by the offender highly facilitate the occurrence of this crime.

The conduct of others, in addition to the offender, was then discussed. The facilitative significance of multiple offenders was noted as was the potential effect of "uninvolved" persons. The rape victim's behavior was then analyzed to determine the impact of her resistance upon the success or failure of the sexual attack. It was found that women who strongly resisted their offender's advances faced an extremely good chance of escaping un-

desired intercourse. However, where their resistance failed, they were less likely to escape the encounter unscathed. Unfortunately, most women only resist mildly or submit to their attacker. This type of response undoubtedly contributes to the repeated performance of rape by offenders who have escaped detection in the past. A number of other factors of special vulnerability for women were also found to facilitate the occurrence of rape.

The technical knowledge and skill required of the rape offender is minimal. On that account, rape is highly facilitated. It was also noted that the moral restraints which prevent most men from committing rape can be justified so as to permit its occurrence. This study found two common justifications for rape. The offender either defined his victim as deserving of victimization or claimed that he was not a responsible person.

Finally, the relationship between alcohol and rape was considered. Alcohol was found to have been associated with this crime in more than two-thirds of the cases. An effect of the presence of alcohol in the rape situation was to increase the amount of brutality used by the offender. This relationship was contingent upon the presence of alcohol in both participants. It was suggested that the situation of drinking probably has more to do with the occurrence of rape than does the alcohol per se.

Conclusions

It can be seen from this research that the act of rape is contingent upon much more than individual motivation. This does not, of

course, mean that the rapist is not always responsible for the crime which he has committed; he is responsible in the legal and moral sense of the term. However, the victim's behavior, ecological factors, structural features of the situation and characteristics of the interaction between the participants aid in our understanding of how and why rape occurs.

Attempts to deal with the problem of rape have focused almost exclusively on controlling the offender and treating his supposed disposition. The reason for these rather direct forms of manipulation lie not in their effectiveness but in the interests of expediency and tradition. Confining the offender has the temporary effect of isolating the source of the problem and psychotherapeutic forms of treatment are justified by the traditional application of psychological directives to theory and research in the area of rape. In this case, speculation as to the cause of rape has not pointed to the most effective form of control. It appears, for one thing, to be the approach which is most acceptable because it least inconveniences the ongoing social life of others.

A consideration of the approach which was used to account for rape in this study leads to quite different prescriptions for control. Three strategies for situational control have been identified: preventing the situation, modifying the potential victim's response and a modification of the situation (Monahan, 1975). In advocating these strategies we may, however, discover that we are unwilling to pay the price for a reduction in the incidence of rape.

The present research points to several conditions which facilitate the occurrence of rape. Altering some of these conditions would entail relatively minor accommodations. For instance, women were found to have increased their chances of being victimized by hitchhiking, by accepting rides from passing motorists, and by making and maintaining contact with strangers in a licensed premises. Roughly twenty-one of the rape events in this study could have been prevented had these situations been avoided by the victim. If we add to these situations those where the victim's home was easily accessible to strangers, those where she lived alone, and those where she was intoxicated, the number of rapes which could have been avoided by slight alterations in lifestyle and deportment is substantially increased.

It is not being suggested that these types of deportment are wrong or immoral or that women who behave so deserve to be raped or are undeserving of protection by the law. What is being suggested is that there are certain precautions which can be taken and certain situations which can be avoided in order to reduce the risk of being raped. It is unfortunate that these precautions restrict individual freedom, but the reality of crime dictates that a certain measure of providence be employed to protect that which we value.

The question of modifying the potential victim's response to the threat of rape is a more complex matter. Intensive self-defense training would appear to provide a partial solution to the problem

because as we have seen, the victim of a sexual attack can increase her chances of preventing undesired intercourse by actively resisting her assailant's advances. It is easy to say that women should learn self-defense and to be more assertive in confronting such situations, but ironically this strategy enhances the likelihood of the victim being subject to brutality and physical harm. To be certain, this issue centers around one's system of priorities. If being raped is viewed as "a fate worse than death," then active resistance serves not only to increase one's chances of preventing rape, it would also preserve one's sense of dignity. If physical well-being takes precedence, the advice is to submit. Submission, however, is still no guarantee against physical injury.

Strategies for modifying those situations which facilitate the occurrence of rape would be more disruptive of our current lifestyles and, therefore, less palatable. For instance, it was seen how darkness facilitates the occurrence of rape outdoors by the protection it offers from visibility of the act. Darkness, however could be virtually eradicated by the use of high-intensity mercury vapor lighting in our streets and alleys. The decrease in pedestrian and vehicular traffic which accompanies darkness and which provides the privacy for rape to go unnoticed and uninterrupted could also be eliminated by altering our diurnal habits. A reorganization of our societal timetable could allow for a better balance between day-time and night-time activities so that deserted streets would become a thing of the past.

The high degree of protection which the home offers from the detection of rape and many other deviant acts could also be reduced by installing distress buttons in private residences. Linked to policing agencies, similar to the silent alarm systems used by banks and other commercial establishments, these devices could be used when emergency situations arise in the home. Lofland also notes that "One of the most effective ways in which to reduce the rate of deviant acts would doubtless be continuously to monitor all homes, perhaps by means of omnipresent and inescapable television cameras..." Such a proposal, however, would undoubtedly be met with opposition from those of us who place a higher value on privacy than on lower rates of crime.

It is unfortunate that situational control of rape interferes with so many conventional forms of activity, but until we can intervene effectively at some earlier stage in the process, this strategy deserves consideration. Ideally, we should like to be able to foresee the factors that create the conditions for rape but our present state of knowledge is restrictive. While this study has tried to draw attention to the importance of situational determinants in the explanation of rape, it is felt that a complete explanation would have to take into account offender predispositions. It is thought that offender characteristics and situational contingencies could be ordered in such a way so as to predict the occurrence of rape.

The model being suggested for further research would resemble the "value-added" framework employed by Smelser (1963) and Lofland

and Stark (1965) in their analyses of collective behavior and conversion to a deviant perspective. The conception of value-added refers to a series of stages or events in which each must occur according to a particular pattern in order for a certain outcome to be produced. "Each stage in the value-added process ...is a necessary condition for the approximate and effective addition of value in the next stage. The sufficient condition for the final production...is the combination of every necessary condition according to a definite pattern." (Smelser, 1963: 13-14).

Applied to the analysis of rape, the stages in the value-added model would refer to characteristics in the past history of the offender and facilitating features of the situation in which he has become involved. The presence or occurrence of each stage would enhance the likelihood of the rape outcome. However, pre-disposed individuals, apart from the proper combination of situational inducements would not necessarily choose to commit rape. Similarly, situational inducements would not be sufficient to produce the outcome of rape. Rape is seen to be the result of the necessary kinds and concatenation of these forces.

Research in this area would first have to be able to identify potential rape offenders. For this purpose both demographic data and clinical assessments of rape offenders would be imperative. It should not be surprising to find that all individuals who commit rape do not fall into the same demographic, personality and behavioral categories. After all, rape is a legal term

which is used to define a resultant form of undesired behavior. The makings of such behavior are not a legal issue. A detailed analysis of situational inducements should then be made. Emphasis could then be placed upon the interaction between heterogeneous offender characteristics and the wide range of situational determinants. Through the development of this model it is expected that a more thorough understanding of rape could be achieved.

In general, it can be said that rape is contingent upon individual motivation and the situational conditions which allow for its occurrence. To be complete, an explanation of rape must take into account both of these factors.

APPENDIX A

DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENT

Schedule Number _____

Department of Sociology
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba

Rape in Winnipeg:
A Descriptive and
Analytic Study

CASE IDENTIFICATION SHEET

Case Number from Police Records _____

Date When Rape Occurred _____

Research Assistant's Name _____

RAPE IN WINNIPEGData Collection Schedule

Instructions: The following instrument is to be used for obtaining data from the records of the Winnipeg Police. Each item on this schedule must be completed.

I. DESCRIPTION OF THE OFFENCE

1. Classification of the Offence: (circle one)

- a) Rape 1
- b) Attempted Rape 2
- c) Indecent Assault 3
- d) Gross Indecency 4
- e) Other 5
- f) No Information 9

2. Temporal Information:

- a) Day of the Week _____
- b) Time of the Day _____
- c) Month of the Year _____
- d) Year of the Offence _____

3. Meeting Place of Initial Contact:

- a) Victim's Residence 1
- b) Offender's Residence 2
- c) Other Residence 3
- d) Motor Vehicle 4
- e) Public Street or Lane 5
- f) Public Building 6
- g) Public Park 7
- h) Other (please specify) 8
- i) No Information 9

4. What was the address at which the offence took place?

5. Place of the Offence: (circle one)

- a) Victim's Residence 1
- b) Offender's Residence 2
- c) Other Residence 3
- d) Motor Vehicle 4
- e) Public Street or Lane 5
- f) Public Building 6
- g) Public Park 7
- h) Other (please specify) 8
- i) No Information 9

6. Did the crime scene change? (ie. did initial contact, rape, and final contact all take place in the same location?).

- a) Yes 1
- b) No 2
- c) No Information 9

7. If so, how did it change? _____

8. Specify any characteristics of the location that might have facilitated the rape. _____

9. Victim - Offender Relationship:	
a) Strangers	11
b) Strangers, but General Knowledge	12
c) Acquaintances	13
d) Neighbours	14
e) Close Friends	15
f) Boy Friend	16
g) Ex-boyfriend	17
h) Family Friend	18
i) Relative (specify) _____	19
j) Business Associate	20
k) Ex-husband	21
l) Other (specify) _____	22
m) No Information	99

10. Offence Reported By:	
a) Victim	1
b) Spouse	2
c) Friend	3
d) Boyfriend	4
e) Father	5
f) Mother	6
g) Neighbour	7
h) Other (specify) _____	8
i) No Information	9

11. Number of Victims _____

12. Number of Offenders _____

13. Use of Alcohol:
- | | |
|---|---|
| a) Present in Victim and Offender | 1 |
| b) Present in Victim Only | 2 |
| c) Present in Victim - No Info. on Offender | 3 |
| d) Present in Offender Only | 4 |
| e) Present in Offender - No Info on Victim | 5 |
| f) Not Present in Either Victim or Offender | 6 |
| g) No Information | 9 |
14. How did the offender initially contact the victim?
-
-
-
15. What were the offender's initial intentions upon contact?
(ie. was he a robber, etc.) _____
-
-
16. Were there verbal threats?
- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| a) Yes | 1 |
| b) No | 2 |
| c) No Information | 9 |
17. Was there physical force?
- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| a) Yes | 1 |
| b) No | 2 |
| c) No Information | 9 |
18. Describe the nature of any force or intimidation used.
-
-
-
-

19. Did the offender use a weapon?

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| a) Yes | 1 |
| b) No | 2 |
| c) No Information | 9 |

20. If so, please describe: _____

21. Did the victim resist?

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| a) Yes | 1 |
| b) No | 2 |
| c) No Information | 9 |

22. Describe the victim's reaction when the threat of rape became apparent: _____

23. Type of Sexual Contact:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| a) Genital Intercourse | 1 |
| b) Fellatio | 2 |
| c) Cunnilingus | 3 |
| d) Anal Intercourse | 4 |
| e) Some Combination of a,b,c or d | 5 |
| f) Other (specify) _____ | 6 |
| g) No Information | 9 |

24. Was there any conversation between the victim and offender?

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| a) Yes | 1 |
| b) No | 2 |
| c) No Information | 9 |

25. If so, please indicate when the conversation occurred and provide some indication of its substance. _____

26. Did the offender attempt to normalize or explain the rape to the victim?

- a) Yes 1
- b) No 2
- c) No Information 9

27. If so, discuss his attempts in as much detail as possible (ie. did he apologize, ask to meet her again, say he was doing her a favor, etc.) _____

28. Did the offender explain his actions to the police?

- a) Yes 1
- b) No 2
- c) Not Applicable 8
(unapprehended)
- d) No Information 9

29. If so, what was the nature of this explanation? _____

30. Concomitant Offences:

Did another offence occur in addition to the rape or attempted rape?

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| a) Yes | 1 |
| b) No | 2 |
| c) No Information | 9 |

31. If so, when did the concomitant offence occur?

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| a) Prior to the rape | 1 |
| b) Concurrent with the Rape | 2 |
| c) After the Rape | 3 |
| d) Not Applicable | 8 |
| e) No Information | 9 |

32. If so, please describe the concomitant offence or offences.

33. Does the report indicate whether the offence was planned or spontaneous?

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| a) Planned | 1 |
| b) Partially Planned | 2 |
| c) Spontaneous | 3 |
| d) No Information | 9 |

34. If planned, describe the nature of the pre-planning.

35. Did the victim appear to have been pre-selected?

- a) Yes 1
- b) No 2
- c) Maybe 3
- d) No Information 9

36. If yes or maybe, indicate the basis of pre-selection

37. How did the offender leave (depart from) the victim after the offence? _____

II. DESCRIPTION OF THE VICTIM

38. Age of the victim at the time of the offence:

- Age _____
- No Information 9

39. Marital Status:

- a) Married 1
- b) Single 2
- c) Divorced 3
- d) Separated 4
- e) Common Law 5
- f) Widowed 6
- g) No Information 9

40. Race of the Victim _____

41. National Origin of the Victim _____

42. Victim's Occupation _____

43. Number of Victim's Children

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| a) None | 0 |
| b) One | 1 |
| c) Two | 2 |
| d) Three | 3 |
| e) Four or more | 4 |
| f) Not Applicable
(too young) | 8 |
| g) No Information | 9 |

44. Victim's Address at the Time of the Offence:

45. Educational Level of the Victim

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| a) No Formal Schooling | 1 |
| b) Some Elementary School | 2 |
| c) Completed Elementary School | 3 |
| d) Some High School | 4 |
| e) Completed High School | 5 |
| f) Some University | 6 |
| g) University Degree | 7 |
| h) Other (specify) | 8 |
| i) No Information | 9 |

46. In any of the questioning or evidence was there any indication that the victim was "of bad character" or promiscuous?

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| a) Yes | 1 |
| b) No | 2 |
| c) No Information | 9 |

47. If so, what was the nature of this evidence? _____

48. Did the victim have a criminal record?

- a) Yes 1
- b) No 2
- c) No Information 9

49. If so, what was the nature of this record? _____

50. Is there any sense in which you might consider the rape to have been "victim-precipitated"?

- a) Yes 1
- b) No 2

51. Discuss in as much detail as possible, the nature of this "precipitation". _____

52. Physical Description of the Victim: (height, weight, body build, complexion, hair color, clothing, and peculiarities).

53. Specify any characteristics of the victim that suggest vulnerability: (ie. retarded, handicapped, lived alone, etc.) _____

III. DESCRIPTION OF THE OFFENDER

54. Discuss the description of the offender given by the victim: _____

55. Sex of the Offender:

- a) Male 1
- b) Female 2

56. Age of the offender at the time of the offence:

- Age _____
- No Information 9

57. Marital Status:

- a) Married 1
- b) Single 2
- c) Divorced 3
- d) Separated 4
- e) Common Law 5
- f) Widowed 6
- g) No Information 9

58. Race of the Offender _____

59. National Origin of the Offender _____

60. Occupation of the Offender _____

61. Number of Offender's Children

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| a) None | 0 |
| b) One | 1 |
| c) Two | 2 |
| d) Three | 3 |
| e) Four or more | 4 |
| f) No Information | 9 |

62. Offender's Address at the Time of the Offence:

63. Educational Level of the Offender:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| a) No Formal Schooling | 1 |
| b) Some Elementary School | 2 |
| c) Completed Elementary School | 3 |
| d) Some High School | 4 |
| e) Completed High School | 5 |
| f) Some University | 6 |
| g) University Degree | 7 |
| h) Other (specify) | 8 |
| i) No Information | 9 |

64. Physical Description of the Offender: (height, weight, body build, complexion, hair color, clothing, and peculiarities).

65. Did the offender have a previous criminal record?

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| a) Yes | 1 |
| b) No | 2 |
| c) No Information | 9 |

66. If so, what was the nature of this record?
-(specify charges, frequency and disposition)

67. Is a psychiatric report available on the offender?

- a) Yes 1
- b) No 2
- c) Not Applicable 8
- d) No Information 9

68. If so, what is the nature of this report? _____

69. Is a pre-sentence report available on the offender?

- a) Yes 1
- b) No 2
- c) Not Applicable 8
- d) No Information 9

70. If so, what is the nature of this report? _____

IV. POLICE PROSESS

71. To whom was the first complaint following the rape made?

72. When was the first complaint following the rape made?
(ie. how long after the offence?) _____
73. If there was a delay in reporting; what were the reasons?

74. Was the victim able to identify a suspect?
a) Yes 1
b) No 2
c) No Information 9
75. If "no", how was the suspect identified? _____

76. How many interviews did the police conduct during the
course of their investigation? _____
77. How many interviews did the victim have with the police?

78. With whom were police interviews conducted?
a) Same Policeman 1
b) Different Policemen 2
c) No Information 9
79. How was the initial complaint following the rape made?
a) Personally at the Police Station 1
b) By Telephone to the Police 2
c) At the Scene of the Offence 3
d) Other (specify) 4
e) No Information 9

80. Police Reaction to the Complaint:

- a) Complaint Founded 1
- b) Complaint Unfounded 2

81. What charge was initially laid?

- a) Rape 1
- b) Attempted Rape 2
- c) Indecent Assault 3
- d) Gross Indecency 4
- e) Other (specify) 5
- f) No Information 6

82. Was the investigation terminated at the request of the victim?

- a) Yes
- b) No

83. If so, give details (ie. stage at which terminated, reasons, etc.). _____

V. MEDICAL PROCESS

84. Did the victim go to a medical facility?

- a) Yes 1
- b) No 2
- c) No Information 9

85. If so, to what medical facility did the victim go? (specify clinic or hospital, etc.). _____

86. When did the victim go to the medical facility in relation to the initial complaint to the police?

- a) Before the Initial Complaint 1
- b) After the Initial Complaint 2
- c) Not Applicable 8
- d) No Information 9

87. Who was the medical examiner?

- a) Private Physician 1
- b) Hospital Intern 2
- c) Other (specify) 3
- d) Not Applicable 8
- e) No Information 9

88. Did the medical examiner question the victim about the rape?

- a) Yes 1
- b) No 2
- c) Not Applicable 8
- d) No Information 9

89. Were any injuries suffered by the victim?

- a) Yes 1
- b) No 2
- c) No Information 9

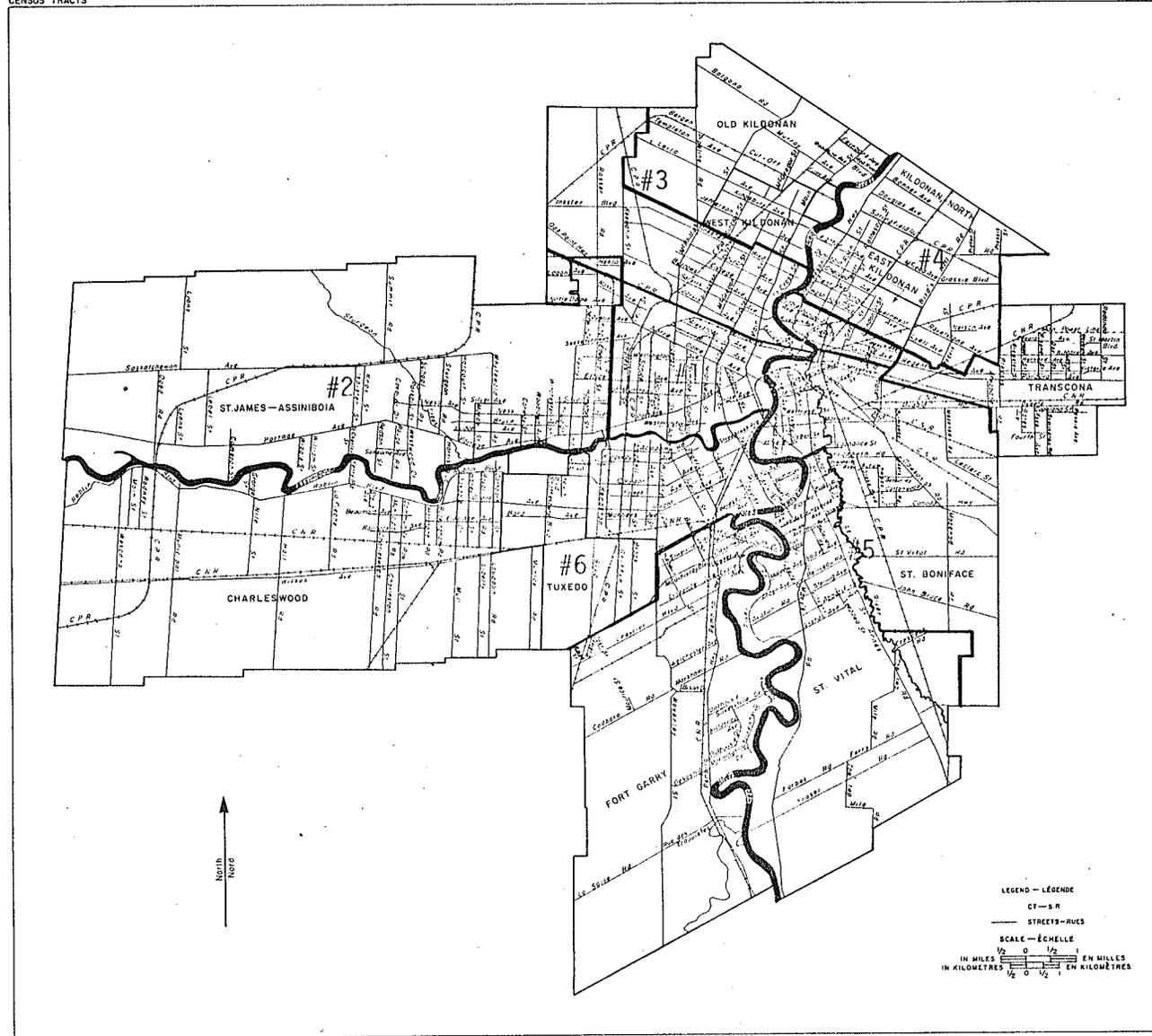
90. If so, discuss the nature of those injuries. _____

Map 1

WINNIPEG

CENSUS TRACTS

SECTEURS DE RECENSEMENT



CENSUS OF CANADA, 1971

RECENSEMENT DU CANADA, 1971

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abrahamsen, D.A.
1960 The Psychology of Crime. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Adler, F.
1975 Sisters in Crime. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Agopian, Michael, Duncan Chappell and Gilbert Geis
1972 "Interracial Rape in a North American City: An Analysis of 66 Cases." Paper presented at the Meetings of the American Society of Criminology, Caracas, Venezuela.
- Alexander, F.
1956 "A Note on the Theory of Perversion." in S. Lorand and M. Balint (eds.), Perversion: Psychoanalysis and Therapy. New York: Random House.
- Amir, Menachem.
1967 "Alcohol and Forcible Rape." British Journal of Addictions. Vol. 62, pp. 219-232.
- Amir, Menachem.
1967 "Victim Precipitation and Forcible Rape." Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science. Vol. 58, pp. 493-502.
- Amir, Menachem.
1971 Patterns in Forcible Rape. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Amir, Menachem.
1976 "Forcible Rape." Federal Probation. Vol. 31, (March), pp. 51-58.
- Apfelberg, B.C. et. al.
1944 "A Psychiatric Study of 205 Sex Offenders." American Journal of Psychiatry. Vol. 100, pp. 762-770.
- Arlow, J.
1954 "Perversion: Theoretical and Therapeutic Aspects." Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association. Vol. 2, pp. 119-128.
- Aschaffenburg, G.
1913 Crime and Its Repression. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- Attenborough, F.L.
1922 The Laws of the Earliest English Kings. Cambridge: University Press.

- Banay, R.S.
1956 "Profile of a Sex Offender." Journal of Social Therapy.
Vol. 3, pp. 85-96.
- Bartholomew, Allen A.
1968 "Alcoholism and Crime." Australian and New Zealand
Journal of Criminology. Vol. 1, pp. 70-99.
- Bennett, Richard M., Arnold H. Buss and John A. Carpenter.
1969 "Alcoholism and Physical Aggression." Quarterly Journal
of Studies on Alcohol. Vol. 30, pp. 870-876.
- Blanchard, W.H.
1959 "The Group Process in Gang Rape." Journal of Social
Psychology. Vol. 49, (May), pp. 259-266.
- Blum, Richard H.
1968 "Mind-Altering Drugs and Dangerous Behavior: Alcohol."
Pp. 29-49 in Task Force Report: Drunkenness. Washington:
U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Bohmer, C.
1974 "Judicial Attitudes Toward Rape Victims." Judicature.
Vol. 57. pp. 301-307.
- Bonger, W.A.
1916 Criminality and Economic Conditions. Boston: Little,
Brown and Company.
- Bowden, K.W., D.W. Wilson and L.K. Turner.
1958 "A Survey of Blood Alcohol Testing in Victoria." Medical
Journal of Australia. Vol. 45, pp. 13-15.
- Bowling, R.W.
1950 "The Sex Offender and the Law." Federal Probation. Vol.
14, pp. 14-16.
- Box, S.
1971 Deviance, Reality and Society. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart
and Winston.
- Briffault, Robert.
1969 Pp. 43 quoted in Evelyn Reed. Problems of Women's Liber-
ation. New York: Pathfinder Press.
- Brodsky, Stanley L.
1976 "Sexual Assault: Perspectives on Prevention and Assailants,"
in Marcia J. Walker and Stanley L. Brodsky (eds.), Sexual
Assault. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Company.

- Bromberg, Walker.
1946 "Emotional Immaturity and Anti-Social Behavior." Journal of Criminal Psychopathology. Vol. 8, pp. 423-453.
- Bromberg, Walker.
1949 Crime and the Mind. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott.
- Brownmiller, Susan.
1975 Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Burgess, A.
1962 A Clockwork Orange. London: Heinemann.
- Burgess, A.W.
1973 "The Rape Victim in the Emergency Ward." American Journal of Nursing. Vol. 73, No. 10, (October), pp. 1740-1745.
- Burgess, A.W.
1974 "Rape Trauma Syndrom." American Journal of Psychiatry. Vol. 131, No. 9, (September), pp. 981-986.
- Burgess, A.W.
1976 "Coping Behavior of the Rape Victim." American Journal of Psychiatry. Vol. 133, No. 4, (April), pp. 413-418.
- Burgess, A.W. and L.L. Holmstrom.
1974 Rape: Victims of Crisis. Maryland: Robert J. Brady Company.
- Chappell, D., G. Geis, S. Schafer and L. Siegal
1971 "Forcible Rape: A Comparative Study of Offenses Known to the Police in Boston and Los Angeles," in J. Henslin (ed.) Studies in the Sociology of Sex. New York: Appleton-Century Crofts. pp. 169-192.
- Clinch, N.G. and C. Schurr.
1973 "Rape." The Washington Magazine. Vol. 8, No. 9, pp. 86-91.
- Clark, Lorenne.
1976 "The Treatment of Rape and Rape Victims Within the Canadian Criminal Justice: Failure, Facts and Theory." Paper presented at the Research on Women Conference. Halifax.
- Cleaver, Eldridge.
1968 Soul on Ice. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Cleveland, F.P.
1955 "Problems in Homicide Investigation IV. The Relationship of Alcohol to Homicide." Cincinnati Journal of Medicine. Vol. 36. pp. 28-30.

- Cohn, B.N.
1972 "Succumbing to Rape?" The Second Wave. Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 24-30.
- Connell, N. and C. Wilson (Eds.)
1974 Rape: The First Sourcebook for Women. New York: New American Library.
- Curtis, Lynn A.
1974 Criminal Violence: National Patterns and Behavior. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books.
- Curtis, Lynn A.
1974 "Victim Precipitation and Violent Crime." Social Problems. Vol. 21, pp. 594-595.
- Davis, Alan.
1968 "Sexual Assaults in the Philadelphia Prison System and Sherriffs' Vans." Transaction. (December), pp. 8-16.
- Deckard, Barbara S.
1975 The Women's Movement: Political, Socioeconomic and Psychological Issues. New York: Harper and Row.
- DeRiver, D.
1956 The Sexual Criminal. Springfield: Charles C. Thomas.
- Drapkin, I and E. Viano (Eds.)
1973 Victimology: A New Focus. Vols. I,II and III. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Company.
- Drapkin, I and E. Viano (Eds.)
1974 Victimology. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Company.
- Dunham, H.W.
1951 Crucial Issues in the Treatment and Control of Sex Deviation in the Community: A Report. Michigan: State Department of Mental Health.
- Doshay, T.
1943 The Boy Sex Offender and His Later Career. New York: Grune and Stratton.
- Ellis, A. and R. Brancale.
1956 The Psychology of Sex Offenders. Springfield: Charles C. Thomas.
- Enos, W.F., J.C. Beyer and G.T.Mann.
1975 "The Medical Examination of Cases of Rape." in LeRoy G. Schultz (ed.) Rape Victimology. Springfield: Charles C. Thomas.

- Evrard, J.
1971 "Rape: The Medical, Social and Legal Implications." American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology. Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 197-199.
- Falk, G.J.
1952 "The Influence of Seasons on Crime Rates." Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science. Vol. 43, pp. 199-213.
- Fattah, E.A.
1967 "Towards a Criminological Classification of Victims." The International Journal of Criminal Police. No. 209.
- Ferri, E.
1917 Criminal Sociology. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- Firestone, Shulamith.
1970 The Dialectic of Sex. New York: Bantam Books.
- Fisher, R.S.
1951 "Symposium on the Compulsory Use of Chemical Tests for Alcohol Intoxication." Maryland Medical Journal. Vol. 3, pp. 291-292.
- Fitch, J.H.
1962 "Men Convicted of Sexual Offences Against Children." The British Journal of Criminology. Vol. 3, pp. 18-31.
- Fooner, M.
1966 "Victim-Induced Criminality." Science. Vol. 155, No. 3740, (September), pp. 1080-1083.
- Freud, Sigmund.
1933 "A Child is Beaten." in Collected Papers. London: The Hogarth Press.
- Freud, Sigmund.
1949 "Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality." in Collected Papers. London: The Hogarth Press.
- Freund, B.
1960 The Ego in Love and Sexuality. New York: Grune and Stratton.
- Gagnon, J.H.
1965 "Female Child Victims of Sex Offences." Social Problems. Vol. 13, (Fall), pp. 176-192.
- Gagnon, J.H. and W. Simon. (Eds.).
1967 Sexual Deviance. New York: Random House.

- Garofalo, R.B.
1914 Criminology. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- Gebhard, P.H. et. al.
1965 Sex Offenders. New York: Harper and Row.
- Geis, G. and D. Chappell.
1971 "Forcible Rape by Multiple Offenders." Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science. Vol. 71, pp. 387-389.
- Geller, S.
1977 "The Sexually Assaulted Female: Innocent Victim or Temptress?" Canada's Mental Health. Vol. 25, No. 1, pp. 26-29.
- Giacinti, T.A.
1973 "Forcible Rape: The Offender and His Victim." Unpublished M.A. thesis. Southern Illinois University. Carbondale, Illinois.
- Giacinti, T.A. and C. Tjaden.
1973 "The Crime of Rape in Denver." Denver Crime Council.
- Gibbons, T.W.C. and M. Sibberman.
1970 "Alcoholism Among Male Recidivists." in T. Cook, D. Garth and C. Hensman, eds. The Drunkenness Offence. Oxford: Pergamon. pp. 35-50.
- Gibbons, D.C.
1971 "Observations on the Study of Crime Causation." American Journal of Sociology. Vol. 77, (September), pp. 262-278.
- Gibbons, D.C.
1973 Society, Crime and Criminal Careers. 2nd Ed. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Gillin, J.
1946 The Wisconsin Prisoner. Wisconsin: University Press.
- Glueck, B.C. Jr.
1956 New York Final Report on Deviated Sex Offenders. Albany: Department of Mental Hygiene.
- Goffman, Erving.
1961 Encounters: Two Studies in the Sociology of Interaction. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company Inc.
- Gold, A.
1975 "Rape and Drunkenness: A Tale of Two Provinces." Annotation to R. v. Leary, in C.R.N.S. Vol. 31, pp. 199-218.

- Goldner, H.S.
1972 "Rape as a Heinous But Understudied Offense." Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science. Vol. 68, No. 3, pp. 402-407.
- Goldstein, Jeffrey H.
1975 Aggression and Crimes of Violence. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gordnick, V. and B. Moran (Eds.)
1971 Woman in Sexist Society. New York Basic Books
- Greer, Germaine.
1971 The Female Eunuch. London: Paladin, Granada Publishing Ltd.
- Greer, Germaine.
1972 "Seduction is a Four-Letter Word." Playboy. (August), pp. 80-228.
- Gregory,
1968 Fundamentals of Psychiatry. Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders.
- Griffin, Susan.
1971 "Rape: The All-American Crime." Ramparts. (September), pp. 26-35.
- Guttmacher, M.S.
1951 Sex Offenses. New York: W.W. Norton and Company Inc.
- Guttmacher, M.S. and H. Weiofen.
1952 "Sex Offenses." Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science. Vol. 43, pp. 153-175.
- Hale, Sir Mathew.
1778 "Pleas of the Crown." in Richard A. Hibey, "The Trial of a Rape Case: An Advocate's Analysis of Corroboration, Consent and Character." The American Criminal Law Review. Vol. 11, No. 2, (Winter), pp. 635.
- Halleck, R.P.
1974 Pp. 211 quoted in Evelyn Reed. Problems of Women's Liberation. New York. Pathfinder Press.
- Hammer, E.G.
1954 "A Comparison of H.T.P's of Rapists and Pedophiliacs." Journal of Projective Techniques. Vol. 18, pp. 346-354.
- Hammer, E.G. and B.C. Glueck Jr.
1957 "Psychodynamic Patterns in Sex Offenders: A Four Factor Theory." Psychiatric Quarterly. Vol. 31, pp. 235-245.

- Hammer, E.G.
1957 "Psychoanalytic Hypothesis Concerning Sex Offenders." Journal of Clinical and Experimental Psychopathology. Vol. 18. pp. 177-264.
- Hayman, C. and C. Lanza.
1971 "Sexual Assault on Women and Girls." American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology. Vol. 103, No. 3, pp. 480-486.
- Hebb, D.O. and W.R. Thompson
1968 "The Social Significance of Animal Studies," in G. Lindzey and E. Aronson, (Eds.) Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. II. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc.
- Henninger, J.M.
1939 "The Senile Sex Offender." Mental Hygiene. Vol. 23, pp. 436-444.
- Hentig, Hans von.
1948 The Criminal and His Victim. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Hentig, Hans von.
1940 "Remarks on the Interaction of Perpetrator and Victim." Journal of Criminal Law. Vol. 31, pp. 303-309.
- Henry, G.W. and A.A. Gross.
1940 "The Sex Offender: A Consideration of Therapeutic Principles." National Probation and Parole Association. pp. 114-137.
- Hilberman, E.
1976 The Rape Victim. New York: Basic Books, Inc.
- Hirning, L.C.
1947 "The Sex Offender in Custody." in B. Linder and P. Seliger Handbook of Correctional Psychology. pp. 233-256.
- Hood, Roger and Richard Sparks.
1971 Key Issues in Criminology. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson
- Hoffman, S. and T. Dodd.
1975 "Effects of Various Victim Characteristics on Attribution of Responsibility to an Accused Rapist." Paper presented to the twenty-first annual meeting of the South Eastern Psychological Association.
- Horos, C.
1974 Rape. New Canan, Conn.: Toby Publishing.

- Jenkins, R.L.H.
1951 "The Making of Sex Offenders." Focus. Vol. 30, pp. 129-131.
- Johnson, A.M.
1956 "Parental Influences in Unusual Sexual Behavior in Children." Psychoanalytic Quarterly. Vol. 25, pp. 37-55.
- Jones, C. and E. Aronson.
1973 "Attribution of Fault to a Rape Victim as a Function of Respectability of the Victim." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology. Vol. 26, pp. 415-419.
- Kaplan, R.
1973 Aspects of Human Sexuality. Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Company.
- Karpman, B.
1934 "Obsessive Paraphilias." Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry. Vol. 32, pp. 577-626.
- Karpman, B.
1940 "The Principles and Aims of Criminal Psychopathology." Journal of Abnormal and Criminal Psychopathology. Vol. 1, pp. 187-218.
- Karpman, B.
1954 The Sexual Offender and His Offences. New York: The Julian Press.
- Kasinsky, Renee Goldsmith.
1975 "Rape: A Normal Act?" Canadian Forum. (September), pp. 18-22.
- Kirkpatrick, Clifford and Eugene Kanin.
1957 "Male Aggression on a University Campus." American Sociological Review. Vol. 22, pp. 52-58.
- Klemmack, R. and C. Klemmack
1975 "The Social Definition of Rape." in J. Walker and Stanley L. Brodsky (Eds.), Sexual Assault. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Company
- Komisar, L
1973 Violence and the Masculine Mystique. Pittsburgh: Know Press.
- Kostash, M.
1975 "Rape." Maclean's. (March and April), pp. 62-71, 45-48.

- La Vine, Robert A.
1959 "Gusii Sex Offences: A Study in Social Control." American Anthropologist. Vol. 61, (December), pp. 965-990.
- Lear, M.
1972 "What can you say about laws that tell a man: 'If you rob a woman you might as well rape her too - the rape is free.'" Redbook. pp. 83-87, 137.
- Lear, M.
1972 "Q: If you rape a woman and steal her T.V., what can they get you for in New York? A: Stealing her T.V." New York Times Magazine. Vol. 11, (January 30), pp. 51-62.
- Le Grand, Camille E.
1973 "Rape and Rape Laws: Sexism in Society and Law." California Law Review. Vol. 61, pp. 919-941.
- Lemert, E.M.
1953 "An Isolation and Closure Theory of Naive Check Forgery." Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science. Vol. 44, No. 3, pp. 296-307.
- Liebow, E.
1967 Tally's Corner. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- Lofland, John and Rodney Stark
1965 "Becoming a World-Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective." American Sociological Review. Vol. 30, pp. 862-875.
- Lofland, John.
1969 Deviance and Identity. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc.
- Lotz, Roy.
1975 Review of "Patterns in Forcible Rape." Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews. Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 381-382.
- McCaldon, R.J.
1967 "Rape." Canadian Journal of Criminology and Corrections. Vol. 9, pp. 37-59.
- McCord, W. and P. McCord.
1962 "Family Relationships and Sexual Deviance in Lower-Class Adolescents." The International Journal of Social Psychiatry. Vol. 8, pp. 165-180.
- Macdonald, J.M.
1975 Rape: Offenders and Their Victims. Springfield: Charles C. Thomas.

- Macdonald, J.M.
1969 "Rape." Police. Vol. 13, No. pp. 42-46.
- Macdonald, M.W.
1938 "Criminally Aggressive Behavior in Passive Effeminate Boys." American Journal of Orthopsychiatry. Vol. 8, pp. 70-78.
- Mailer, N.
1969 The Prisoner of Sex. New York: Dell Publishing.
- Manhart, Mary Ann and Florence Rush.
1974 "New York Radical Feminists Manifesto." In Rape: The First Sourcebook for Women. Ed. by Noreen Connell and Cassandra Wilson. New York: New American Library.
- Massey, J.
1971 "Management of Sexually Assaulted Females." Obstetrics and Gynecology. Vol. 38, pp. 190-192.
- Mead, Margaret.
1935 Sex and Temperament. New York: W. Morrow.
- Medea, A. and K. Thompson
1974 Against Rape. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Metzger, D.
1976 "It is Always the Woman Who is Raped." American Journal of Psychiatry. Vol. 133, No. 4, pp. 405-408.
- Millet, Kate.
1971 Sexual Politics. New York: Avon Books.
- Mintz, Betty.
1973 "Patterns in Forcible Rape: A Review Essay." Criminal Law Bulletin. Vol. 9, No. 9, pp. 703-710.
- Monahan, John.
1975 "The Prediction of Violence." In Duncan Chappell and John Monahan (eds.). Violence and Criminal Justice. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Company.
- Morris, Terence and Louis Blom-Cooper
1964 "Victimology." A Calendar of Murder: Criminal Homicide in England Since 1957, (Chapt. 7). London: Michael Joseph Ltd. Reprinted in M. Wolfgang (ed.), Studies in Homicide. New York: Harper and Row, 1967.
- Mulvihill, D. and M. Tumin with L. Curtis.
1969 Crimes of Violence. Washington: National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence.

- Nelson, S. and M. Amir.
1975 "The Hitchhike Victim of Rape: A Research Report." In Victimology: A New Focus. Vol. V, I. Drapkin and E. Viano (eds.), Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Company.
- Nicol, A.R., J.C. Gunn, J. Gistwood, R.H. Foggitt and J.P. Watson.
1973 "The Relationship of Alcoholism to Violent Behavior Resulting in Long-Term Imprisonment." British Journal of Psychiatry. Vol. 123, pp. 47-51.
- Notman, M.T. and C.C. Nadelson.
1976 "The Rape Victim: Psychodynamic Considerations." American Journal of Psychiatry. Vol. 133, No. 4, (April), pp. 408-413.
- Oltman, J.E. and S. Freedman.
1938 "Acute Heterosexual Inadequacy." Psychiatric Quarterly. Vol. 12, pp. 664-668.
- Partridge, B.
1960 History of Orgies. New York: Avon Books.
- Pearson, H.J.
1944 Emotional Disorders in Children. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Ploscowe, Morris.
1951 Sex and the Law. New York: Prentice-Hall.
- Pollens, B.
1938 The Sexual Criminal. New York: McCall.
- Pomeroy, S.B.
1975 Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity. New York: Schochel Books.
- President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of
1967 Justice. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Radzinowcz, L.
1957 Sexual Offenses. London: Macmillan.
- Reckless, W.C.
1973 American Criminology: New Directions. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Reckless, W.C.
1967 The Crime Problem. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Reinhardt, J.M.
1957 Sex Perversions and Sex Crimes. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas.

- Reiss, Albert J.
1975 Review of "Patterns in Forcible Rape." American Journal of Sociology. Vol. 80, No. 3, pp. 785-790.
- Rioux, Marcia H.
1975 "When Myths Mascuerade as Reality." Discussion Paper for Advisory Council on the Status of Women. April.
- Ruskin, S.H.
1941 "Analysis of Sex Offenders Among Male Psychiatric Patients." American Journal of Psychiatry. Vol. 97, pp. 955-968.
- Russell, Diana E.H.
1975 The Politics f Rape: The Victim's Perspective. New York: Stein and Day.
- Russell, Diana E.H.
1973 "Rape and the Masculine Mystique." Sociological Abstracts. Vol. xxi, No. vii, Suppl. 37. A.S.A. pp. 449.
- Schafer, Stephen.
1968 The Victim and His Criminal: A Study in Functional Responsibility. New York: Random House.
- Schiff, A.F.
1971 "Rape in Other Countries." Medicine, Science and the Law. Vol. 11, No. 3, pp. 139-143.
- Schmid, C.F. and S.E. Schmid.
1972 Crime in the State of Washington. Olympia, Washington: Washington State Planning and Community Affairs Agency.
- Schmidt, P.
1973 "Rape Crisis Centers." Ms. Magazine. September, pp. 14-18.
- Schuessler, K.F.
1962 "Components of Variations in City Crime Rates." Social Problems. Vol. 9, (Spring), pp. 314-323.
- Schultz, L.G. (Ed.)
1975 Rape Victimology. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas.
- Schultz, L.G. and J. DeSavage.
1975 "Rape and Rape Attitudes on a College Campus." L.G. Schultz (ed.), Rape Victimology. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas.
- Schultz, L.
1968 "The Victim-Offender Relationship." Crime and Delinquency. Vol. 14, No. 2, pp. 135-141.

- Selling, L.S.
1940 "The Role of Alcohol in the Commission of Sex Offences." Medical Record of New York. Vol. 151, pp. 289-291.
- Selkin, J.
1974 "Rape." Psychology Today. February, pp. 71-76.
- Shuntich, Richard and Stuart P. Taylor
1972 "The Effects of Alcohol on Human Physical Aggression." Journal of Experimental Research in Personality. Vol. 6, pp. 34-38.
- Shupe, Lloyd M.
1954 "Alcohol and Crime: A Study of the Urine Alcohol Concentration Found in 882 Persons Arrested During or Immediately After the Commission of a Felony." Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science. Vol. 44, pp. 661-664.
- Silverman, Robert.
1973 "Victim Precipitation: An Examination of the Concept." Paper presented to the First International Symposium on Victimology. Jerusalem, Israel, (September).
- Smelser, N.J.
1963 Theory of Collective Behavior. New York: Free Press.
- Sutherland, E.H. and D.R. Cressey.
1974 Principles of Criminology. (9th Ed.). Philadelphia: Lippincott.
- Sutherland, S. and D. Scherl.
1970 "Patterns of Response Among Victims of Rape." American Journal of Orthopsychiatry. Vol. 40, No. 3, pp. 503-511.
- Svalastoga, K.
1962 "Rape and Social Structure." Pacific Sociological Review. Vol. 5, pp. 48-53.
- Taylor, Stuart P. and Charles B. Gammon.
1976 "Aggressive Behavior of Intoxicated Subjects: The Effect of Third Party Intervention." Journal of Studies on Alcohol. Vol. 37, No. 7, pp. 917-930.
- Uniform Crime Reports for the United States
1965 Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice
- Verkko, V.
1951 Homicides and Suicides in Finland and Their Dependence on National Character. Copenhagen: Gads.

- Virkkunen, Matti.
1974 "Alcohol as a Factor Precipitating Aggression and Conflict Behavior Leading to Homicide." British Journal of Addiction. Vol. 69, pp. 149-154.
- Ward, D.A. and G.G. Kassebaum.
1965 Women's Prison: Sex and Social Structure. Chicago: Aldine.
- Weis, Kurt and Sandra S. Weis (Borges).
1973 "Victimology and Rape: The Case of the Legitimate Victim." Issues in Criminology. Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 71-116.
- Wilson, J.B. and M.J. Pescore.
1932 Problems of Prison Psychiatry. Idaho: Caxton Printing.
- Wolfgang, Marvin E.
1958 Patterns in Criminal Homicide. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press
- Wolfgang, Marvin E.
1972 Sexual Behaviors. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- Wood, P.L.
1973 "The Victim in a Forcible Rape Case: A Feminist View." American Criminal Law Review. Vol. 11, No. 2.
- Woods, G.D.
1969 "Some Aspects of Pack Rape in Sydney." Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology. Vol. 2, (July), pp. 105-119.
- Youree, G.
1970 "Jack the Raper." Avant-Garde. May, pp. 54.61.