C **Applications of the National Crime Survey** RAPE *<u><u></u></u>CTIMIZATION AND ATTITUDE DATA</u>* ANALYTIC REPORT SD-VAD-6 VICTIMIZATION IN 26 AMERICAN CITIES ance Adm OF JUST

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Rape Victimization in 26 American Cities

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Applications of the National Crime Survey Victimization and Attitude Data

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The APPLICATION OF VICTIMIZATION SURVEY RESULTS Project is funded by the Statistics Division of the National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. This research project has as its aim the analysis of the data generated by the National Crime Survey studies of criminal victimization undertaken for LEAA by the United States Bureau of the Census. More specifically, this research project, as its title suggests, encourages the use of the National Crime Survey data to examine issues that have particular relevance for *applications* to the immediate needs of operational criminal justice programs.

This aim is pursued in two ways. First, the project staff has conducted a series of regional seminars on the history, nature, uses, and limitations of the National Crime Survey victimization data. These seminars, attended by criminal justice planners, crime analysts, researchers, and operating agency personnel, have served as a useful exchange for disseminating information about the LEAA/Census victimization surveys and for soliciting from attendees suggestions for topics that they would like to see explored with the available victimization survey data. Second, based on these suggestions and on topics generated by the project staff at the Criminal Justice Research Center, the project staff has undertaken a series of analytic reports that give special attention to applications of the victimization survey results to questions of interest to operational criminal justice programs. This report is one in the analytic series.

The National Crime Survey victimization data provide a wealth of important information about attitudes toward the police, fear of criminal victimization, characteristics of victims, the nature of victimizations, the consequences of crimes to victims, characteristics of offenders, the failure of victims to report crimes to the police, reasons given by victims for not notifying the police, and differences between those victimizations that are and those that are not reported to the police.

The National Crime Survey results make available systematic information the scope and depth of which has not heretofore been available. These data constitute a vast store of information that can be a substantial utility to the criminal justice community. Knowledge about characteristics of victimized persons, households, and commercial establishments and about when and where victimizations occur have particular relevance for public education programs, police patrol strategies, and environmental engineering. Information on the nature and extent of injury and loss in criminal victimization can provide data necessary for determining the feasibility of, or planning for, programs for restitution and compensation to victims of crime. Information about the level of property recovery after burglaries and larcenies is useful for assessing the need for property identification programs. Knowledge about the levels of nonreporting to the police and about the kinds of victimizations that are disproportionately not reported to the police give an indication of the nature and extent of biases in police data on offenses known.

These are only a few of the areas in which results of victimization survey data have the potential for informing decisionmaking and shaping public policy. It is the aim of this series of analytic reports to explore some of the potential applications of the victimization survey results and to stimulate discussion about both the utility and limitations of such applications.

> MICHAEL J. HINDELANG Project Director

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Highlights of the Findings

Victimization survey data from 26 cities are used in this report to examine rape and attempted rape. The victimizations described are those that involved female rape and attempted rape victims who were a tacked by offenders they did not know. In addition to examining rape victim and incident characteristics, the survey data are used to look at characteristics of the offenders as perceived by their victims. Some highlights of this analysis include:

1. Characteristics of Victims: Rates of rape and attempted rate victimization within victim age, race, marital status, major activity (for example working, keeping house, in school) and income categories are reported. The survey data indicate that rates of rape and attempted rape in the 26 cities were higher for young women (compared with older women), black and other racial minority women (compared with white women), and women who were never married or were divorced or separated (compared with those who were married or widowed). In addition, women whose major activities took them away from the home and those with lower family incomes had higher rates of rape and attempted rape victimization than did women who spent most of their time at home and those with higher family incomes.

2. Characteristics of Victims in Conjunction with Characteristics of Offenders: The age and race characteristics of rape and attempted rape victims are looked at together with the same characteristics of their offenders. The data indicate that victims in all age categories were most often attacked by offenders perceived to be 21 or older, although when more than one offender was involved both the victim and the offender were younger. The survey data also show that rape and attempted rape in the 26 cities were highly intra-racial, although less intra-racial when the victim was white.

3. Some Elements of Victimization: Survey data are used to examine elements of rape and attempted rape victimizations—including time, place, number of offenders and number of victims, theft and weapon use. More rapes and attempted rapes occurred in the evening and nighttime hours than during the day, and more took place in an open public area such as a street or a park than in any other location. Most attacks were committed by one offender and the vast majority involved one victim. Theft was an element in only a small minority of the victimizations. Although weapons were used in less than half of the victimizations, weapon use appeared to be effective as a means of intimidation—that is, proportionately more attacks were completed when the offender was armed. Knives were the most common weapons used in rape and attempted rape.

4. Some Consequences of Victimization: Lastly, this report looks at some consequences of rape and attempted rape attacks, such as the use of self-protective measures, injury, and reporting the offense to the police. Most victims in the 26 cities surveyed did something to protect themselves. The survey data show that when a woman did something to defend herself, she increased the chances that the rape attack would not be completed; however, she also increased the likelihood that she would receive additional (non-rape) injuries. Most often the injuries resulting from rape and attempted rape victimization were either injuries that were directly associated with the physical act of rape itself, or minor additional injuries such as bruises, cuts, and scratches. The data also indicate that only slightly over half of the women who reported rape and attempted rape victimization to survey interviewers said that the incident had been reported to the police. Victims who failed to report most often said either that they considered the incident to be a private or personal matter or that they thought nothing could be done, that there was a lack of proof.

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Rape Victimization in 26 American Cities

Introduction

A COMBINATION of factors, ranging from an upward trend in urban violence to the growth of the women's movement to the current concern with the treatment of victims of crime, has brought increased attention to the crime of forcible rape.¹ The Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) for 1975 indicates that forcible rape makes up only 1 percent of the total crime index and 5 percent of the violent crime index. However, the seriousness of rape is determined not by its volume but by its nature. Throughout history rape has been viewed as one of the most vile and atrocious crimes.

The study of forcible rape has traditionally focused on the offender and on the crime itself, not on the victim. Much of what is known about rape is the result of research using either data on crimes reported to the police or data gathered from interviewing convicted rape offenders. Together, these studies have reported patterns in rape that include factors such as temporal and spatial patterns, offender characteristics and motives, *modus operandi*, and to a limited extent, characteristics of victims and victim-offender relationships.

In addition to failing to focus on the victim, attempts to describe and explain rape that are based entirely on police file data or data gathered from samples of convicted rapists have other shortcomings. The major problem with using police data on rape is that the offense is notoriously underreported, although the degree of underreporting has been a matter of dispute. Researchers using police files have estimated that the rape cases reported to the police represent anywhere from 5 to 50 percent of the actual number of rapes committed in a given year (Amir, 1971:27). Another problem with using data drawn from police files is the major differences that exist among police departments in the classification and recording of rape incidents. (Chappell, 1975)

Studies using data gathered from samples of convicted rape offenders are also often limited. Generalization from these studies is hampered by small unrepresentative samples. Only a fraction of rapes reported to the police result in arrest. Of those arrested and charged, an even smaller proportion are ultimately convicted and incarcerated for this offense. For example, a recent study in Seattle indicated that of the 315 rapes reported to the police in 1974, only 6 cases resulted in a conviction for rape or attempted rape (Chappell and James, 1976:2).

In this report, victimization survey data will be used to examine rape and attempted rape. Because the victimization survey data are not subject to the shortcomings mentioned above, they can fill in gaps left by traditional data sources. For example, a good deal of information on victim and incident characteristics can be obtained because of the types of questions asked. The survey data can also provide an indication both of the extent of and the reasons for victims not reporting rape to the police. Finally, consistency in classification and recording is possible because the data are collected by a single agency using standard definitions, collection techniques, and data classifications.

City Data

The rape data in this report are the result of 26 city victimization surveys conducted in 1974 and 1975 by the Bureau of the Census for the Law Enforcement

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¹Forcible rape is generally defined as the carnal knowledge of a woman by a man, forcibly and against her will. Carnal knowledge here means sexual intercourse. It is not necessary that the penetration of the vagina be complete and sexual emission need not occur.

Assistance Administration (LEAA).² Interviews were conducted with representative samples of roughly 10,000 households (22,000 individuals) in each of the 26 cities.

Estimated rates of rape based on city surveys do not reflect the rape rate nationally. The rape rates in this report (based on representative city samples) cannot be used to estimate the extent of rape across the nation; however, they can be used to describe rape in urban areas where it is a more serious crime problem. The F.B.I.'s Uniform Crime Reports for 1975 indicated that urban areas have much higher rates of rape. According to the UCR, in 1975 the rape rate in urban areas was 61 victims per 100,000 females. Cities outside metropolitan areas experienced a rate of 26 per 100,000 females; rural areas, a rate of 23 per 100,000 females (Kelley, 1976:22).

Female Victims

The victimization surveys obtained information from both men and women on victimizations that were classified as rape and attempted rape. Victimizations were classified as rape or attempted rape on the basis of information that was obtained by survey questions on threats, attacks, and injury.³ However, the small number of cases in which the victim was a male severely limits what can be said about these incidents. In addition, the crime of rape is generally, both legally and socially, considered a crime against women. For these reasons, this report will deal only with the victimization data in which the rape victims were women.

Limitations of Victimization Survey Data on Rape

Victimization survey data on rape have limitations. First, there is a general problem, faced in all

³Victims who were threatened, attacked, or injured were asked about the nature of the threat, attack, or injury. A victimization was classified as a rape if rape was the method of attack or the type of injury. A victimization was classified as an attempted rape if there was verbal threat of rape, or if attempted rape was the method of attack, or if there were attempted rape injuries. victimization survey interviews, of victims being unable or unwilling to report the incident to the survey interviewer. In addition, there are special problems involved when a rape victim is interviewed.

The general problem of victims not reporting incidents to survey interviewers occurs for several reasons. The victim may have simply forgotten the incident or may for some reason be unwilling to report it to the interviewer. For example, rape victims who know their attackers may be less willing to report the offense than those who are raped by strangers. Victims of known and unknown assailants may be unwilling to report the attack to the interviewer because of embarrassment or because it is difficult and unpleasant for them to discuss it.

There are special problems when a rape victim is interviewed. The major difficulties with the survey interview procedure designed to elicit rape victimizations result from both the content of the survey questions and from the manner in which the interview is conducted. First, survey interviewers do not ask victims directly if they have been raped. Rather, respondents are asked if they have been assaulted. If they respond affirmatively, there is further inquiry into the nature of the assault to determine if it can be classified as a rape. Because the assault question is asked first, the survey instrument may fail to detect rape victimizations or may misclassify them as assaults. The second problem is that the interview may be conducted in the presence of other household members. In these situations, the victim may be reluctant to report to the interviewer certain types of attacks, such as those not known to other household members or those committed by family members.

These problems were examined by the San Jose Methods Test of Known Crime Victims, a feasibility study conducted by the Bureau of the Census for LEAA (LEAA, 1972). The reverse record check design tested whether the survey instruments could successfully elicit mention of certain victimizations from victims known to the police. The San Jose study indicated that of those rape victims known to the police and for whom it was possible to obtain an interview, two-thirds reported the incident to survey interviewers. The study also suggested that the extent of not reporting was influenced by whether or not the attacker was known to the victim. Eighty-four percent of the rape attacks by strangers were reported to interviewers, compared with only 54 percent of the rape attacks by known assailants.

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The report of the San Jose study also noted that 5 (out of 30) of the known rape victims mentioned the incident in the interview but reported to interviewers the kind of details that caused the event to be classified

²The cities are: Atlanta, Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Dallas, Denver, Detroit, Houston, Los Angeles, Miami, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, New Orleans, Newark, New York, Oakland, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Portland, San Diego, San Francisco, St. Louis, and Washington. See *An Introduction to the National Crime Survey*. Analytic Report SD-VAD-4. Garofalo, James and Hindelang, Michael J. Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1978.

as an assault in the survey. On the basis of information given by the victims, there was no way of determining if these cases were misclassified as rapes by the police or as assaults by the survey.

The results of the San Jose study have several implications for the analysis in this report. First, the survey data in this report provide information on all rape and attempted rape victims who reported the incident to the interviewer, both those who reported it to the police and those who failed to do so. However, the survey data do not contain information on two groups of victims: those who reported the incident to the police but not to the interviewers and those who did not report it to either the police or the interviewers. The San Jose study provided an indication of the proportion of victims who report the incident to the police but fail to report to survey interviewers. However, neither the survey data nor the reverse record check method can be used to estimate what proportion of victims do not report the incident to the police or to the interviewers.

A second caution of the San Jose study is that the surveys may have detected some rape victimizations but picked up details which caused them to be misclassified as assaults. If some of the rapes in the 26 cities were classified as assaults, this would also imply that the data in this report underestimate the extent of rape.

Finally, because of the low rate of reporting by rape victims of known assailants, caution should be exercised in interpreting the victimization survey data on rapes committed by attackers known to the victim. The body of this report will deal only with those rape attacks that involved unknown assailants; however,

Appendix A presents some data on rape by nonstrangers.

Rapes Committed by Strangers

The relationship between the rape victim and offender can vary from a close personal relationship to one in which the assailant is unknown to the victim. Survey interviewers asked rape victims if the attacker was someone known or if he was a stranger. (See Appendix B, source codes 140 and 147. The source codes are the circled numbers to the left of the questions.) The data obtained in response to this question are given in Table 1. In the analysis used in this table, the offender was classified as a "stranger" if the victim reported that he was a stranger or was known by sight only, or if the victim didn't know whether or not she knew him. The offender was classified as a "nonstranger" in cases in which he was a casual acquaintance or well known to the victim. The latter includes cases in which he was a relative.

The data show an estimated 39,310 rape and attempted rape victimizations occurred in the 26 cities. More than four out of five (82 percent) were committed by strangers. However, this probably does not reflect the actual proportion of rapes involving strangers. The results of the San Jose reverse record check showed that only 54 percent of rapes committed by nonstrangers were reported to survey interviewers by known victims, compared with 84 percent of the rapes committed by strangers. This difference in reporting suggests that the rape data from the 26 cities surveyed may be biased by undercounting the nonstranger rapes to a greater extent than the stranger-

		Type of victimization				
Victim-offender	Rape	Attempted	Estimated number			
relationship		rape	of victimizations			
Stranger	32% ^b	68%	(32,180)			
	80% ^c	83%	82%			
Nonstranger	37%	63%	(7,130)			
	20%	17%	18%			
Estimated number of victimizations	33%	67%	100%			
	(12,970)	(26,340)	(39,310)			

TABLE 1 Estimated percentages of stranger and nonstranger rape and attempted rane victimization, 26 cities aggregate^a

^CColumn percentage.

to-stranger rapes. Applying weighting factors derived from the San Jose results may give a more accurate estimate of the proportions of stranger and nonstranger rape. When the weighting factors are applied to the data in Table 1, it can be estimated that 74 percent of the total rapes and attempted rapes in the 26 cities surveyed were committed by strangers and 26 percent by offenders known to the victims.

Because of the probable undercounting of nonstranger rapes in the victimization surveys from which the data in this report are derived, only strangerto-stranger rapes, that is, those victimizations in which the attacker was not known to the victim, will be considered in the body of this report. Appendix A will briefly highlight some of the findings in the nonstranger rape data.

Analytic Format

The victimization survey data will be used to examine rape victim, offender, and incident characteristics. First, rates of rape and attempted rape victimization within age, race, marital status, major activity and income categories will be reported. Then age and race characteristics of the victim will be looked at in conjunction with the same characteristics of their offenders. Next, elements of rape victimizations including time, place, number of offenders and number of victims, theft and weapon use—will be reported. Lastly, this report will look at some consequences of rape attacks, such as the use of selfprotective measures, injury, and reporting the offense to the police.

Victim Characteristics

This section of the report will examine age, race, marital status, major activity, and income characteristics of victims of rape and attempted rape. Victim characteristics will be described in terms of rates of rape and attempted rape per 100,000 females 12 years of age or older. Because the rates are computed by dividing the number of rape and attempted rape victimizations by the estimated number of women 12 years of age or older in the 26 cities, they can be used as one estimate of the risk of being the victim of a rape attack.⁴ For example, the rate data will suggest answers to questions such as whether the risk of rape is higher for younger or for older women, for single or married women, or for white women or women of minority races.

In addition, rates of rape and attempted rape for victims in different categories of these demographic or characteristic variables will be examined using an index that compares rates of rape with rates of attempted rape. This will give an indication of the relative risk of being the victim of a more serious, completed rape attack. The index is obtained by dividing the rate of rape by the rate of attempted rape.⁵ The resulting ratio can be considered a completion ratio because it compares the risk of being the victim of a completed rape attack (a rape) with the risk of being the victim of a rape attack which is not completed (an attempted rape). For example, for any given category of victims when the completion ratio is .50 the risk of being a victim of an attempted rape, regardless of the total risk in that category. When the completion ratio is 1.00, the risk of being a victim of rape is equal to the risk of being a victim of attempted rape. When the completion ratio is 2.00, the risk of being a victim of rape is twice the risk of being a victim of attempted rape. More simply, the higher the ratio is, the greater is the relative risk of being the victim of a completed rape attack. The completion ratio will be useful in comparing the victimization experience of victims in different categories of variables such as age and race. For example, if the risk of being the victim of a rape attack is much higher for younger women compared with older women, it will be useful to know if younger women also have a relatively greater risk of being victims of completed rape attacks, or if older women, who have a much lower overall risk, have a relatively greater risk of being victims of completed rape attacks.

In this section of the report and in the sections that follow, the analysis will be restricted at times by the small number of victimizations in given categories. For example, comparatively few rape and attempted rape victimizations were reported to survey interviewers by elderly women. Estimates based on about 50 or fewer sample cases may be statistically unreliable. In the tables that follow, where the base upon which rates or percentages are calculated contains about 50 or fewer sample cases, this problem will be indicated by a footnote.

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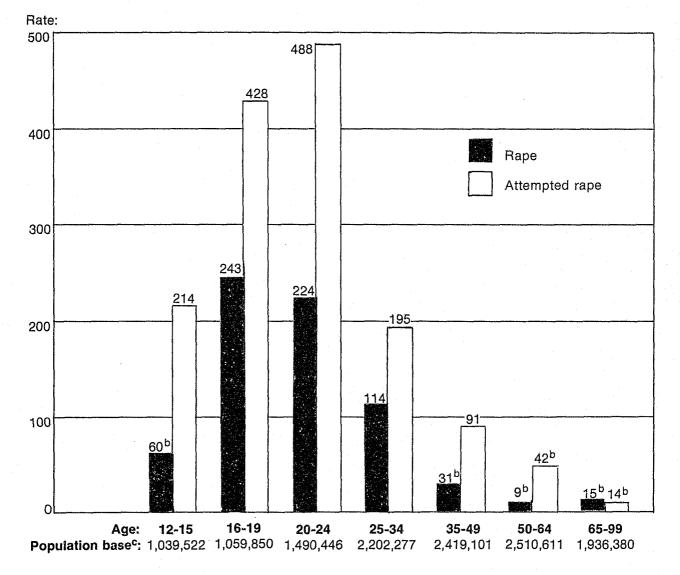
⁴The rates of rape and attempted rape victimization are arrived at by dividing the number of rape and attempted rape victimizations by the estimated number of women 12 years of age or older in the 26 cities. Because the numerator used is victimizations rather than victims, these rates probably overestimate the risk of being the victim of a rape attack. This overestimation will occur because some victims may have reported more than one rape victimization.

⁶Later in this report this index will be obtained by dividing the proportion of rapes by the proportion of attempted rapes, rather than by dividing the rate of rape by the rate of attempted rape. Although the ratio will be calculated using proportions rather than rates, the interpretation of the ratio is similar.

Age

Generally, young women experience the greatest risk of being victims of rape attacks. Research studies that have used police data report that most rape victims are in their late teens or early twenties (Amir, 1971; MacDonald, 1971). The victimization survey data also indicate that the age groups that experienced the highest risk of rape attacks were those including victims ranging from 16 to 19 and from 20 to 24 years old. The risk of rape and attempted rape victimization then decreased dramatically as the women got older. The rates of rape and attempted rape victimization for victims of different ages are illustrated in Figure 1. The rate of rape was highest among women between 16 and 19 years old (243 per 100,000); it declined only slightly for women between 20 and 24 years old (224 per 100,000). The rate of rape then showed substantial decreases as women got older, although it was slightly higher for women 65 or older than for women 50 to 64 years old. The rate of attempted rape was higher than the rate of rape for women in every age group except the oldest (65 and over). In attempted rape victimizations, the data show a similar pattern in the

FIGURE 1 Estimated rates (per 100,000 females 12 years of age or older) of rape and attempted rape victimization, by age of victim, 26 cities aggregate^a



^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males. ^bEstimate, based on about 50 or fewer sample cases, may be statistically unreliable. ^cEstimated number of females in the population in given age categories.

TABLE 2 Estimated rates (per 100,000 females 12 years of age or older) and percentages of rape and attempted rape victimization, by race of victim, 26 cities aggregatea

	Raca of victim					
Type of victimization	White	Black/other	Total			
Rape	30% ^b 67 ^c	35% 115	32% 82			
Attempted rape	70% 154	65% 213	68% 173			
Estimated number of victimizations	(19,353)	(12,827)	(32,180)			
Population base ^d	8,755,860	3,902,316	12,658,176			

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males. Column percent.

Estimated rate per 100,000 females 12 years of age or older in given race categories.

dEstimated number of females 12 years of age or older in given race categories.

rates as the victim gets older. As Figure 1 illustrates, the rate of attempted rape was highest among women between the ages of 20 and 24 (488 per 100,000).

The rate data indicate that the risk of rape and attempted rape attacks is highest for young women and that as women get older their chances of being attacked decline substantially. When these rate data for rape and attempted rape are converted into completion ratios some interesting results emerge. Although the rates of rape and attempted rape were quite low for elderly women (65 or over), the completion ratio is highest for this group (1.07). Compared with women in all other age groups, elderly women experienced the greatest relative risk of being victims of rape attacks that were completed. The data also show that the category of women between the ages of 25 and 34 experienced much lower rates of rape and attempted rape than women from 16 to 19 and from 20 to 24 years old; however, their completion ratio (.58) is about the same as that of 16 to 19 year old women (.57) and slightly higher than that of 20 to 24 year old women (.46).

These results suggest that for elderly women and for women between the ages of 25 and 34 the victimization experience in sexual assault is not adequately described by rates of rape and attempted rape alone. The completion ratios show that although these women experienced lower rates of rape and attempted rape than young women, their relative risk of being victims of rape attacks that were completed was equal to or greater than the risk experienced by young women. Because rape is a more serious assault than attempted rape, these results suggest that while the rate of victimization for elderly women and women between the ages of 25 and 34 may be lower than that for young women, the victimizations suffered may be more serious.

Race.

Researchers using police data have reported that black and other minority women have a much greater risk of being raped than do white women (Amir, 1971; MacDonald, 1971). The victimization data also indicate that the rates of rape and attempted rape in the 26 cities were substantially higher for black and other minority women than for white women.⁶

Table 2 indicates the rate of rape for black and other minority women was 1.7 times the rate for white women (115 compared with 67 per 100,000). In attempted rape victimization, the rate for minority women was 1.4 times the rate for whites (213 compared with 154 per 100,000).

The survey data also show that rape attacks may be more serious, in terms of a greater likelihood of their being completed, when victims are black or other minority race members. Completion ratios calculated

⁶Because races other than black and white constitute too small a proportion of the population in the 26 cities to permit separate analysis, in this report "other" race victims are grouped with black victims and are referred to as "black and other minority victims" or at times "minority victims." It is important to note that the term "minority" as used here relates to minority races and not minority groups. For example, although oriental victims are included in the "black and other minority" race category, white Spanish-speaking people are included in the white race category.

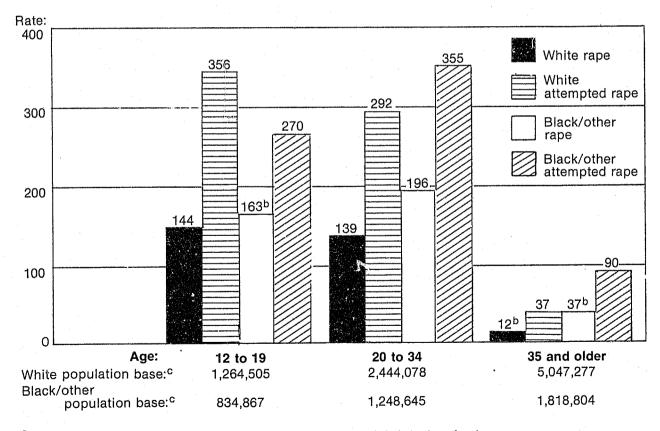
from the rate data in Table 2 indicate that the relative risk of being the victim of a completed rape attack was slightly higher for minority women than for white women (.54 compared with .44). The relatively higher risk of rape attacks being completed for minority women could suggest that their sexual assaults are more serious; however, it should be noted that this finding could be a result of reporting differences. Because of cultural differences, black and other minority women may tend to report only the more serious rape victimizations; that is, they may simply not report attempted rape attacks to survey interviewers as often as white women do.

Age and Race

When the data for rape and attempted rape are examined while jointly controlling the victim's race and age, it is seen that the rates of victimization were not always higher for minority women than they were for white women. Figure 2 indicates that the rate of rape was higher for black and other minority women than it was for white women in every age category. However, the rate of attempted rape victimization was not consistently higher for black and other minority women across age categories. Young white women (12 to 19 year olds) experienced a much greater risk of being victims of attempted rape than did young minority women (356 compared with 270 per 100,000). However, in the victim age categories 20 to 34 and 35 and older black and other minority women had higher rates of attempted rape than did white women.

Thus, the rate data for rape and attempted rape victimizations in the 26 cities indicate that although the risk of being a victim of attempted rape was generally higher for minority women than for white women, it was not higher for those women under the age of 20.

FIGURE 2 Estimated rates (per 100,000 females 12 years of age or older) of rape and attempted rape victimization, by race and age of victim, 26 cities aggregate^a



^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males. ^bEstimate, based on about 50 or fewer sample cases, may be statistically unreliable. ^cEstimated number of females in the population in given race and age categories.

Marital Status

Estimated rates of rape and attempted rape victimization, by marital status of victim, are given in Table 3. The data in this table show that in the cities surveyed women who were never married, followed by divorced or separated women, had the highest rates of rape (163 and 135 per 100,000); these groups also had the highest rates of attempted rape (332 and 265 per 100,000). Compared with these groups, married women and widows had much lower rates of rape and attempted rape. These survey findings are consistent with studies using police data, studies that report that the majority of rape victims are unmarried.

However, when rates of rape and attempted rape are examined controlling for the age of the victim, some differences emerge. Among the 12 to 19 year old women, the highest rates of rape and attempted rape are found among the divorced/separated, followed by the married, and then the never married women. Among the 20 to 34 year olds, the highest rates of rape and attempted rape are found among the never married, followed closely by the divorced/separated and then the married women. Finally, among women 35 or older, the highest rates of rape and attempted rape victimization are found among the divorced/ separated, followed by the never married, and then the married women. Generally, then, the highest rates of rape and attempted rape were found among divorced/separated or never married women. This may suggest that the particular style of life or major activities of both married and divorced or separated women is related to their greater risk of being victims of rape attacks.

When the rape and attempted rape rate data from Table 3 are used in completion ratios, comparing the rate of rape to the rate of attempted rape, these ratios are slightly higher for never married and divorced or separated women (.49 and .51, respectively) than they are for married and widowed women (.43 and .34, respectively). This suggests that in addition to the finding that the risks of rape and attempted rape victimization were higher for never married and divorced or separated women, these groups also had a relatively higher risk of being victims of completed rape attacks.

Thus, in the 26 cities surveyed, women who were never married or were divorced or separated experienced both greater risk of being victims of rape and attempted rape and greater relative risk of being victims of completed rape attacks than their married or widowed counterparts. It is suggested that their higher rates of victimization may be related to their lifestyles and to their patterns of daily activities. This leads to an examination of the major activities of rape victims.

Major Activity

The major activity of respondents over 16 years old was determined by asking them what they were doing most of the time during the week preceding the interview.7 Responses fell into eight categories, as shown in Table 4. It can be seen from the data in this table that the major activities of women over 16 years of age with high rates of rape and attempted rape included going to school, looking for work, with a job but not at work, and other major activity. Women with comparatively lower rates of rape and attempted rape were women who were keeping house, unable to work, or retired.

The major activity of respondents between the ages of 12 and 16 was not obtained in the survey interview.

			Marital statu	s of victim		
Type of victimization	Married	Never married	Divorced/ separated	Widowed	Not ascertained	Total
Population base ^b	5,786,740	3,738,860	1,385,453	1,691,065	56,057	12,658,176
Rape	37	163	135	13 ⁰	0	82
Attempted rape	86	332	265	38 ^c	205 ^c	173

TABLE 3 Estimated rates (per 100,000 females 12 years or older) of rape and attempted rape victimization, by marital status of victim, 26 cities aggregate^a

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males. **bEstimated** number of females 12 years of age or older in the population in given marital status categories. Estimate, based on about 50 or fewer sample cases, may be statistically unreliable.

TABLE 4 Estimated rates (per 100,000 females 12 years of age or older) of a tion, by major activity of victim, 26 cities aggregate ^a	rape and attempted rape victimiza-
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				Majo	r activity of vic	tim				
Typ s of victimization	Under 16 years old ^b	Working	With job/ not at work	Looking for work	Keeping house	In School	Unable to work	Retired	Other	Total
Population base ^C	1,039,522	4,254,444	132,868	177,014	4,759,872	903,696	366,184	690,392	243,640	11,528,110
Rape	60 ^d	86	150 ^d	106 ^d	71	148 ^d	109 ^d	Od	214 ^d	82
Attempted rape	214	203	303 ^d	327 ^d	123	319	103 ^d	0 ^d	326 ^d	173

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males. ^bThe major activity of respondents under 16 years of age was not obtained in the survey interview. ^cEstimated number of females 12 years of age or older in the population, in given major activity categories. ^dEstimate, based on about 50 or fewer cases, may be statistically unreliable.

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The survey results of the major activity of rape victims are congruent with what the age and marital status rate data suggested. In addition to the findings that women who have a high risk of being victims of rape and attempted rape were young women and women who were single or divorced or separated, the survey results suggest that women with high rates of rape and attempted rape victimization were women whose major activities took them out of the home more often.

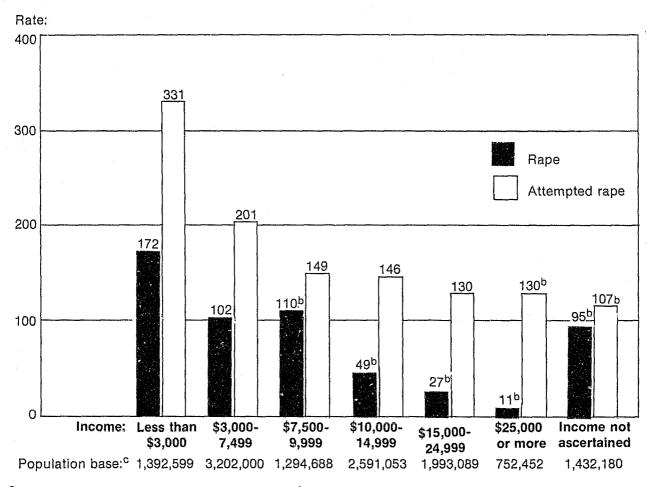
Income

Police departments generally do not record the income or occupation of victims of crime. For this reason, research using police files has relied on indicators such as race or neighborhood of residence to make inferences about the income or social class of rape victims (Amir, 1971).

Victimization survey interviewers record the total family income for each household interviewed, and thus permit an analysis of the income of rape victims. Because the income data obtained in the survey interview are total family income rather than income of individual household members, the income tables in this report may or may not reflect the personal income of the rape victim. However, in light of the number of victims who reported being unemployed, keeping house, or going to school, family income is probably a better indicator of the income of rape victims than would be their personal incomes.

The survey findings in Figure 3 indicate an inverse relationship between family income and rates of rape

FIGURE 3 Estimated rates (per 100,000 females 12 years of age or older) of rape and attempted rape victimization, by family income of victim, 26 cities aggregate^a



^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males. Estimate, based on about 50 or fewer sample cases, may be statistically unroliable.

c Estimated number of females 12 years of age or older in the population in given income categories.

and attempted rape. Women with the highest risk of being victims of rape (rate of 172 per 100,000) have incomes of less than \$3,000. The rate of rape for these women is 15.6 times the rate of women in the highest income category, \$25,000 and over (11 per 100,000). The pattern of decreasing risk with increasing family income is similar in attempted rape. Again, women with incomes less than \$3,000 have the highest rate of attempted rape (331 per 100,000). This rate is 2.5 times the rate of women with incomes \$25,000 and over (130 per 100.000).

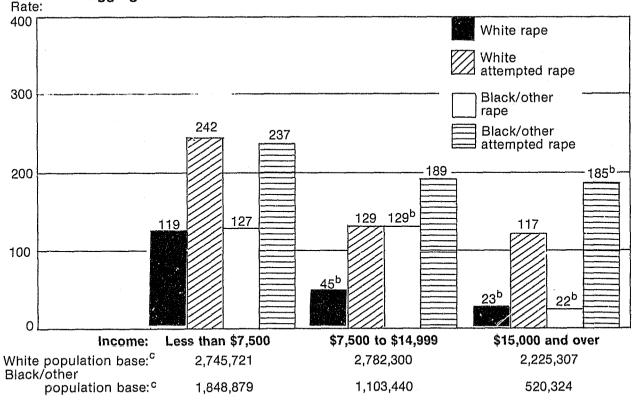
Thus, in the 26 cities surveyed, the women with the greatest chance of being victims of rape and attempted rape were women on the lower end of the socioeconomic scale, as measured by family income. In addition, the higher on the income scale a woman was, the lower her risk of being attacked. Because race is a correlate of income, the question of whether this inverse relationship remains when controlling for race is raised.

Income and Race

When the rates of rape and attempted rape are considered separately for white women and for black and other minority women, the general pattern of decreasing risk of rape with increasing family income is altered. (See Figure 4.) The relationship between income and rates of rape and attempted rape for white women reflects the aggregate pattern noted above. The higher the woman's income, the lower her chances of being the victim of a rape or attempted rape attack. However, for black and other minority women, the relationship between income and rates of rape and attempted rape is not consistent with the general pattern.

As Figure 4 illustrates, the rate of rape for black and other minority women was about the same for those with incomes less than \$7,500 and those with incomes between \$7,500 and \$14,999 (127 and 129 per 100,000 respectively); it then decreased to 22 per

FIGURE 4 Estimated rates (per 100,000 females 12 years of age or older) of rape and attempted rape victimization, by race and family income of victim, 26 cities aggregate^a



bExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males.

Estimate, based on about 50 or fewer sample cases, may be statistically unreliable.

Estimated number of females 12 years of age or older in the population in given income and race categories.

100,000 for those with incomes of \$15,000 and over. Among black and other minority women the rate of attempted rape decreased from 237 to 185 per 100,000 from the lowest to the highest income category. It should be noted that the surprisingly high rate of attempted rape (185 per 100,000) found among minority women in the highest income category may be statistically unreliable because of the small number of sample cases and the small number of black and other minority women in the 26 cities with family incomes of \$15,000 and over.

Summary: Victim Characteristics

The survey results from the 26 cities indicate that rates of rape and attempted rape victimization varied across categories of age, race, marital status, major activity, and income. Rates of rape and attempted rape were higher for young women (compared with older women), black and other minority women (compared with white women), and women who were never married, divorced or separated (compared with those who were married or widowed). In addition, women whose major activities took them away from the home tended to have higher rates of rape and attempted rape. Finally, the lower the family income of the woman, the greater her chances were of being the victim of a rape or attempted rape attack. In order to explore more fully the characteristics of victims of rape and attempted rape, the following section will look at age and race charcteristics of victims in conjunction with the same characteristics of their attackers.

Characteristics of the Victim in Relation to the Offender

In addition to the findings that women with certain characteristics (for example, those who are young or black) have higher risks of being victims of rape, the literature on rape suggests patterns in the relationship between these victim characteristics and characteristics of their offenders. Studies of rape that have used police data (see, for example, Amir, 1971) have brought attention to some relationships that can be examined with victimization survey data. For instance, if the vast majority of rape victims in the 26 cities were between the ages of 16 and 24, how old were their attackers? Are older and younger offenders equally likely to choose young victims? Are rape and attempted rape victims more likely to be attacked by an offender of their own race? These questions will be dealt with by considering first, the relationship between the age of the victim and the perceived age of the offender, and second, the relationship between the race of the victim and the perceived race of the offender.

Age of Victim by Age of Offender

The literature on rape reveals that generally the crime is committed against young women by young men. A study of 646 victims and 1,292 offenders drawn from police files in Philadelphia found that the majority of both victims and offenders came from the same age groups (ages 15 to 24), although the victims tended to be somewhat younger than their assailants (Amir, 1971:54).

Victimization survey inteviewers asked victims how old they thought the attacker was. Basing age divisions on those used in the survey instrument, the analysis here will consider two age groups of offenders: the younger offenders (those perceived to be under 21), and the older offenders (those perceived to be 21 or older).⁸

Lone Offenders

The data in Table 5 indicate that victims in all age categories who were attacked by lone offenders were most often attacked by offenders they perceived to be 21 or older: 86 percent of the rapes and 74 percent of the attempted rapes by lone offenders were committed by offenders in this older age category. These data suggest that the age of the lone offender may be related to whether or not the attack is a rape or an attempted rape. In attempted rape there were twice as many lone offenders under 21 as there were in completed rape (23 percent compared with 11 percent).

If attacks by lone offenders most often were committed by offenders perceived to be 21 or older, how old were the victims of lone offenders? More than half of the victims of lone offenders were between the ages of 20 and 34 (63 percent of rape and 53 percent of attempted rape victims). Approximately one-quarter were between 12 and 19 years old (26 percent of rape and 29 percent of attempted rape victims). Less than one-fifth of the victims of lone offenders were 35 or older (11 percent of rape and 18 percent of attempted rape victims).

⁶The survey instrument uses the following categories for the perceived age of offenders: under 12, 12 to 14, 15 to 17, 18 to 20, 21 or over. Because the number of offenders in the age categories under 21 are too small to permit separate analysis, these categories have been grouped together.

	Age o	f lone offender			
Age of victim	Less than 21 years old	21 years old or older	Don't know	Estimated numbe of victimizations	
Rape:					
12-19	10% ^b	88%	2%	(2,003)	
	23% ^c	27%	19%	26%	
20-34	11%	86%	4%	(4,749)	
	60%	62%	81%	63%	
35 or older	17%	83%	0%	(834) ^d	
	16%	11%	0%	11%	
Estimated number	11%	86%	3%	100%	
of victimizations	(857) ^d	(6,519)	(210) ^d	(7,585)	
Attempted rape:					
12-19	27% ^b	71%	2%	(4,949)	
	34% ^c	28%	20%	29%	
20-34	17%	79%	3%	(8,846)	
	39%	56%	56%	53%	
35 or older	34%	62%	4%	(3,041)	
	27%	15%	24%	18%	
Estimated number	23%	74%	3%	100%	
of victimizations	(3,917)	(12,410)	(510) ^d	(16,836)	

TABLE 5 Relationship between age of victim and perceived age of lone offender in rape and attempted rape victimization, 26 cities aggregate^a

a Excludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males. Row percentage.

Column percentage.

Estimate, based on about 50 or fewer sample cases, may be statistically unreliable.

Multiple Offenders

In Amir's (1971:202) Philadelphia study of rape using police files, it was found that in significant proportions the older the offender, the less likely he was to participate in group rape. Victimization survey results are in agreement with what was found with the police data. In those rapes committed by more than one offender, both the victims and the offenders were younger than they were in rapes committed by lone offenders, as shown by comparing the data in Table 5 with the data in Table 6.

Roughly one-quarter of the victims of lone offenders were between 12 and 19 years old, however, almost one-half (47 percent) of the victims of multiple offenders were in this age range. Similarly, in rapes and attempted rapes committed by more than one offender, the attackers were also younger. Forty-three percent of the total rape and attempted rape victimizations committed by multiple offenders involved offenders perceived to be under 21 years old. As noted above, when lone offenders were involved, only 11 percent of the rapes and 23 percent of the attempted rapes were committed by offenders perceived by their victims to be under 21 years old.

Age of Victim

The relationship between the victim's age and the offender's age can be analyzed from the perspective of the offender's choice of victim. Previous analysis of victimization survey data for total personal victimization showed that data for both lone and multiple offenders were consistent in suggesting that there is a tendency for offenders to have assaultive violence encounters (not involving theft) disproportionately with persons from their own age group; in victimizations involving theft, younger offenders are slightly more likely to victimize older persons; whereas older offenders only rarely victimize younger persons (Hindelang, 1976:174). On the basis of these previous

 TABLE 6
 Relationship between age of victim and perceived ages of multiple offenders in rape and attempted rape victimization, 26 cities aggregate^a

	Ages of n	Ages of multiple offenders				
Age of rape or	Less than	21 years	Don't	Estimated number of victimizations		
attempted rape victim	21 years old	or older	know			
12-19	45% ^b	42%	12%	(2,163)		
	49% ^c	49%	37%	47%		
20-34	39%	41%	20%	(2,120)		
	42%	47%	58%	,46%		
35 or older	60%	26%	14%	(294) ^d		
	9%	4%	5%	6%		
Estimated number	43%	41%	16%	100%		
of victimizations	(1,985)	(1,867)	(725) ^d	(4,577)		

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males. Row percentage.

Column percentage.

Estimate, based on about 50 or fewer sample cases, may be statistically unreliable.

findings, it could be hypothesized that in rape and attempted rape victimization older offenders would be less likely than younger offenders to choose young victims.

Referring again to Table 5, the data indicate that in rape victimization lone offenders under 21 were slightly less likely to have raped a woman under 20 than were older offenders. Twenty-three percent of the victims of young offenders were young, compared with 27 percent of the victims of older offenders. In attempted rape, younger lone offenders were slightly more likely to choose young victims. Thirty-four percent of the victims of younger lone offenders, compared with 28 percent of the victims of older lone offenders, were young.

The data in Table 6 indicate similar patterns when more than one offender is involved; although in rape and attempted rape attacks by more than one offender both the victims and the assailants were younger, Younger multiple offenders were as likely to choose young victims as older multiple offenders. For both the younger and the older multiple offenders, about onehalf of the victims were between the ages of 12 and 19 years old. Thus, the victimization survey results do not lend support to the hypothesis that in rape and attempted rape older offenders would be less likely than younger offenders to choose young victims. Older offenders were about as likely as younger offenders to choose young victims. This may be due to the difference between rape victimization and other assaultive violence. That is, because the violent crime

of rape has a sexual element, unlike other crimes of assaultive violence, it might be expected that young women would be the primary targets of rapists, regardless of the age of the attacker.

Race of Victim by Race of Offender

The literature on rape shows that, like violent crime in general, rape is a highly intra-racial event; that is, the victim and the attacker are generally of the same race. The studies that have used incidents drawn from police files generally agree with this, but disagree on the extent to which rape is intra-racial. For example, Amir (1971:44) reported that 93 percent of the rapes in Philadelphia were intra-racial, 3 percent involved a black offender and white victim, 4 percent involved a white offender and a black victim. On the other hand, MacDonald's (1971:51) study of 200 rapes in Denver suggested that rape was far less intra-racial, at least for white victims. He reported that black offenders in Denver were more likely to attack white women than black women.

One possible explanation for this difference is that the task of estimating the extent of intra-racial rape from police data is confounded by police recording bias in these data. It has been suggested that blacks and other minority women encounter difficulties in reporting rape to the police because police do not accord them the same legal rights as the rest of society (MacKellar, 1975). It has also been suggested

 TABLE 7
 Relationship between race of victim and perceived race of lone offender in rape and attempted rape victimization, 26 cities aggregate^a

	Race	Race of lone offender				
face of victim	White	Black/ other	Don't know	Estimated number of victimizations		
Rape:	•					
White	42% ^b	57%	1%	(4,871)		
	90% ^c	52%	37%	63%		
Black/other	8%	91%	2%	(2,844)		
	10%	48%	63%	37%		
Estimated number	29%	70%	1%	100%		
of victimizations	(2,244)	(5,331)	(87) ^d	(7,662)		
Attempted rape:						
White	54% ^b	41%	5%	(10,229)		
	94% ^c	39%	95%	60%		
Black/other	5%	95%	0%	(6,714)		
	6%	61%	5%	40%		
Estimated number	34%	63%	3%	100%		
of victimizations	(5,721)	(10,503)	(519) ^d	(16,744)		

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males. Bow percentage. Column percentage.

Estimate, based on about 50 or fewer sample cases, may be statistically unreliable.

that because of fear of disbelief black women hesitate to report to the police rape attacks by white men (Curtis, 1976).

Victimization survey data can be used to address the question of the extent to which rape is intra-racial. Rape victims were asked about the race of their attackers. Victimization surveys are not hindered by police recording bias; however, the extent to which black and other minority women are more reluctant in survey interviews to report inter-racial rapes than they are to report intra-racial rapes remains an open question.

The survey data indicate that although rape was more often an intra-racial incident, there were important exceptions to this pattern. Generally, rape and attempted rape attacks committed by lone offenders were more often intra-racial than those attacks committed by more than one offender. Rape and attempted rape victimizations were also more frequently intra-racial for black and other minority victims than for white victims.

Rape and attempted rape victimizations by lone and multiple offenders were overwhelmingly intraracial for blacks and other minority victims. The data in Table 7 show the relationship between the race of lone offenders and the race of victims. As shown by the data in this table, when a lone offender was involved, 91 percent of the rapes and 95 percent of the attempted rapes against minority race women were committed by minority offenders.

The comparable figures for rapes and attempted rapes committed by more than one offender (given in Table 8) are 90 percent and 71 percent. Thus, the survey data indicate that very low proportions of minority women were victims of white attackers. For white victims, rape and attempted rape were considerably less intra-racial. As the data in Table 7 indicate, when a lone offender was involved, only 42 percent of rapes and 54 percent of attempted rapes against white victims were committed by white offenders. When more than one offender was involved (see Table 8), only 30 percent of the rapes and 48 percent of the attempted rapes involving white victims were intra-racial. The survey data show that although the vast majority of black and other minority women were attacked by members of their own race, white TABLE 8 Relationship between age of victim and perceived races of multiple offenders in rape and attempted rape victimization, 26 cities aggregate^a

		Races of m	ultiple offenders				
Race of victim	White	Black/other	Mixed racial groups	Don't know	Estimated number of victimizations		
Rape:		· ·			, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,		
White	30% ^b	48%	22%	0%	(950) ^d		
	100% ^c	25%	87%	0%	38%		
Black/other	0%	90%	2%	8%	(1,528) ^d		
	0%	75%	13%	100%	62%		
Estimated number	12%	74%	10%	5%	100%		
of victimizations	(290) ^d	(1,823)	(238) ^d	(127) ^d	(12,478)		
Attempted rape:							
White	48% ^b	40%	13%	0%	(3,260)		
	94% ^c	60%	74%	0%	72%		
Black/other	9%	71%	12%	8%	(1,240) ^d		
	6%	40%	26%	100%	28%		
Estimated number of victimizations	37%	48%	12%	2%	100%		
	(1,658)	(2,179)	(560) ^d	(140) ^d	(4,501)		

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males. Row percentage.

Column percentage.

dEstimate, based on about 50 or fewer sample cases, may be statistically unreliable.

women were attacked by black and other minority offenders about as often as they were by white offenders.

It should be noted (from Table 8) that 10 percent of the rape and 12 percent of the attempted rape victimizations were committed by mixed racial groups. White women were victims of mixed racial groups more often than were black and other minority women.

Race of Victim

The relationship between the victim's race and the offender's race can also be analyzed from the perspective of the offender and his choice of victim. Generally, both white and minority offenders were more likely to choose as victims women of their own race. White offenders chose white victims the vast majority of the time; however, minority offenders were somewhat less intra-racial in their choice of victims.

The data in Table 7 indicate that when white lone offenders were involved in rape or attempted rape, 9

out of 10 victims were also white. The women chosen by black and other minority offenders were not as likely to be of the same race as their attacker. Of the minority lone offenders, those who committed attempted rape attacks chose minority victims roughly three out of five times. However, in the completed rape attacks by minority lone offenders, the victim was about as likely to be a white woman as she was to be a minority woman.

As shown by the data in Table 8, in rapes committed by more than one offender, the pattern of victim choice was more complex. Again, groups containing only white offenders overwhelmingly chose white women as victims; all of the rapes involved white women, as did 9 out of 10 of the attempted rapes. For black and other minority offenders who committed rape in groups, three out of four victims of rape were minority women. However, in attempted rapes by minority multiple offenders, the victim was of the same race in only two out of five victimizations. The victim was white in 87 percent of the rape and 74 percent of the attempted rape victimizations by mixed racial groups.

TABLE 9 Time of occurrence of rape and attempted rape victimization, 26 cities aggregate^a

Time of victimization	6 a.m. to 6 p.m.	6 p.m. to Midnight	Midnight to 6 a.m.	Don't know	Estimated number of victimizations
Rape	38%	41%	19%	1%	(10,330)
Attempted rape	39%	45%	16%	0%	(21,820)
Total	39%	44%	17%	0%	(32,150)

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males. ^bIncludes those respondents who answered "don't know" as well as those who answered "at night" but did not know

what time of the night.

The above findings concerning the relationship between the race of the offender and the race of the victim are generally consistent with what has been suggested by the previous literature in this area. Rape is highly intra-racial for black and other minority victims: only a small proportion of these women reported that their attacker was white. Rape is also highly intra-racial if the attacker is white: the data contain few instances of white offenders choosing nonwhite women as victims. The inter-racial component of rape and attempted rape victimization shown by the survey data consists primarily of rape attacks committed by black and other minority offenders on white women, and this trend is more in evidence when there are groups of two or more offenders.

Elements of Rape and Attempted Rape Victimizations

Time and Place of Occurrence

Time

Previous studies of rape have shown that it is primarily a nocturnal event. It is believed that the evening and nighttime hours are the most dangerous hours for potential rape victims because of the social activities that bring men and women together at this time (Amir, 1971:85).

The victimization survey data indicate that the bulk of rape attacks in the 26 cities occurred at night. The reported time of occurrence of rape and attempted rape is given by the data in Table 9.9 As this table illustrates, although three out of five of the rapes and attempted rapes occurred in the 12-hour period between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m., only about two out of five occurred during the day in the 12-hour period between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. Furthermore, 44 percent of all the rape attacks occurred between 6 p.m. and midnight, a period of only 6 hours. It is clear that the evening and nighttime hours were the high-risk hours for women in the cities surveyed.

Place

Victims of rape and attempted rape were asked where the incident took place. More rapes were reported to have occurred in outdoor, public locations than in any other locations in the 26 cities. The data in Table 10 indicate that slightly less than one-half (47 percent) of the rapes and attempted rapes took place outside on a street, park, field, playground, school ground, or parking lot. The victim's own home, or close to her home, was the next most frequent location for rape and attempted rape. Eighteen percent of all rape attacks occurred in the victim's own home; an additional 14 percent occurred near her home, that is, in a vard, sidewalk, driveway, carport, or apartment hall. These findings are fairly consistent with reports of previous research that have stressed that rape is not always a dark alley, outdoor crime. Both Amir's study in Philadelphia (1971:145) and MacDonald's study in Denver (1971:32) indicated that slightly over one-half

⁹See Appendix B source code 108. The survey instrument uses the following categories for time of occurrence: the 12hour period between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m., the 6-hour period between 6 p.m. and midnight, and the 6-hour period between midnight and 6 a.m.

of the rapes took place in either the victim's residence or the offender's residence.

Although the victimization survey results on rape and attempted rape show that these attacks occurred more often in outdoor locations than in the victim's home, there is an indication that the attacks that occurred in the victim's home were more serious, that is, more of them were completed. When the completion ratio is used to compare the proportion of rapes with the proportion of attempted rapes in the two locations (victim's home versus outdoor location), the data indicate that the completion ratio is 1.53 when the victimization occurs in the victim's own home. compared with .80 when it occurs outdoors in a public location. Thus, although proportionately fewer rape and attempted rape victimizations occurred in the woman's home, the relative proportion of completed rape attacks in this location is substantially greater. The high completion ratio for rape attacks that occur inside the victim's home may be due to less chance for observation or interruption, or less chance for someone to hear screams. It may also be due in part to the high percentage of weapon use in these victimizations. This will be discussed later in this report (see page 20).

Number of Offenders and Number of Victims

Official police statistics, such as those published by the FBI, do not classify separately rapes that involve more than one offender. Amir's (1971:200) study in Philadelphia using police case files of victim's complaints indicated almost one-half of the cases involved more than one offender. Of 646 victims of forcible rape, 57 percent were victims of single offenders, 16 percent were victims of pairs of offenders, and 27 percent were victims of three or more offenders.

The perceived number of offenders in rape and attempted rape victimization is given by the data in Table 11. Compared with Amir's study in Philadelphia, the victimization survey results in this table show a higher proportion of rape and attempted rape attacks that involved single offenders. Approximately three-fourths of the attacks (74 percent of rapes and 77 percent of attempted rapes) involved one offender.

Much of the literature on rape describes rape committed by more than one offender as a more frightening, traumatic experience for women than rape committed by single offenders. This, together with the suggestion that the woman experiences greater powerlessness when more than one offender is involved, leads to the hypothesis that in attacks by groups of two or more offenders there would be a relatively higher proportion of completed rapes than in attacks by single offenders. The data lend some support to this hypothesis. Completion ratios calculated from the column proportions in Table 11 (see footnote 5) reveal that the relative proportion of completed rape attacks committed by multiple offenders was slightly greater than the relative proportion of completed rape attacks by lone offenders (.52 compared with .45).

The survey data in Table 11 also show that the vast majority of rape attacks involved one victim. In 9 out of 10 of the rapes and attempted rapes, only one victim was attacked. Seven percent of the total rape attacks involved two victims, and 2 percent involved more than two victims.

Thus, the victimization survey data show that most rape and attempted rapes involve only two participants: the victim and the offender. Incidents that involved more than two participants more often involved multiple offenders than multiple victims. This is not surprising. Although previous studies of rape have suggested that rape committed by more than one offender is relatively common within certain cultural and age groups, the evidence indicates that rape attacks involving more than one victim are rare.

Weapons

The means used by the rapist to accomplish his end may vary from nonphysical force in the form of threats to intimidation with a weapon to brutal beatings. Police files that contain the victim's account of the incident can include detailed information on the use of physical or nonphysical force in rapes (Amir, 1971).

It is not feasible in the victimization survey to collect certain information about rape and attempted rape victimizations. For example, it is unlikely that a victim survey could obtain details on the violent encounter of the victim and her attacker or on the modus operandi of the offender. They do, however, collect information on weapon use by the rapist. In the 26 cities, survey interviewers asked victims whether or not the offender had a weapon (either a gun or a knife) or something he was using as a weapon (for example, a bottle or wrench).

The data suggest three general characteristics of weapon use in rape and attempted rape victimization. First, the likelihood of completing the rape attack was greater if the attacker was armed. Second, in terms of both the proportion of victimizations in which

Place of occurrence											
Type of victimization	On street, in park, playground, etc. ^b	At or in own home	Near home	Inside commercial building ^C	Inside office, factory	Vacation home, hotel or motel	School	Other place	Estimated number of victimizations		
Rape	40%	23%	15%	3%	0%	2%	1%	16%	(10,299)		
Attempted rape	50%	15%	14%	12%	1%	0%	2%	6%	(21,835)		
Total	47%	18%	14%	9%	1%	1%	1%	9%	(32,145)		

TABLE 10 Place of occurrence of rape and attempted rape victimization, 26 cities aggregate^a

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males. ^bIncludes on the street, in a park, field, playground, school grounds or parking lot. ^cIncludes inside commercial building such as a store, restaurant, bank, gas station.

TABLE 11 Perceived number of offenders and number of victims in rape and attempted rape victimization, 26 cities aggregate^a

· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		Perceived number of offenders				Number of victims			
Type of victimization	One	More than one	Don't know	Estimated number of victimizations	One	Two	Three or more	Estimated number of victimizations	
Rape	74% ^b	24%	2%	(10,330)	90% ^b	7%	3%	(10,330)	
	31% ^c	34%	48%	32%	32% ^c	31%	37%	32%	
Attempted rape	77%	22%	1%	(21,850)	91%	7%	2%	(21,850)	
	69%	66%	52%	68%	68%	69%	63%	68%	
Estimated number	76%	23%	1%	100%	91%	7%	2%	100%	
of victimizations	(24,560)	(7,287)	(223) ^d	(32,180)	(29,146)	(2,292)	(742) ^d	(32,180)	

a b B Row percentage. Column percentage. d Estimate, b ised on about 50 or fewer sample cases, may be statistically unreliable.

		Weapon use		·		
Type of victimization	Yes	No	Don't know	Estimated number of victimizations		
Rape	67% ^b	22%	11%	(10,330)		
	53%	15%	27%	32%		
Attempted rape	28%	58%	15%	(21,850)		
	47%	85%	73%	68%		
Estimated number of victimizations	40%	46%	14%	100%		
	(12,967)	(14,851)	(4,362)	(32,180)		

TABLE 12 Estimated percentages of weapon use in rape and attempted rape victimi ration 26 pition page 26 pition

^CColumn percentage.

weapons were used and the type of weapon used (gun, knife, or other), rape was more serious than attempted rape. Third, rapists used knives more often than any other weapon.

Weapon use in rape and attempted rape victimization is given by the data in Table 12. These data show that the offender used a weapon in approximately two out of five of the total rape and attempted rape victimizations. When the column proportions in Table 12 are used to obtain completion ratios, the data illustrate the first general characteristic of weapon use noted above. If the attacker had a weapon, the rape attack was more likely to be completed than attempted (ratio of 1.17). When there was no weapon involved, the rape attack was much less likely to be completed (ratio of .18). Thus, the data suggest that in terms of the relative proportion of rape attacks that are completed, victimizations are more serious when the rapist is armed.

Victims of rape were confronted by armed attackers much more often than were victims of attempted rape. Two-thirds of the rape victims reported that the offender had a weapon. The proportionate amount of weapon use in attempted rape was considerably less: only about one-quarter of the attempted rapes involved weapons.

The third general characteristic of weapon use in rape and attempted rape victimization is that when the rapist was armed, the weapon most often used in both rape and attempted rape was a knife. The data in Table 13 indicate that knives were used in rape and attempted rape twice as often as guns (60 percent compared with 30 percent). Weapons other than guns or knives were used in only 13 percent of all the instances that involved weapons.

If the probability of the rape attack being completed is related to whether or not the offender is armed, it might also be related to the type of weapon used. The types of weapons used (gun, knife, and other) can be compared on the basis of the relative proportions of rape and attempted rape when they were used. Completion ratios calculated from the data in Table 13 indicate that rape attacks have the greatest relative probability of being completed when the weapon is a gun (ratio of 2.00). By contrast, when the offender used a knife or other weapon, the completion ratios dropped to 1.06 and .92, respectively. Thus, the relative proportion of completed rape attacks is much greater when the offender used a gun than when he used a knife or other weapon.

Weapon Use by Place of Occurrence

Previous research has shown that the means used by the rapist may be related to where the incident takes place. The results of Amir's (1971:48) Philadelphia study indicate a significant association between the place of the rape and the use of force: physical force was used much more often in rapes that occurred indoors, inside the participant's residence, compared with those that occurred in outdoor, public locations.

Earlier in this report it was noted that there was a higher completion ratio for rapes that occurred in the home. The data from the 26 cities indicate that rape victims were more likely to face an armed attacker if the incident occurred in or near their own home than if it occurred in an open, public location. It can be seen in Table 14 that 87 percent of the rapes that occurred near the victim's home and 80 percent of those that occurred

Type of weapon used in rape and attempted rape victimization, 26 cities aggregate^a TABLE 13

	Тур				
Type of victimization	Gun	Knife	Other	Estimated number of victimizations	
Rape	37% ^c	57%	12%	(6,936)	
	67% ^d	52%	48%	53%	
Attempted rape	21%	62%	15%	(6,031)	
	33%	48%	52%	47%	
Estimated number	30%	60%	13%	100%	
of victimizations	(3,864)	(7,735)	(1,722)	(12,967)	

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males. Excludes non-weapon victimizations and those in which the victim didn't know if the offender had a weapon. Subcategories may total over 100 percent because the offender may have used more than one type of weapon. Row percentage. Column percentage.

	Place of occurrence								
Weapon usage	On street, in park, playground, etc. ^b	At or in own home	Near home	Other ^C					
Weapons in rape:									
Yes	64%	80%	87%	47%					
No	22%	11%	9%	40%					
Don't know	14%	9%	4%	13%					
Estimated number of victimizations	(4,170)	(2,373)	(1,538) ^d	(2,217)					
Weapons in attempted rape:									
Yes	26%	33%	43%	18%					
Νο	57%	56%	52%	64%					
Don't know	17%	11%	5%	18%					
Estimated number of victimizations	(11,028)	(3,348)	(2,938)	(4,522)					

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males. b Includes on the street, in a park, field, playground, school grounds or parking lot. CIncludes inside commercial building, inside office or factory, vacation home or hotel/motel, school and "other" d Estimate, based on about 50 or fewer sample cases, may be statistically unreliable.

in the victim's home, involved weapon use. By contrast, 64 percent of the rapes that occurred in an open area outdoors, an area such as a street or park, involved weapon use. The same pattern holds in attempted rape victimizations, although the proportion of incidents involving weapons is substantially smaller. In 43 percent of the attempted rapes that occurred *near* the victim's home and in 33 percent of those that occurred *in* the victim's home, the offender used a weapon; whereas in attempted rape in an outdoor location, weapons were used in only 26 percent of the victimizations.

The survey data show that weapon use in rape and attempted rape victimization is related to where the incident took place. Both rape and attempted rape victims were more likely to confront an armed assailant if the attack took place in or near their homes than if it occurred in an outdoor location.

Weapon Use by Race of Victim

When weapon use in rape and attempted rape victimization is examined in light of the race of the victim, some interesting patterns emerge. There were differences between white and minority victims in the frequency of weapon use in attempted rape but not in rape. There were also differences in the type of weapon used against white victims and minority victims.

Table 15 shows the frequency of weapon use and the type of weapon used in attempted rape and rape involving white and minority victims. These data show that the offender used a weapon in approximately two-thirds of the rape attacks that were completed, and there was only a small difference between white and black and other minority victims in the proportion of the rapes in which the attacker was armed. However, the pattern of weapon use in attempted rape was not similar to the pattern of weapon use in rape. A greater proportion of minority victims were involved in attempted rapes in which the attacker was armed. Forty percent of the black and other minority victims of attempted rape, compared with 20 percent of the white victims, were involved in incidents in which the attacker was armed. This is consistent with the finding of Amir (1971:154) in Philadelphia that intimidation with a weapon was found more often when the offender and victim were black than when they were white.

Because the data indicate a higher proportion of weapon use in attempted rape for minority victims, it would appear that in terms of weapon use, attempted rape victimizations were more serious for black and other minority victims than they were for white victims. However, when completion ratios are calculated from the proportions of rape and attempted rape victimizations when the offender is armed, the data can be given a different interpretation. When the offender is armed, the completion ratio is 1.50 for white victims, compared with .86 for black and other minority victims. Thus, because black and other minority victims were involved in a higher proportion of attempted rape attacks by an armed assailant, the completion ratio for minority victims is not as high as it is for white victims.

As shown by the data in Table 15, when the rapist did have a weapon, there were differences in the type of weapon used against white and against black and other minority victims. For white victims, the weapon most frequently encountered was a knife, which the offender used in 7 out of 10 of the rapes and in half of the attempted rapes. For minority victims, if the offender had a weapon, it was a knife in three out of four attempted rapes; however, it was a gun in three out of five completed rapes.

Weapon Use by Age of Victim

The survey data in Table 16 point to a direct relationship between the age of the victim and the frequency of weapon use in rape and attempted rape victimizations. As the age category of the victim increases, the relative proportion of cases in which the offender uses a weapon increases. This pattern is more dramatic in rape than in attempted rape victimization. In rape, the percent of victimizations in which the attacker was armed increases from 57 percent for victims 12 to 19 years old to 69 percent for victims 20 to 34 years old to 82 percent for victims 35 and older. In attempted rape the comparable figures are 24 percent, 27 percent, and 35 percent.

One possible explanation for the direct relationship between the offender's weapon use and the age of the victim is that (with the exception of elderly women) as women get older they may more actively resist the attacker; they may be more willing and more able to fight back, or cry for help, or try to argue with him. This would mean that a rape attack on an older woman requires more force or intimidation by an offender than an attack on a younger woman. The question of whether the amount of resistance by the victim is related to her age will be addressed in a subsequent section of this report (see page 33).
 TABLE 15
 Estimated percentages of weapon use and type of weapon used in rape and attempted rape victimization, by race of victim, 26 cities aggregate^a

		eapon us	_		Тур	e of wea	Estimated number of victimizations	
Race of victim	Yes No		Don't know	Estimated number of victimizations	Gun Knife			Other
Rape:								
White	69%	23%	7%	(5,831)	22%	71%	11%	(4,041)
Black/other	64%	19%	16%	(4,499)	58%	39%	14%	(2,895)
Attempted rape:								•
White	20%	67%	13%	(13,522)	27%	48%	20%	(2,688)
Black/other	40%	43%	17%	(8,328)	17%	74%	10%	(3,344)

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males. ^bSubcategories may total over 100 percent because the offender may have used more than one type of weapon.

TABLE 16 Estimated percentages of weapon use and type of weapon used in rape and attempted rape victimization, by age of victim, 26 cities aggregate^a

Weapo		apon us	age		Typ	e of wea	Estimated number of victimizations	
Age of victim	Yes No		Don't know	Estimated number of victimizations	Gun Knife			Other
Rape:								
12-19	57%	36%	7%	(3,198)	37%	54%	12%	(1,836)
20-34	69%	18%	13%	(5,846)	40%	57%	8%	(4,041)
35 or older	82%	4%	14%	(1,286) ^C	24%	65%	26%	(1,059) ^C
Attempted rape:								
12-19	24%	64%	12%	(6,757)	12%	65%	22%	(1,641)
20-34	27%	57%	15%	(11,560)	26%	64%	10%	(3,167)
35 or older	35%	48%	17%	(3,532)	21%	59%	18%	(1,224) ^C

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males. ^bSubcategories may total over 100 percent because the offender may have used more than one type of weapon. ^cEstimate, based on about 50 or fewer sample cases, may be statistically unreliable.

There were also differences, by age of victim, in the type of weapon that was used in rape and attempted rape. As can be seen from the data in Table 16, knives were used in 54 percent of the rapes against 12 to 19 year old victims, but in 65 percent of those against victims 35 years old or older. Other weapons were used against rape victims 35 years old or older more often than they were used against victims in the two younger age categories.

Weapon Use by Race of Offender

Because black and other minority victims were more often victims of armed attackers than were white victims and because rape and attempted rape are generally intra-racial, it would be expected that black and other minority offenders would be more likely to use weapons than would be white offenders. This expectation is confirmed by the data in Table 17

		Weapon usa	3 0		
Race of offender(s)	Yes	No	Don't know	Estimated number of victimizations	
Lone offender:				, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	
Rape:					
White	61%	32%	7%	(2,244)	
Black/other	73%	16%	10%	(5,331)	
Don't know	17%	18%	64%	(87) ^b	
Attempted rape:					
White	10%	78%	11%	(5,721)	
Black/other	38%	49%	14%	(10,503)	
Don't know	20%	66%	14%	(519) ^b	
Multiple offenders:					
Rape:					
White	45%	55%	0%	(290) ^b	
Black/other	68%	20%	13%	(1,823)	
Mixed racial groups	77%	10%	13%	(238) ^b	
Don't know	83%	17%	0%	(127) ^b	
Attempted rape:					
White	21%	41%	27%	(1,658)	
Black/other	36%	48%	16%	(2,179)	
Mixed racial groups	8%	79 %	12%	(560) ^b	
Don't know	0%	0%	100%	(104) ^b	

TABLE 17 Estimated percentages of weapon use in rape and attempted rape victimization, by perceived race of lone and multiple offender(s), 26 cities aggregate^a

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males. ^bEstimate, based on about 50 or fewer sample cases, may be statistically unreliable.

showing the relationship between weapon use and the race of the offender.

In rape by lone offenders, 73 percent of the victimizations by black and other minority offenders compared with 61 percent of those by white offenders involved weapon use. In attempted rape by lone offenders, 38 percent of the victimizations by minority offenders compared with 10 percent of those by white offenders involved weapons.

Similarly, in the attacks by more than one offender minority groups were more likely to use weapons than were white groups. However, the difference is only substantial in rape; 68 percent of the rapes by black and other minority offenders, compared with 45 percent of the rapes by white offenders, involved weapons.

Thus, black and other minority offenders, both those who acted alone and those who acted in groups, were more likely to use weapons in rape and attempted rape victimizations than were white offenders.

Weapon Use by Age of Offender

The use of weapons in rape attacks can be examined in light of the age of the offender in order to see if there are any differences between the frequency of weapon use by younger and by older offenders. The data in Table 18 show the relationship between weapon use and the age of lone and multiple offenders. The data indicate that there were differences, in the frequency of weapon use, by age of offender; however, this is the case only when multiple offenders were involved. When multiple offenders were involved in rape and attempted rape victimization, the older offenders used weapons roughly twice as often as the younger ones (55 percent compared with 28 percent). However, in the rape and attempted rape victimizations committed by lone offenders, weapons were used by the younger offenders about as often as they were by the older offenders (in two out of five victimizations).

Thus, the extent to which weapons were involved in rape and attempted rape victimizations did not vary consistently with the age of the offender. When lone offenders were involved, younger offenders used weapons as often as older offenders. However, when more than one offender was involved, the older offenders were more likely to use weapons than were the younger offenders.

Weapons: Summary

Some general summary statements can be made about weapon use in rape and attempted rape victimization in the 26 cities. First, weapon use appeared to be an effective means of subduing victims: the likelihood of completing the attack was greater if the rapist was armed. Second, in terms of both the extent of weapon use and the type of weapon used, rape attacks that were completed were more serious than attempted rapes. Third, knives were the most common weapons used in these victimizations.

In addition, the extent of weapon use in rape and attempted rape was found to be related to where the incident took place and to victim and offender characteristics. Victims of rape and attempted rape were more likely to be attacked by an armed assailant if the incident occurred in or near their own homes than if it occurred in a location such as a street or park. Black and other minority victims of attempted rape were more likely to face armed attackers than were white victims; because of this pattern, armed attacks had a higher completion ratio when they involved white victims. Weapon use in rape and attempted rape had a direct relationship with the victim's age: as the age category of the victims increased the relative proportion of victimizations that involved weapons increased. Finally, although weapon use was found to be related to the race of the offender (black and other minority offenders were more likely to use weapons than were white), weapon use was related to the age of the offender only when two or more offenders were involved (older groups of offenders used weapons twice as often as younger groups).

Theft and Attempted Theft

The information obtained in the victimization survey interview made it possible to determine whether theft or attempted theft was an element in the rape incident. However, it is not possible with the survey data to conclude whether theft or rape was the primary aim of the offender.

A very small proportion of the reported rape and attempted rape victimization involved theft or attempted theft. Only 16 percent of the total rape and attempted rape victims reported that the attacker stole something; an additional 4 percent reported that he tried to steal something. The amount of theft and attempted theft varied with whether or not the offense was a rape or an attempted rape, and also with the age and race characteristics of the victim.

Although only 16 percent of the total rapes and attempted rapes involved theft, there was a substantial difference between the proportion of rapes involving theft and attempted rapes involving theft. Figure 5 shows the proportions of theft, attempted theft, and theft of cash only in rape and attempted rape victimization. It can be seen that theft was an element in 32 percent of the rapes, compared with 9 percent of the attempted rapes. This suggests that perhaps it is easier for the offender to steal something when the rape is completed and the victim is less capable of offering resistance. The reasons rape attacks are not completed—reasons such as effective resistance, fighting or flight—may also be the reasons for the smaller proportion of thefts in attempted rape.

Figure 5 also shows that when something was stolen from the victim of a rape or an attempted rape, it was most often cash only. Almost 6 out of 10 victims of rape and 7 out of 10 victims of attempted rape who reported theft reported that cash only was stolen.

Theft and Victim Characteristics

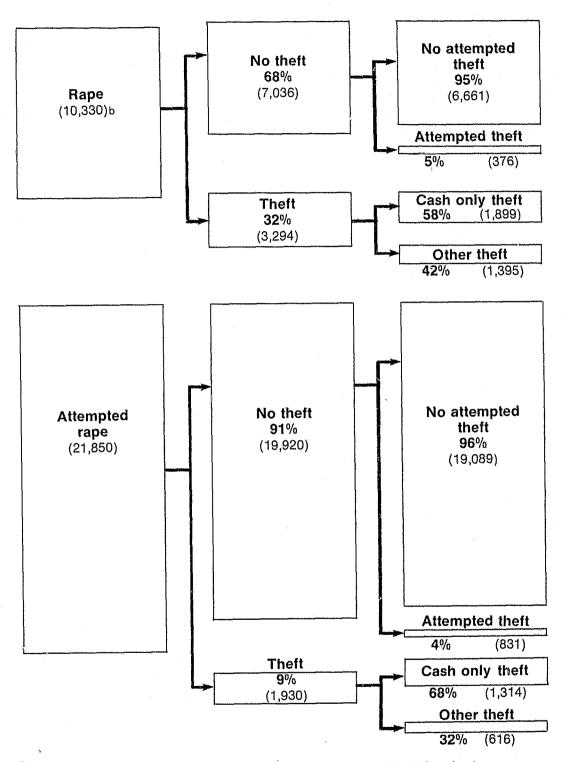
Theft in rape and attempted rape victimizations in the 26 cities varied to some extent with age, race, and income characteristics of the victims. The data in Table 19 show the relationship between theft and the age of rape and attempted rape victims. As the data in this table indicate, in successively older victim age categories the proportion of rapes involving theft grows. Theft was an element of rape for 17 percent of the victims between the ages of 12 and 19, for 32 percent of the victims between the ages of 20 and 34,

Weapon use in rape and attempted rape		Age of lone offender				Ages of multiple offenders				
	Less than 21 years old	21 years old or older	Don't know	Total	Less than 21 years old	21 years old or older	Don't know	Total		
Yes	42%	40%	32%	40%	28%	55%	61%	44%		
No	50%	48%	34%	48%	57%	34%	22%	42%		
Don't know	8%	12%	33%	12%	15%	11%	17%	14%		
Estimated number of victimizations	(4,774)	(18,929)	(720) ^b	(24,421)	(1,985)	、 (1,866)	(725) ^b	(4,577)		

 TABLE 18
 Estimated percentages of weapon use by perceived age of lone and multiple offender(s) in rape and attempted rape victimization, 26 cities aggregate^a

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimizations of males. Estimate, based on about 50 or fewer sample cases, may be statistically unreliable.

FIGURE 5 Estimated percentages of theft, attempted theft, and cash only theft in rape and attempted rape victimization, 26 cities aggregate^a



a Excludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males. Estimated number of victimizations.

TABLE 19 Estimated percentages of theft in rape and attempted rape victimization, by age of victim, 26 cities aggregate^a

	The	Theft				
Age of victim	Something stolen	Nothing stolen	Estimated number of victimizations			
Rape:		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·				
12-19	17%	83%	(3,198)			
20-34	32%	68%	(5,846)			
35 or older	66%	34%	(1,286) ^b			
Attempted rape:						
12-19	6%	94%	(6,757)			
20-34	8%	92%	(11,560)			
35 or older	18%	82%	(3,532)			

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males. ^bEstimate, based on about 50 or fewer sample cases, may be statistically unreliable.

TABLE 20 Estimated percentages of theft in rape and attempted rape victimization, by race of victim, 26 cities aggregate^a

	The	Theft				
Race of victim	Something stolen	Nothing stolen	Estimated number of victimizations			
Rape:						
White	30%	70%	(5,831)			
Black/other	35%	65%	(4,499)			
Attempted rape:						
White	6%	94%	(13,522)			
Black/other	13%	87%	(8,328)			

and for 66 percent of the victims 35 or older. Similarly, although the frequency of theft in attempted rape was considerably lower than it was in completed rape, the theft occurred primarily in attempts on older victims, that is, victims 35 or older.

The amount of theft in rape and attempted rape victimizations varied to some extent with the race of the victim. As the data in Table 20 show, theft was an element in rape and attempted rape slightly more often if the victim was a black or other minority member than if she was a white woman. In completed rape 35 percent of the minority victims compared with 30 percent of the white victims, reported that something was stolen. The difference is slightly greater in attempted rape: 13 percent of the black and other minority victims, compared with 6 percent of the white victims, reported theft.

If theft in rape victimizations is at all related either to the actual amount of money the victim has with her at the time of the incident or to the offender's perception of her wealth, it could be hypothesized that theft in rape would increase as the victim's income increased. The data give partial support to this hypothesis. The data in Table 21' indicate that the proportion of rapes in which something was stolen increases from roughly 2 out of 10 victims with an

TABLE 21 Estimated percentages of theft in rape and attempted rape victimization, by family income of victim, 26 cities aggregate^a

	The			
Family income of victim	Something stolen	Nothing stolen	Estimated number of victimizations	
Rape:				
Less than \$3,000	21%	79%	(2,391)	
\$3,000-\$7,499	29%	71%	(3,252)	
\$7,500-\$9,999	32%	68%	(1,426) ^b	
\$10,000 and over	43%	57%	(1,899)	
Not ascertained	41%	59%	(1,362) ^b	
Attempted rape:				
Less than \$3,000	13%	87%	(4,611)	
\$3,000-\$7,499	11%	89%	(6,439)	
\$7,499-\$9,999	12%	88%	(1,930)	
\$10,000 and over	4%	96%	(7,337)	
Not ascertained	10%	90%	(1,533) ^b	

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males. ^bEstimate, based on about 50 or fewer sample cases, may be statistically unreliable.

income of less than \$3,000 to a little over 4 out of 10 of the victims with incomes of \$10,000 and more. There is little variation in the amount of theft in attempted rape; however, the data show it is slightly higher for victims with incomes less than \$10,000 than for victims with incomes greater than \$10,000.

Theft: Summary

Only a small proportion of rape and attempted rape victimizations in the 26 cities involved theft. This suggests that the majority of these attacks were essentially violent sexual assaults. The survey data indicate some general characteristics of those attacks that did involve an element of theft. First, theft is much more likely to occur when the rape attack is completed than when it is attempted. This may be because the relatively greater incapacitation of victims of completed rape attacks makes them easier targets for theft. By somehow thwarting or escaping the rape, the victim may be also preventing theft.

Second, although whether or not something is stolen in the course of the incident appears to be related only slightly to race and moderately to income characteristics of victims, it is highly related to their age. As rape victims get older, the proportion of rapes involving theft increases dramatically. One possible explanation for the strong relationship between theft and the age of the rape victim is that theft may be an important motivational factor in rape attacks against older victims, whereas the act of rape itself may be more central when the victim is young. In addition, older victims may be perceived to be more likely to have something of value to steal.

Consequences of Rape and Attempted Rape Victimizations

Self-protective measures

Previous studies of rape suggest that the behavior of the victim during a rape attack may influence the outcome of the attack. The actions she takes influence decisions the rapist must make, decisions such as whether or not he should try to complete the act and if so, what amount of force is necessary to subdue her. Whether the woman submits to the rapist, or resists or fights him, can be a crucial factor both in whether or not the rape is completed and in the amount of injury the victim suffers.

The behavior of the victim is also of legal significance. Nonconsent is an essential element in the crime of forcible rape. Statutes usually define forcible rape with phrases such as "against her will" or "by force." Because of statutory definitions, courts have tended to define as rape only incidents of sexual intercourse in which the victim's behavior clearly manifested that the act was against her will (Amir, 1971). Thus, the victim's behavior has been considered crucial in establishing her case.

The data collected in the victimizations surveys contain information on the victim's behavior during the incident. The survey interviewer asked the victim if she did anything to protect herself during the incident.¹⁰ The survey results in Table 22 show that the vast majority (72 percent) of the victims did something to protect themselves from their attackers.

One of the first issues raised by the victim's behavior is whether her actions can prevent the completion of the rape. It could be hypothesized that among those victims who managed to do something to defend themselves, compared with those who did not, there would be a higher proportion of unsuccessful attacks (attempted rapes). The data in Table 22 support this hypothesis.

Of those victimizations in which the woman tried to protect herself, more than four out of five rape attacks were not completed. By contrast, of those victimizations in which the woman did not use self-protective measures, two-thirds were completed. Completion ratios, comparing the proportion of rapes to the proportion of attempted rapes, illustrate these findings more clearly. Victims who took some action to protect themselves had a completion ratio of only 23, compared with a ratio of 2.03 for victims who did not try to defend themselves. This suggests that in a rape attack, the victim who manages to do something to protect herself has a much better chance of preventing the completion of the attack than the woman who does nothing. However, it is important to note that this finding alone is not sufficient basis for advising potential rape victims to use various methods of self-protection. As yet, the question of how best to prevent a rape has no clearcut answer.

Type of Self-protective Measures

Rape victims who reported trying to defend themselves during the attack were asked what action they took. Their responses were categorized by survey interviewers into one or more of the six types of self-protective measures given in Table 22.

The victims who reported using self-protective measures most often reported one or both of two types of action: almost half (48 percent) of the women reported trying to get help, attract attention, or scare the offender away by screaming or calling for help; roughly the same proportion (45 percent) of the women reported using or trying to use some type of physical force, such as hitting the offender or throwing an object at him. Roughly 3 out of 10 (29 percent) of the victims who tried to protect themselves reported that they resisted without force, or used evasive action such as running away. Approximately 2 out of 10 (22 percent) reported that they threatened, argued, or tried to reason with their attacker.

Thus, the rape and attempted rape victims in the 26 cities tried a number of different measures to defend themselves. Unfortunately, because of the multiple-response nature of the interview question, it is difficult to disentangle from the survey data which types of self-protective measures were more effective in preventing the completion of the attack. Studies that have addressed the question of the relative effectiveness of different techniques of self-defense have produced mixed results.

In a recent study using interviews with 50 rapists committed to a California mental hospital, Chappell and James (1976) asked each rapist what a woman could do to make him stop, and how she could effectively resist him. Chappell and James noted that a significant proportion (58 percent) of rapists admitted not always following through with the attack for a variety of reasons, including crying by the victim, evidence of the victim's altered state of health (pregnancy or sickness), and physical resistance (particularly in the form of attacks directed at the offenders' groins). However, Chappel and James concluded that it is not known how far these findings apply to the rapist population at large and suggest that only further research drawing upon a much larger sample of offenders can answer this question.

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Amir's (1971:166) research using police records in Philadelphia also looked at the victim's behavior in the rape incident. However, Amir categorized victim behavior according to a scheme different from the one used by victimization survey interviewers. He divided victim behavior into three types: submission (including

¹⁰It should be noted that the victim's use of self-protective measures in the rape and attempted rape victimizations reported to survey interviewers should not be confused with the legal element of nonconsent.

TABLE 22	Estimated per used in rape a	rcentage and atter	s of use o npted rap	f self-protec e victimizat	ctive measure ion, 26 cities	es and type o aggregate ^a	f self-prote	ctive me	asures
Type of victimization	Use of self-protective measures			A	Туре (of self-protective r	neasure used ^b		
	Estimated number of victimizations	No	Yes	Used or brandished gun or knife	Used or tried to use physical force	Tried to get help or attract attention	Threatened, argued, or reasoned	Resisted without force	Other self- protective measure
Rape	(10,330)	58% ^c	42%	0%	63%	56%	27%	8%	3%
	32%	67% ^d	19%	3%	26%	22%	24%	5%	10%
Attempted rape	(21,850)	14%	86%	3%	40%	46%	21%	34%	6%
	68%	33%	81%	97%	74%	78%	76%	95%	90%
Estimated number of victimizations	100%	28%	72%	2%	45%	48%	22%	29%	5%
	(32,180)	(8,927)	(23,254)	(598) ^e	(10,390)	(11,242)	(5,116)	(6,730)	(1,278) ^e

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimizations of males. ^bSubcategories may total to over 100 percent because victims may report using more than one type of self-protective measure. ^cRow percentage. ^dColumn percentage. ^eEstimate, based on about 50 or fewer sample cases, may be statistically unreliable.

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TABLE 23	Estimated percentages of use of self-protective measures and type of self-protective measures used in rape and attempted rape victimization, by race of victim, 26 cities aggregate ^a

	Use of self-protective measures			Type of self-protective measures used ^b					
Race of victim	Estimated number of victimizations	No	Yes	Used or brandished gun or knife	Used or tried to use physical force	Tried to get help or attract attention	Threatened, argued, or reasoned	Resisted without force	Other self- protective measure
Rape:			····						
White	(5,831)	53%	47%	1%	68%	46%	33%	11%	2%
Black/other	(4,499)	64%	36%	0%	53%	73%	17%	3%	4%
Attempted rape:									
White	(13,522)	15%	85%	1%	36%	44%	21%	41%	7%
Black/other	(8,328)	12%	88%	7%	47%	50%	20%	23%	4%
Total:									
White	(19,353)	26%	74%	1%	42%	45%	23%	35%	6%
Black/other	(12,827)	30%	70%	6%	48%	54%	20%	19%	4%

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimizations of males. ^bSubcategories may total to over 100 percent because victims may report using more than one type of self-protective measure.

verbal protest, expression of reluctance only, "young" victim and "intoxicated" victim), resistance (including victim screaming and/or attempting to escape), and fighting (victim putting up a strong fight, throwing things, kicking, and so on). Because of this classification of victim behavior, the victimization survey results are not strictly comparable with Amir's findings. The Philadelphia data show that 55 percent of the victims displayed submissive behavior, 27 percent resisted the offender, and 18 percent put up a strong fight.

Self-protective Measures by Race of Victim

Amir (1971:167) reported that in the Philadelphia study there was no statistically significant association between the behavior of the victim in the rape situation and her race. The distribution of the various types of behavior (submission, resistance, and fighting) was almost equal for white and black victims.

The victimization survey results indicate, however, that in rape, but not in attempted rape, there was a difference between white and minority victims in their use of self-protective measures. The data in Table 23 show the relationship between the race of the victim and her use of self-protective measures. White victims of rape were more likely to report having taken self-protective measures than were black and other minority victims (47 percent compared with 36 percent).

There were some minor differences in the type of protective action taken by white victims and by minority victims. Victims in both racial categories who tried to defend themselves reported two techniques most often: trying to get help and attract attention, and/or using or trying to use physical force. Black and other minority victims reported using these measures slightly more often than did white victims. White victims were much more likely to report resisting without force (using evasive action) than were minority victims.

Self-protective Measures by Age of Victim

Earlier in this report it was noted that as the age of the rape victim increases, the likelihood of facing an armed attacker increases. It was suggested that one possible explanation for this is that rapists may perceive attacks on older women as requiring a greater show of force than attacks on younger women. This raises the question of whether there is any variation in the use of self-protective measures for victims of different ages.

The survey data suggest that the self-defensive behavior of the rape victim was influenced to some degree by her age. The data in Table 24 show that the proportion of victims who reported doing something to protect themselves decreased as the age category of the victim increased. The percent of rape victims who reported doing something to defend themselves decreased from 55 percent for victims 12 to 19 years old to 40 percent for victims 20 to 34 years old to 23 percent for victims 35 or older. Thus, the data indicate that as women get older their use of self-protective measures in rape declines. In attempted rape there was no substantial variation in the use of self-protective measures for victims of different ages, with a higher proportion (86 percent) of victims of all age groups doing something to prevent the rape.

There was little variation by age of victim in the type of self-protective measure employed. (Data not shown in tabular form.) Approximately half of the rape and attempted rape victims in all age categories reported trying to get help and attract attention and/or trying to use physical force. Thus, the survey findings indicate that although there is a strong inverse relationship between the age of the victim and her use of self-defensive measures, there is no real relationship between her age and the type of measure she takes.

Self-protective Measures by Weapons

The above sections suggested that the older the rape victim, the more likely she was to encounter an armed rapist and the less likely she was to try to protect herself. These survey results suggest that in rape victimization there may be a relationship between whether or not the offender used a weapon and whether or not the victim tried to defend herself. In addition, it is a reasonable expectation that women facing armed attackers would be less resistant than would be those facing unarmed attackers. The survey results indicate that the proportion of rape victims who did something to protect themselves was influenced by whether or not the assailant was armed.

As the data in Table 25 indicate, in rape victimizations the proportion of victims who did something to protect themselves was more than two times greater in unarmed than in armed rape attacks (68 percent compared with 31 percent). In attempted rape, the proportion of victims who tried to defend themselves was also higher in those attacks in which the offender was unarmed, although the difference is not substantial (88 percent compared with 82 percent).
 TABLE 24
 Estimated percentages of use of self-protective measures in rape and attempted rape victimization, by age of victim, 26 cities aggregate^a

	Use of self-prot	ective measures	Estimated numbe of victimizations	
Age of victim	No	Yes		
Rape:				
12-19	45%	55%	(3,198)	
20-34	60%	40%	(5,846)	
35 or older	77%	23%	(1,286) ^b	
Attempted rape:				
12-19	15%	85%	(6,757)	
20-34	13%	87%	(11,560)	
35 or older	12%	88%	(3,532)	
Total:				
12-19	25%	75%	(9,950)	
20-34	29%	71%	(17,406)	
35 or older	29%	71%	(4,818)	

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males. Estimate, based on about 50 or fewer sample cases, may be statistically unreliable.

TABLE 25 Estimated percentages of use of self-protective measures in rape and attempted rape victimization, by offender's weapon use, 26 cities aggregate^a

	Use of self-prot	P-sturned at a second to a	
Offender's weapon use	No	Yes	Estimated number of victimizations
Rape:			
Weapon used	69%	31%	(6,938)
No weapon	32%	68%	(2,227)
Don't know	38%	62%	(1,168) ^b
Attempted rape:			
Weapon used	18%	82%	(6,031)
No weapon	12%	88%	(3,195)
Don't know	14%	86%	(3,195)

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males. ^bEstimate, based on about 50 or fewer sample cases, may be statistically unreliable.

TABLE 26	Estimated percentages of use of self-protective measures in rape and
	attempted rape victimization, by number of offenders, 26 cities aggregate ^a

	Use of self-prote	ctive measures			
Number of offenders	No	Yes		Estimated number of victimizations	
Rape:					
Lone offender	59%	41%		(7,691)	
Multiple offenders	51%	49%		(2,478)	
Don't know	100%	0%		(161) ^b	
Attempted rape:					
Lone offender	11%	89%		(16,868)	
Multiple offenders	22%	78%	74	(4,809)	
Don't know	62%	38%		(173) ^b	

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males. ^bEstimate, based on about 50 or fewer sample cases, may be statistically unreliable.

Self-protective Measures by Number of Offenders

Given the nature and seriousness of rape, it could be hypothesized that there would be no difference between victims of lone offenders and victims of multiple offenders in the use of self-protective measures. Alternatively, it could be hypothesized that victims facing more than one attacker would be more frightened and consequently less resistant than victims facing single attackers. The survey data do not clearly support either hypothesis.

The data in Table 26 show that in rape there was a slight difference between the use of self-protective measures by victims facing lone offenders and by victims facing more than one offender (41 percent compared with 49 percent). Rape victims of multiple offenders were slightly more likely to use selfprotective measures than were rape victims of lone offenders. However, in attempted rape, victims of lone offenders used self-protective measures more often than did victims of more than one offender (89 percent compared with 78 percent).

Self-protective Measures: Summary

The victimization survey results indicate some general characteristics of the use of self-protective measures by rape and attempted rape victims. A large majority (more than 7 out of 10) of the total rape and attempted rape victims in the 26 cities did something to protect themselves. Most of these victims reported screaming or crying for help and/or using or trying to use physical force. Those victims who tried to defend themselves had a much better chance of thwarting the offender than women who did nothing.

The use of self-protective measures in rape and attempted rape was related to both victim and incident characteristics. White victims of rape reported using self-protective measures proportionately more often than did black and other minority victims. Rape victims who were older and those who faced, armed attackers were less resistant. Lastly, there was no clear relationship between the number of offenders and the use of self-protective measures.

The finding that women who do something to protect themselves have a much better chance of preventing the completion of the attack might suggest that physical injury to victims may be less when they try to defend themselves. However, previous research indicates that this may not be the case. For example, Chappell and James (1976), in their interviews with 50 rapists committed to a mental institution, asked the question, "What would push you to injure a victim?" Forty-six percent answered that struggling by the victim would lead to injury and 44 percent said that screaming would lead to injury. These are precisely the techniques of self-protection most often reported by victims in the 26 cities. Does the victim of rape or attempted rape increase her chances of being injured when she uses self-protective measures? The following section will deal with this and other questions relating to injury in rape and attempted rape victimization.

Injury

There are two major components of the injury suffered by rape victims: one is psychological and the other physical. The literature on rape suggests that the psychological or emotional damage experienced by the rape victim may be great; however, the victimization survey does not attempt to obtain this information.

The information obtained in the survey does provide a number of approaches for examining the physical component of injury in rape and attempted rape victimizations. Rape and attempted rape victims were asked if they were injured, what injuries they received, if they were injured to the extent that they needed medical attention after the attack, and if they received any treatment at the hospital.

It should be noted that the survey findings on hospital treatment of rape victims may be confounded by the fact that victims of rape attacks, particularly completed rape attacks, may receive one or both of two types of medical attention at the hospital. First, rape victims usually require examination and may require treatment of physical injuries suffered during the assault, and this type of hospital treatment may be reported to the survey interviewer. Second, the police usually require a medical examination in a hospital to establish that a rape did occur. The emergency room treatment picked up by the survey interview could consist of this medical/legal examination that is part of standard hospital/police procedure for victims of rape. The survey instrument does not distinguish these two types of medical attention. If a portion of the hospital treatment reported in the survey is treatment in the form of an examination for the purpose of establishing evidence of the rape, this would inflate the survey findings on the extent of physical injury in rape.

All rape and attempted rape victims who were attacked were asked in the survey if they received any injuries. Table 27 shows estimated percentages of rape and attempted rape victims who were injured. Note that the victimizations in which the victim was not attacked (those attempted rapes that were verbal threats of rape) are excluded from this table. These data show that although injury was substantially higher in rape than in attempted rape, the majority of rape and attacked attempted rape victims sustained physical injury. Ninety-one percent of the rape victims and 63 percent of the attacked attempted rape victims were injured.

Although the sexual act itself may be incidental in the offender's motivation, rape is a violent sexual assault. The varieties of injury suffered by rape and attempted rape victims can be grouped into two major categories: those directly associated with the act or attempt of rape, and any additional injuries the victim receives. Additional injuries may be in the form of less serious injuries such as bruises, black eyes, cuts, and so forth, or they may be more serious injuries such as knife or gunshot wounds or broken bones. Amir (1971) and MacDonald (1971) reported that the physical harm suffered by most victims was primarily injury associated with the act of rape itself. Although many victims received additional injuries, a minority suffered severe additional injuries—injuries such as knife wounds or broken bones-that would suggest extremes of brutal and capricious violence, violence beyond what was necessary to contain the victim. It is important, then, to examine the types of injury suffered by rape and attempted rape victims in the 26 cities.

Table 27 shows the types of injury reported by victims who were injured. The types of injury percentages total to over 100 percent because some of the injured victims reported more than one type of injury. A large part of the injuries suffered were directly associated with the act or attempt of rape; 92 percent of the injured rape victims reported rape injuries and 55 percent of the injured attempted rape victims reported attempted rape injuries. The additional injuries reported were for the most part less serious injuries: injuries such as bruises, black eves, cuts, and scratches were reported by 43 percent of the injured rape victims and 63 percent of the injured attempted rape victims. Few victims (less than 10 percent) reported physical injury in the form of knife or gunshot wounds, broken bones, and internal injuries.

Estimated percentages of rape and attempted rape victims who sustained any additional physical injury are given in Table 28. In this context, additional injury is defined as one or more than one type of injury other than rape or attempted rape injury. This includes: knife or gunshot wounds, broken bones or teeth knocked out, internal injuries or knocked unconscious, bruises, black eyes, cuts, scratches, and other injuries. Table 28 shows that about half of the victims—48 percent of the rape victims and 46 percent of the attacked attempted rape victims— sustained some physical injury that was not classified as rape or attempted rape injury.

Briefly, most rape and most attempted rape victims who were attacked were injured. Injuries included rape and attempted rape injuries, as well as additional injuries. Although a substantial proportion (about half) of the attacked victims reported some physical injury other than rape or attempted rape injury, most often the additional injury was in the form of bruises, cuts, scratches, and black eyes. These survey data on

TABLE 27Estimated percentages of injury suffered and type of injury suffered by those injured in
rape and attempted rape victimization, 26 cities aggregate a

	In	jury		Type of injury suffered ^C			suffered ^C			
Type of victimization	Estimated number of victimizations	Not injured	Total injured	Rape injury	Attempted rape injury	Knife or gunshot wound	Broken bones or teeth knocked out	Internal injuries or knocked unconscious	Bruises, black eyes, cuts, scratches	Other injury
Rape	(10,330)	9%	91%	92%	1%	3%	2%	6%	43%	13%
Attempted rape	(12,491) ^b	37%	63%	0%	55%	2%	4%	7%	63%	14%

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males. ^bExcludes those attempted rape victimizations that were verbal threats of rape. ^cSubcategories may total to over 100 percent because injured victims may report more than one type of injury.

TABLE 28 Estimated percentages of rape and attempted rape victims who sustained additional physical injury, 26 cities aggregatea

	Addition	Final second second second		
Type of victimization	Yes	No	Estimated number of victimizations	
Rape	48%	52%	(10,330)	
Attempted rape	46%	54%	(12,491) ^C	
Total	47%	53%	(22,821) ^C	

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males. ^bAdditional injury here means any injury other than rape or attempted rape injury. This includes, knife or gunshot wounds, broken bones or teeth knocked out, internal injuries or knocked unconscious, bruises, black eyes, cuts, scratches and other

cinjuries, Excludes those attempted rape victimizations that were verbal threats of rape.

injury suggest that the element of violence in rape is the physical force used to attempt and/or achieve sexual intercourse with a woman against her will. Generally, it does not appear to be violence in the form of additional, capricious beatings, stabbings, and so forth.

Medical Attention and Hospital Treatment

Another approach to examining physical injury in rape and attempted rape is to look at the proportion of injured victims who reported that they needed medical attention after the attack. In this connection medical attention was defined as care given by a trained medical person (such as a doctor, nurse, or medic) either at the scene, at an office, or at a hospital.

Because by definition rape is a more serious sexual assault than attempted rape, it can be expected that the proportion of victims who reported needing medical attention would be higher in rape than in attempted rape victimization. This was indeed the case. The survey data (not shown in tabular form) show that 54 percent of the injured rape victims and 28 percent of the injured attempted rape victims reported that they were in need of medical attention after the attack. Overall, 42 percent of the injured victims reported needing medical attention.

The rape and attempted rape victims who said they needed medical attention after the attack were asked if they received any treatment at a hospital. The data in Table 29 show the extent of hospital treatment received by rape and attempted rape victims who needed medical attention after the incident. These data show that most of the injured victims who needed medical attention received some amount of treatment at the hospital; 59 percent received emergency room treatment and 10 percent stayed overnight or longer at the hospital. Thus, most of the rape and attempted rape victims who needed medical attention were taken care of in the emergency room. As might be expected, more attempted rape than rape victims who needed medical attention received some medical attention but no hospital treatment. Table 29 shows that 40 percent of the attempted rape victims, but only 26 percent of the rape victims, who needed medical attention said they received no hospital treatment.

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Thus, the data indicated that both in terms of the proportion of victims reporting that they needed medical attention following the attack and in terms of the amount of hospital treatment they received victims of rape were more seriously injured than victims of attempted rape. The remainder of this section of the report will look at how injury in rape and attempted rape victimization varied with characteristics of both the victim and the incident.

Additional injury by Race and Age of Victim

Above it was reported that about half of the rape and attempted rape victims who were attacked received some additional physical injury; that is some injury other than rape or attempted rape injury. Most often the additional injuries were less serious injuries such as bruises and cuts, although the more severe but less common injuries such as knife wounds and broken bones are included in this category. The proportion of victims reporting some (one or more than one type of) additional injury varied with both the race and the age of victims.

TABLE 29 Estimated percentages of the extent of hospital treatment received by those victims who needed medical attention following rape and attempted rape victimization, 26 cities aggregate^a

Type of victimization	None	Emergency room only	Overnight or longer	Estimated number of victimizations	
Rape	26%	64%	10%	(5,041)	
Attempted rape	40%	49%	12%	(2,188)	
Total	30%	59%	10%	(7,230)	

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males. Excludes those victims who were not injured to the extent that medical attention was necessary.

TABLE 30 Estimated percentages of rape and attempted rape victims who sustained additional physical injury, by race of victim, 26 cities aggregate^a

	Addition		
Race of victim	Yes	No	Estimated number of victimizations
Rape:			
White	54%	46%	(5,831)
Black/other	41%	59%	(4,499)
Attempted rape:			
White	49%	51%	(7,217) ^C
Black/other	43%	57%	(5,274) ^c

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males.

Additional injury here means any injury other than rape or attempted rape injury. This includes: knife or gunshot wounds, broken bones or teeth knocked out, internal injuries or knocked unconscious, bruises, black eyes, cuts, scratches and other injuries.

Excludes those attempted rape victimizations that were verbal threats of rape.

Table 30 shows estimated percentages of rape and attempted rape victims (excluding those not attacked) who sustained some additional injury, by race of victim. Additional injury was reported more often by white rape victims than by minority rape victims (54 percent compared with 41 percent). Although the difference is not substantial, the same pattern is found in attempted rape victimization. White victims suffered injuries not directly associated with the act of rape or attempted rape more often than black and other minority rape victims.

Estimated percentages of rape and attempted rape victims who sustained additional injury are shown in Table 31 by age of victim. The data indicate that nonrape injury was greater for older victims than it was for younger ones. The percent of rape victims who reported one or more than one type of additional injury was much higher for victims 35 or older (66 percent) than it was for victims between 12 and 19 years old (44 percent) or those between 20 and 34 years old (46 percent). However, in this table the estimate for victims 35 or older is based on fewer than 50 sample cases and may be statistically unreliable. In attempted rape victimization (excluding those not attacked) additional injury increases only slightly with increases in the age of the victim from 43 percent for the 12 to 19 year olds to 48 percent for the 20 to 34 year olds to 51 percent for victims 35 or older.

	Addition		
Age of victim	Yes	No	Estimated numbe of victimizations
Rape:			
12-19	44%	56%	(3,198)
20-34	46%	54%	(5,846)
35 or older	66%	34%	(1,286) ^C
Attempted rape:			
12-19	43%	57%	(4,282) ^d
20-34	48%	53%	(6,157) ^d
35 or older	51%	49%	(2,052) ^d

TABLE 31 Estimated percentages of rape and attempted rape victims who sustained additional physical injury by age of victim 26 cities aggregate

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males.

Additional injury here means any injury other than rape or attempted rape injury. This includes: knife or gunshot wounds, broken bones or teeth knocked out, internal injuries or knocked unconscious, bruises, black eyes, cuts, scratches and other injuries.

^{ch}Estimate, based on about 50 or fewer sample cases, may be statistically unreliable. ^dExcludes those attempted rape victimizations that were verbal threats of rape.

Injury and Self-protection

As seen above, when victims in the 26 cities did something to try to ward off their attackers, it appears that they increased the probability that the rape would not be completed. Among those victims who used self-protective measures, more than four out of five rapes were not completed, compared with two out of five among victims who did not use self-protective measures. Because victims of completed rape reported injury and the need for medical attention more often than victims of attempted rape, this difference in completion between victims who used and did not use self-protective measures suggests that injury is less in victimizations in which the victim tries somehow to protect herself.

However, when injury is judged in terms of the proportion of victims receiving additional injury, a different picture emerges. The survey data suggest that physical injury may not be less when the victim does something to try to protect herself.

Table 32 shows the relationship between the use of self-protective measures and additional injury in rape and attempted rape victimization. The proportion of victims reporting one or more than one type of additional injury was much greater among victims who tried somehow to protect themselves. Among the victims of rape, additional injury was reported by 34 percent of the victims who didn't use self-protective measures, but 66 percent of the victims who did use self-protective measures. The comparable figures in attempted rape victimization are 29 percent and 49 percent. Thus, victims who did something to try to protect themselves were much more likely to report types of injury not directly related to the act of rape.

These survey findings indicate that whether there is more or less physical injury resulting from rape attacks in which the victim tries to protect herself depends on how injury is measured. By trying to protect herself the victim increases the likelihood that the rape will not be completed; however, the likelihood that the attacked victim will receive some physical injury not classified as rape or attempted rape injury is also increased.

Injury and Number of Offenders

The results of Amir's (1971:218) Philadelphia study indicated that violence, especially in its extreme forms, was significantly associated with group rape. It would seem. reasonable, then, to expect that additional injuries (injuries such as bruises, cuts, broken bones, knife wounds, and other non-rape injuries) would be reported more often by victims of pairs or groups of

TABLE 32 Estimated percentages of rape and attempted rape victims who sustained additional physical injury, by use of self-protective measures, 26 cities aggregate^a

Dec 14	Addition	Martine a day of second as	
Use of self-protective measures	Yes	No	Estimated number of victimizations
Rape:			<u></u>
Did not use self-protective measures	34%	66%	(5,946)
Did use self-protective measures	66%	34%	(4,385)
Attempted rape:			
Did not use self-protective measures	29%	71%	(1,454) ^{c, d}
Did use self-protective measures	49%	51%	(11,037) ^d

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males.
^bAdditional injury here means any injury other than rape or attempted rape injury. This includes: knife or gunshot wounds, broken bones or teeth knocked out, internal injuries or knocked unconscious, bruises, black eyes, cuts, scratches and other injuries.

Estimate, based on about 50 or fewer sample cases, may be statistically unreliable. Excludes those attempted rape victimizations that were verbal threats of rape.

offenders than by victims of lone offenders. The victimization survey data do not support this expectation.

Table 33 shows the relationship between the number of offenders and the proportion of rape and attempted rape victims who sustained additional physical injury. There was no difference between the percent of additional injury reported by rape victims of lone offenders and that reported by rape victims of multiple offenders. In attempted rape victimization, 48 percent of the victims sustained additional injury when lone offenders were involved and 40 percent sustained additional injury when multiple offenders were involved. Overall, additional physical injury was not substantially related to the number of offenders involved in the rape or attempted rape.

Injury and Weapon Use

Two competing hypotheses suggest relationships between the rapist's use of weapons and the physical injury suffered by the victim of a rape or attempted rape. On the one hand, it could be hypothesized that injury to the victim would be less if the offender had a weapon. This would be true if the attacker relied on the mere presence of a weapon, rather than on a show of physical force such as a beating, to frighten and subdue his victim. For example, research indicates that injury to the victim is less in armed than in unarmed robbery because the robber uses his weapon to intimidate his victims, not to harm them (Conklin, 1972). If the same pattern exists in rape, it would be expected that additional injury to victims would be less in rapes and attempted rapes in which a weapon was present.

The competing hypothesis is that when the offender is armed, there is greater potential for injury to the victim, and this potential is realized often enough for proportionately greater injury to occur. For example, the presence of a weapon may make the crucial difference in turning an assault into a homicide.

The victimization survey data in Table 34 indicate that the relationship between additional injury and weapon use depends to some extent on whether the rape was completed or attempted. Among the victims of completed rape attacks, additional injury to the victim was more likely when the rapist did not have a weapon than when he did (58 percent compared with 44 percent). However, if the rape attack was not completed, additional injury was more likely if the rapist was armed. Seventy percent of the attempted rape victims suffered additional injury in armed attacks.

One explanation for these apparently contradictory findings is that the above hypotheses should be considered together in an explanation of the

TABLE 33 Estimated percentages of rape and attempted rape victims who sustained additional physical injury, by number of offenders, 26 cities aggregate^a

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	Addition	Estimated number	
Number of offenders	Yes	No	of victimizations
Rape:			
Lone offender	49%	51%	(7,691)
Multiple offenders	48%	52%	(2,478)
Don't know	0%	100%	(161) ^C
Attempted rape:			
Lone offender	48%	52%	(9,985) ^d
Multiple offenders	40%	60%	(2,441) ^d
Don't know	28%	72%	(65) ^{c, d}

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males.
^bAdditional injury here means any injury other than rape or attempted rate injury. This includes: knife or gunshot wounds, broken bones or teeth knocked out, internal injuries or knocked unconscious, bruises, black eyes, cuts, scratches and other injuries. C

Estimate, based on about 50 or fewer sample cases may be statistically unreliable. Excludes those attempted rape victimizations that were verbal threats of rape.

TABLE 34 Estimated percentages of rape and attempted rape victims who sustained additional physical injury, by offender's weapon use, 26 cities aggregate

	Addition	al injury ^b	F athan to down have
Use of weapons	Yes	No	Estimated number of victimizations
Rape:			
Weapon used	44%	56%	(6,936)
No weapon	58%	42%	(2,227)
Don't know	56%	44%	(1,168) ^C
Attempted rape:			
Weapon used	70%	30%	(2,894) ^d
No weapon	41%	59%	(7,777) ^d
Don't know	33%	67%	(1,821) ^d

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males. ^bAdditional injury here means any injury other than rape or attempted rape injury. This includes: knife or gunshot wounds, broken bones or teeth knocked out, internal injuries or knocked unconscious, bruises, black eyes, cuts, scratches and other injuries.

dEstimate, based on about 50 or fewer sample cases, may be statistically unreliable. Excludes those attempted rape victimizations that were verbal threats of rape.

relationship between weapon use and additional injury in rape and attempted rape. Following the first hypothesis, it is possible that the rapist who is armed does not intend to use the weapon to injure his victim. He has the weapon because its very presence and his threat of using it is a way of forcing his victim into submission. As seen in a previous section, when the offender is armed proportionately more rape attacks are completed than when he is unarmed. However, it could be that if for some reason the rapist does not succeed in completing the rape, he uses the weapon to beat, stab, or otherwise inflict additional injury on the victim. Following the second hypothesis above, if a weapon is present the potential for additional injury is greater. Thus, there is greater additional injury to attempted rape victims in armed, as opposed to unarmed attacks.

Injury: Summary

The information collected in the victimization survey interview provides a number of ways of looking at the physical injury suffered by victims of rape and attempted rape. These indicators suggest some general patterns in the nature and extent of physical harm experienced by victims in the 26 cities surveyed. Although injury was reported more often by rape than by attempted rape victims, the majority of all victims who were attacked were injured. Of the injured victims, rape victims were injured to the extent that medical attention was necessary more often than were attempted rape victims.

The types of injury reported by rape and attempted rape victims were analyzed as falling into two major categories, rape or attempted rape injuries and additional injuries. Ninety-two percent of the injured rape victims reported rape injuries and 55 percent of the injured attempted rape victims reported attempted rape injuries.

About half of all attacked victims said they received additional injuries, injuries such as bruises, cuts, scratches, internal injuries, broken bones, knife or gunshot wounds, and other non-rape injuries. Additional injuries were reported more often by white than by black and other minority race women, and more often by older women than by younger women. The survey data on the use of self-protective measures and injury present a dilemma for those who would advise women on rape prevention: although the use of self-protective measures increased the likelihood that the rape attack would not be completed, additional injury was reported much more often by both rape and attempted rape victims who tried somehow to protect themselves. Although the additional injury sustained by victims who were attacked was not related to the number of offenders involved in the attack, it was related to whether or not the offender was armed. Among the victims of completed rape attacks, additional injury was sustained more often in unarmed attacks. However, among the victims of attempted rape, additional injury was sustained more often when the offender was armed.

Informing the Police

Researchers who have used police files have noted that for a variety of reasons, many victims delay reporting rapes to the police. Amir (1971:290) reported that reasons for failure in promptly reporting the incident to the police varied from fear of the offender or of parental reaction to the victim's initial inability to report because of drunkenness or shock. MacDonald (1971:93) adds that many victims delay reporting until they have spoken to their husbands, boyfriends or physicians. Some rape victims fear newspaper publicity or courtroom appearances.

Because these research studies are based on rapes reported to the police, they can suggest reasons for delay in reporting to the police, but they cannot address the question of why many victims do not inform the police at all. Estimates of the percent of rapes actually reported to the police vary from 5 to 50 percent of the actual rapes committed (Amir, 1971:27). Victimization survey data provide one measure of victims' failure to report to the police: the data can indicate the extent to which victims who report rape attacks to survey interviewers have reported the incident to the police. Survey interviewers asked victims if the police were informed of the incident in any way, either by the victim or by someone else. The victims who did not report the incident to the police were asked why it was not reported. Hence, in addition to providing a measure of the proportion of rape attacks that go unreported, the survey data lends insight to the reasons why victims do not report rapes and attempted rapes to the police.

Generally, among those rape and attempted rape victims who reported an attack to survey interviewers, the proportion who had also reported it to the police was not high. As the data in Table 35 show, in only 56 percent of the total rape and attempted rape attacks that were reported in the survey were the police informed. As would be expected, informing the police was greater in rape than in attempted rape. Roughly two-thirds (68 percent) of the rapes were reported to the police compared with one-half (51 percent) of the attempted rapes.

Informing the police Reasons for not informing the police													
Type of victimiza- tion	Estimated number of victimizations	Police informed	Don't know	Police Police not informed	Nothing could be done	Not important enough	Police would not want to be bothered	Didn't want to take time; too inconvenient	Private or personal matter	Didn't want to get involved	Afraid of re- sponse	Reported it to someone else	Other reason
Rape	(10,330)	68%	1%	31%	23%	4%	14%	1%	53%	14%	19%	7%	11%
Attempted rape	(21,850)	51%	0%	49%	49%	15%	7%	4%	19%	6%	10%	12%	14%
Total	(32,180)	56%	0%	43%	43%	12%	9%	4%	27%	8%	12%	11%	13%

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males. Subcategories may total to over 100 percent because nonreporting victims may report more than one reason for not informing the police.

TABLE 36

Estimated percentages of informing the police in rape and attempted rape victimization, by race of victim, 26 cities aggregate^a

	Info			
Race of victim	Police informed	Don't know	Police not informed	Estimated number of victimizations
Rape:				· · ·
White	62%	0%	37%	(5,831)
Black/other	76%	1%	24%	(4,499)
Attempted rape:				
White	47%	0%	53%	(13,522)
Black/other	58%	1%	42%	(8,328)
Total:			1. s.	
White	52%	0%	48%	(19,354)
Black/other	64%	1%	35%	(12,829)

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males.

TABLE 37	Estimated percentages of informing the police in rape and attempted rape
	victimization, by age of victim, 26 cities aggregate ^a

	Info	Informing the police			
Age of victim	Police informed	Don't know	Police not informed	Estimated number of victimizations	
Rape:					
12-19	59%	1%	40%	(3,199)	
20-34	70%	0%	30%	(5,847)	
35 or older	84%	0%	16%	(1,286) ^b	
Attempted rape:					
12-19	49%	0%	51%	(6,758)	
20-34	50%	1%	49%	(11,560)	
35 or older	58%	0%	42%	(3,532)	
Total:					
12-19	52%	0%	48%	(9,957)	
20-34	57%	1%	43%	(17,397)	
35 or older	65%	0%	35%	(4,818)	

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males, ^bEstimate, based on about 50 or fewer sample cases, may be statistically unreliable. Rape victims who did not report the incident to the police were asked why they failed to do so. The response given by the victim was recorded by the survey interviewer as *one or more* of nine different reasons for not informing the police. The reasons given by rape and attempted rape victims for failure to report to the police are shown in Table 35. The reasons given by victims did not vary substantially for victims of different races or ages. (Data not presented in tabular form.) However, as might be anticipated, there was a considerable difference between victims of completed rape and victims of attempted rape in the reasons for not informing the police.

The reason cited by more than half (53 percent) of the rape victims for not informing the police was that they considered the incident to be a private or personal matter. The second most frequently given reason for not reporting completed rape was that the victim felt nothing could be done, there was a lack of proof. Almost one-quarter (23 percent) of the rape victims gave this as the reason for not reporting.

Considering the nature of attempted rape, it is not surprising that the major reason given for not reporting the attack to the police was that the victim felt nothing could be done, there was a lack of proof. Almost half (49 percent) of the nonreporting victims of attempted rape felt that nothing could be done. In attempted rape, the second most common reason for not reporting was that the victim considered the incident a private or personal matter. Almost one-fifth (19 percent) of the nonreporting victims of attempted rape gave this response.

Thus, both the proportion of victims who failed to report the incident to the police and the reasons for failure to report are different for rape victims and attempted rape victims. Reporting to the police also varied to some extent with victim and incident characteristics.

Informing the Police by Victim Characteristics

It could be hypothesized that for various reasons victims of different races, ages, and marital statuses would be more or less likely to report rape and attempted rape attacks to the police. Thus, it is worthwhile to examine the survey findings on the relationships between informing the police and race, age, and marital status characteristics of victims.

The survey data suggest that black and other minority victims of rape and attempted rape report to the police more often than white victims. As the data in Table 36 show, in rape victimizations slightly more than three-fourths (76 percent) of the black and other minority victims, compared with less than two-thirds (62 percent) of the white victims, reported the incident to the police. Similarly, in attempted rape, 58 percent of the minority victims, compared with 47 percent of the white victims informed the police.

In both rape and attempted rape, informing the police increased as the age of the victim increased. The data in Table 37 show that in rape victimizations 6 out of 10 victims in the 12 to 19 year old category informed the police, compared with 7 out of 10 victims in the 20 to 34 year old category and more than 8 out of 10 victims in the 35 year old or older category. The data for attempted rape indicate a similar but less dramatic increases in reporting to the police as the victim's age increases. The 12 to 19 year old victims and the 20 to 34 year old victims have almost the same proportions reporting to the police (49 percent and 50 percent, respectively), compared with a slightly higher proportion (58 percent) of victims 35 years old or older who reported attempted rape attacks to the police.

Reporting of the rape or attempted rape incidents to the police also varied to some extent with the marital status of the victim. The survey findings show that victims who were never married reported rape and attempted rape to the police less often than did victims who were married, divorced/separated, or widowed. As the data in Table 38 indicate, among the victims who were never married, 59 percent of the rapes and 45 percent of the attempted rapes were reported to the police. Comparable figures were 81 percent and 63 percent for divorced/separated women and 82 percent and 58 percent for married women.

Thus, the survey data indicate that informing the police of rape and attempted rape attacks was somewhat related to victim characteristics. Black and other minority women, older women, and women who were married (or had been previously married) were more likely to inform the police than were white, younger, and never married women.

Informing the Police and Injury

It could be hypothesized that the more severely the victim is injured, the more likely she is to report the rape to the police. Above it was noted that victims of rape were more likely to inform the police than were victims of attempted rape. However, there is no real relationship between *additional* physical injury and reporting to the police.

As the data in Table 39 indicate, victims who sustained additional injury in rape attacks were about as likely to inform the police as victims who did not sustain additional injury. In attempted rape, victims

TABLE 38Estimated percentages of informing the police in rape and attempted rape
victimization, by marital status of victim, 26 cities aggregate^a

	info	Informing the police						
Marital status of victim	Police informed	Don't know	Police not informed	Estimated numbe of victimizations				
Rape:								
Never married	59%	1%	40%	(6,112)				
Married	82%	0%	18%	(2,133)				
Divorced/separated	81%	0%	19%	(1,869)				
Widowed	76%	0%	24%	(217) ^b				
Attempted rape:								
Never married	45%	0%	55%	(12,414)				
Married	58%	0%	42%	(4,997)				
Divorced/separated	63%	1%	35%	(3,674)				
Widowed	46%	0%	54%	(651) ^b				
Not ascertained	55%	0%	45%	(115) ^b				

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males, ^bEstimate, based on about 50 or fewer sample cases, may be statistically unreliable.

TABLE 39 Estimated percentages of informing the police by rape and attempted rape victims, by additional physical injury, 26 cities aggregate^a

	Info			
Additional injury ^b	Police informed	Don't know	Police not informed	Estimated number of victimizations
Rape:		······································	······································	
Additional injury	70%	1%	29%	(4,972)
No additional injury	67%	0%	33%	(5,359)
Attempted rape:				
Additional injury	56%	0%	44%	(5,799) ^C
No additional injury	63%	0%	37%	(6,692) ^C

^aExcludes rape and attempted rape victimization by nonstrangers and victimization of males.
^bAdditional injury here means any injury other than rape or attempted rape injury. This includes: knife or gunshot wounds, broken bones or teeth knocked out, internal injuries or knocked unconscious, bruises, black eyes, cuts, scratches and other cinjuries. CExcludes those attempted rape victimizations that were verbal threats of rape.

who sustained additional physical injury were slightly less likely to inform the police than those who didn't (56 percent compared with 63 percent). Thus, it appears that additional (non-rape) injury was not related to the likelihood that the police would be informed.

Informing the Police: Summary

The victimization survey data indicate that slightly over half of the women who reported rape and attempted rape victimizations to survey interviewers said that the incident had been reported to the police. Victims of rape who failed to inform the police most often said they considered the incident to be a private or personal matter. The feeling that nothing could be done or that there was a lack of proof was the reason for not informing the police most often given by victims of attempted rape.

The survey data also indicate that whether or not the police were informed was related to characteristics of the victim. Black and other minority victims reported more often than did white victims. Informing the police increased with the age of the victim. Women who were never married had lower rates of reporting than did any other marital status group.

Informing the police was not related to whether or not the victim sustained additional physical injury.

Summary and Conclusions

In this report, victimization survey data from 26 cities were used to examine the nature of rape and attempted rape victimizations by strangers. The survey results suggest a few general conclusions about characteristics of rape and attempted rape victims and their attackers, and about some elements and consequences of rape attacks.

Generally, women who had a high risk of being attacked were young women, women between the ages of 16 and 24. They were most often not married (never married, divorced, or separated), and their major activities, like working or going to school, probably took them away from home a good deal of the time. Finally, women with high risks of being rape or attempted rape victims were more often from the lower income levels. It appears that these women were in high risk situations more often than higher income, older, married or widowed women, or those who were keeping house or retired.

The most dangerous hours for potential rape and attempted rape victims were between 6:00 p.m. and midnight. The dangerous locations were open public areas, such as streets or parks. Rape and attempted rape victims were usually victims of men of their own race, and men perceived to be 21 years old or older. The majority of the offenders were alone and chose lone victims. More often than not, the rapist was unarmed. However, when he did use a weapon it was an effective means of intimidation: the rape was generally completed if the offender was armed.

Although the survey data cannot be used to address the question of whether the rape is primarily violence or sex in the minds of the offenders, some insight into the nature of rape attacks is given by the survey results on injury and theft in rape and attempted rape victimizations. More rape than attempted rape victims reported injury, and of the injured victims, rape victims needed medical attention more often than did attempted rape victims. Additional injury, injury not classified as rape or attempted rape injury, was mostly in the form of less severe injuries such as bruises, cuts, and scratches. Few injured victims reported broken bones, knife wounds, or other injuries that would have suggested more brutal physical assaults. In addition, theft was an element in only a small minority of rape and attempted rape victimizations. When something was stolen, it was most often cash and most often stolen from victims of completed rape attacks. This suggests that theft may be secondary in most rape attacks.

Most victims were not submissive. The vast majority of the victims did something to protect themselves: usually they fought back or cried for help. The victim's use of self-protective measures appeared to be effective in preventing the completion of the attack. However, victims who used self-protective measures received additional injuries more often than did those who didn't use self-protective measures.

The survey findings also suggest that a low proportion of rape and attempted rape victims report the incident to the police. Although rape attacks that were completed were reported to the police much more often than attempted rapes, overall, only about one-half of the total rape and attempted rape victimizations were reported. Most often rape victims who failed to inform the police said they felt that nothing could be done or that the incident was a private or personal matter.

Some of the major elements in rape victimization were related to the victim's age and race. Most victims were young, and as the woman's age increased, her risk of being raped declined markedly. However, although women 35 years old or older experienced a lower risk of being victims of rape attacks, if attacked, they were more often victims of armed offenders and appeared to be more seriously injured. Victims 35 or older less often used self-protective measures and more often informed the police. They also experienced theft in rape victimizations more often than did younger victims; this suggests that the rape may be secondary to the theft when older women are attacked.

Black and other minority women generally experienced a higher risk of being raped. However, white women between the ages of 12 and 19 had a higher rate of attempted rape than did black and other minority race women in the same age group. Black and other minority women were more often involved in attacks in which the offender used a weapon and also experienced theft slightly more often than did white victims. White victims reported the incident to the police less often.

Most victims who did not report the attack to the police said either that they felt it was a personal matter or that they felt nothing could be done. Perhaps those rape prevention programs that encourage greater and more prompt reporting by victims should deal with these issues. In addition, the indication that many non-reporting victims felt that nothing could be done, that there was a lack of proof, may also say something about the rape victim's perception of the police and their treatment of rape cases.

The survey findings have implications for rape prevention. Some are more obvious than others. A young woman, alone in an open public area at night, is in a potentially dangerous situation. Because few rape victimizations involve more than one victim, one suggestion (perhaps unrealistic in many circumstances) is that young women should avoid being out at night alone.

Other findings are less obvious. The survey data indicated a relationship between the victim's use of self-protective measures and the amount of injury she sustained. This relationship has implications for those who would advise potential rape victims on techniques of self-defense. When a woman did something to protect herself (including things like screaming, running away, fighting back), although she apparently increased the probability that the rape would not be completed, she also apparently increased her chances of receiving additional (non-rape) injuries, injuries such as bruises, cuts, broken bones, and so forth. These survey findings might be interpreted by some to suggest that in order to lessen the physical injury in rape attacks, women need training in better, more effective means of self-defense. However, it should be stressed that the issue is not that clear-cut.

There are constraints on the amount and nature of information that it is feasible to collect in large-scale surveys such as the victimization surveys conducted in the 26 cities. As a result, there are many questions about rape that it was not possible to address with victimization survey data. For example, the profile of rape offenders given by the survey data is limited to characteristics that can be perceived by victims, characteristics such as age, race and number of offenders. Similarly, in this report the analysis of the means used by offenders was restricted to an examination of the extent of weapon use and type of weapon use. Only further study can answer the many rmaining questions about the crime of rape, rape offenders, and their victims. There is a special need for a much closer examination of the relationship between the victim's use of self-protective measures and the injury she suffers.

APPENDIX A Rape Involving Nonstrangers

The interpersonal relationship between the rape victim and offender has been the subject of much concern in rape research. Part of this concern is related to the suggestion that the rape victim may have a role in precipitating the rape event. (See Amir, 1971.) More often, the focus is an attempt to understand the offender's motivations or choice of victim, to study victim proneness or vulnerability, or to identify potentially dangerous relationships or situations.

The results of Amir's (1971:243) research in Philadelphia indicated that roughly 42 percent of the rapes involved offenders who were complete strangers to the victim; an additional 10 percent involved offenders of whom the victim had only general knowledge. Thus, slightly over half of the rapes studied were attacks by strangers. The remaining 48 percent of the incidents involved acquaintances (14 percent), close neighbors (19 percent), friends or boyfriends (11 percent), or relatives (2 percent). By comparison, MacDonald's (1971:78) study of rape in Denver revealed that 60 percent of the victims were raped by strangers, 17 percent by casual acquaintances, 12 percent by friends, and 10 percent by relatives, employers, or other nonstrangers.

The survey data from the 26 cities revealed that 82 percent of the rapes reported to survey interviewers involved strangers, attackers who were either complete strangers or known by sight only. The remaining 18 percent of the reported rapes involved offenders who were either casual acquaintances of the victim or well known, the latter including relatives.

The victimization survey results probably underestimate the proportion of rapes that were committed by nonstrangers. The results of the San Jose feasibility study conducted by the Bureau of the Census for LEAA indicated that in survey interviews, known victims (victims who had reported rape attacks to the police) reported rape by strangers to survey interviewers much more often than rape by nonstrangers. Eighty-four percent of the known rapes committed by strangers, compared with 54 percent of those committed by nonstrangers, were reported to survey inverviewers. When weighting factors derived from these reporting percentages are applied to the rape data from the 26 cities, the results suggest that 74 percent of the rapes in the cities surveyed are rapes by strangers and 26 percent are rapes by known assailants. However, nothing is known about those rapes reported neither to the police or to the survey interviewers.

Because of the extent of nonreporting of rapes committed by nonstrangers and the problem of small numbers and resultant unreliability in the nonstranger rape data, the bulk of this report dealt only with those rapes committed by offenders who were strangers to the victim. This appendix will briefly highlight the survey findings on rape by nonstrangers.

Intra-racial Rape

Rapes that involved nonstrangers were much more highly intra-racial than were stranger-to-stranger rapes. This was true for rape victimizations by lone offenders and by more than one offender and for victims of both racial categories. Black and other minority victims of rapes committed by nonstrangers were always the victims of offenders of the same racial category.

Place

Most victims of nonstrangers were raped in their own homes. Compared with stranger-to-stranger, victims of nonstrangers were raped more than twice as often in their own homes and less than one-half as often in open, public locations such as streets or parks.

Number of Participants

Rapes by nonstrangers more often involved single attackers than did stranger-to-stranger rapes and also more often involved only one victim.

Weapons

Victims of rapes committed by nonstrangers were less often involved in incidents in which the attacker used a weapon than were victims of strangers. Victims of nonstrangers were raped by armed attackers less than half as often as were victims of strangers.

Self-protective Measures

Rape victims of nonstrangers did something to protect themselves as often as did stranger-to-stranger victims. Roughly seven-tenths of both types of victims reported using some type of self-protective measure. Victims of rapes committed by nonstrangers also took the same actions to prevent the completion of the attack. Most victims either screamed or called for help, or tried to use physical force of some kind.

Injury

When physical injury is measured in terms of the proportion of completed rapes compared with the proportion of attempted rapes, there is no difference between injury suffered by victims of strangers and injury suffered by victims of nonstrangers. Roughly one-third of the attacks were rapes and two-thirds were attempted rapes for both victims of strangers and of nonstrangers.

However, when physical injury is measured in terms of the proportion of victims who reported needing medical attention following the attack, there was less injury in rape attacks by nonstrangers. It should be noted that the smaller proportion of victims of nonstrangers receiving medical attention following the attack possibly has nothing to do with actual physical injury. Because they may be more reluctant to inform the police, rape victims of nonstrangers may less often undergo medical examinations for legal reasons. This would result in nonstranger victims having a smaller proportion reporting that they needed medical attention following the attack.

Informing the Police

Victims raped by nonstrangers informed the police of the attack less often than did victims of strangers. The proportion of victims of nonstrangers who reported the rape attack to the police was about one-fifth less than the proportion of victims of strangers who reported.

The indication that victims of nonstrangers report rapes to the police less often than victims of strangers is congruent with their lower rate of reporting to survey interviewers. This finding also lends some support to the above suggestion that victims of nonstrangers may less often receive medical/legal examinations following the rape attack. Rape victims of nonstrangers, compared with victims of strangers, more often gave as the reason for not reporting the incident to the police that it was a private or personal matter.

Theft

Theft was not often an element in the rape victimizations by strangers; it was even less often a part of those by nonstrangers. Something was stolen from the victim in roughly one-twelfth of the rapes by nonstrangers, compared with one-sixth of the rapes by strangers.

The survey findings on the differences between stranger and nonstranger rape support the view that the relationship between the victim and the offender is a critical element in rape victimizations. Victims who are raped by men they know are more often raped by lone offenders and members of their own race; they are more often attacked in their own homes; and they are less likely to be threatened by weapons or to have something stolen from them.

Although it might be suggested that victims of nonstrangers would be less resistant than victims of strangers, the survey results do not support this hypothesis. Victims of nonstrangers were about as likely to use self-protective measures as victims of strangers. Amir's (1971:246) study of rape, using incidents from police files in Philadelphia, also suggested that the behavior of the victim is similar in stranger and nonstranger rape. The victimization survey results are in agreement with other findings from Amir's (1971:243, 248) research, for example, that single attackers are more common in nonstranger rape and that intimidation with a weapon was less likely when the offender was known to the victim.

As would be anticipated, victims who were raped by nonstrangers informed the police less frequently and more often considered the incident a private or personal matter.

Together, these findings suggest that rape attacks involving participants known to each other may be very different from those involving strangers. Thus, the study of the victim-offender relationship is crucial in understanding rape.

APPENDIX B National Crime Survey Questionnaire

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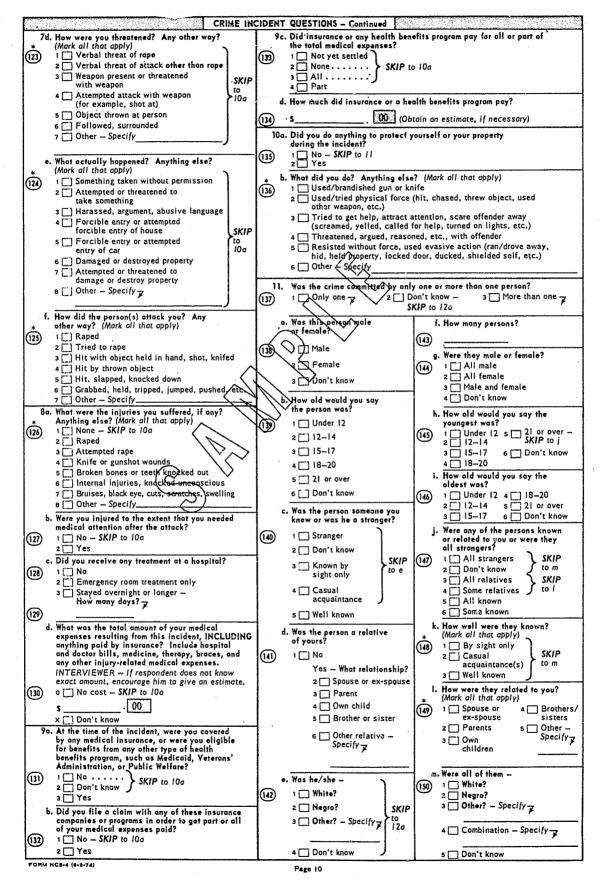
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(049) <u>o 🗌 No</u>	Yes - How muny			2		~	engin	eer, sto	ck cier	'k, typis	t, former)		
c. Did you	have a job or busina ily absent or on lay	ess from	which you were	,	(0)	56)					int activities (1 2	
	2 [] Yes - Absen 3 [] Yes - Layof	t/- 518	P to 28a								count books,		
•				DUAL SO	CREEN	QU	ESTION	S					
happened to	g questions refer on you during the last _1, 197 and ir (pocket picked/pu	12 mont	hs -	times	many ?	46	ATTE	MPTED ged to y	to ste ou? (o		nat someone thing that n any)	Yes -	- How many times?
37. Did anyone t	ake something (else) direct	ly 1174	s - How		47					ng the last 12 you which you		
from you by a mugging or t	using force, such as hreat?	by a si	lickup,	times		_	crime	(Don	at cour	nt any co	ills made to th	e police	
	RY to rob you by u	sino for				58)				lents you	have just tol	d me abou	t.)
or threatenin incidents alr	g to harm you? (oth eady mentioned)	er than (sny 🗌 No	1107-23		Π		s - SKII s - Wh		ened?			
with somethi	eat you up, attack y ng, such as a rock o ny incidents already	or bottle	?	es — How times	" F		cx 📩	Look	at 47 -	Was HH	member 12 +	IT Yes -	- How many
some other w	fed, shot ut, or atta reapon by anyone at idents already menti	all? (of		s - How times	many [ТЕЛ		usings	stotett	or an all	I member 12 + d, or was some empt made to pelonged to hir	IN O	times?
THREATEN other weapor	THREATEN to beat you with a knife, gu 1, NOT including te ny incidents already	in, or si lephone	threats?	es — How times	2 10	48 59	you th (other	ought v than ar	vas a c ny incid	rime, bu	during the las t did NOT rep eady mentione t E	ort to the p	
	FRY to attack you in (other than any inci- ioned)			es – How times	many 17		T Ye	<u> </u>		ened?		······	
things that b or truck, suc	ast 12 months, did a elonged to you from h as packages or cl	inside othing?	any car	es How times				thing	stolen	or an att	I member 12 + d, or was som empt made to belonged to his	e-	- How many times?
away from he	stolen from you wi ome, for instance at staurant, or while tr	work, i	na i	s – How times	1	CHE	ск	Do an for "H	y of the low ma	screen ny times	questions cor ?"	ntain any e	
45. (Other than a mentioned) Y	any incidents you've fas anything (else) ing the last 12 mont	alread at all st	Y	es – How time	many				if le	ist respo	ext HH member ondent, and fil Incident Repo	l item 13 d	
FORM NC5-3 18-3-74	and the second				Page	4				· · · · · · · · · · · ·	·····		

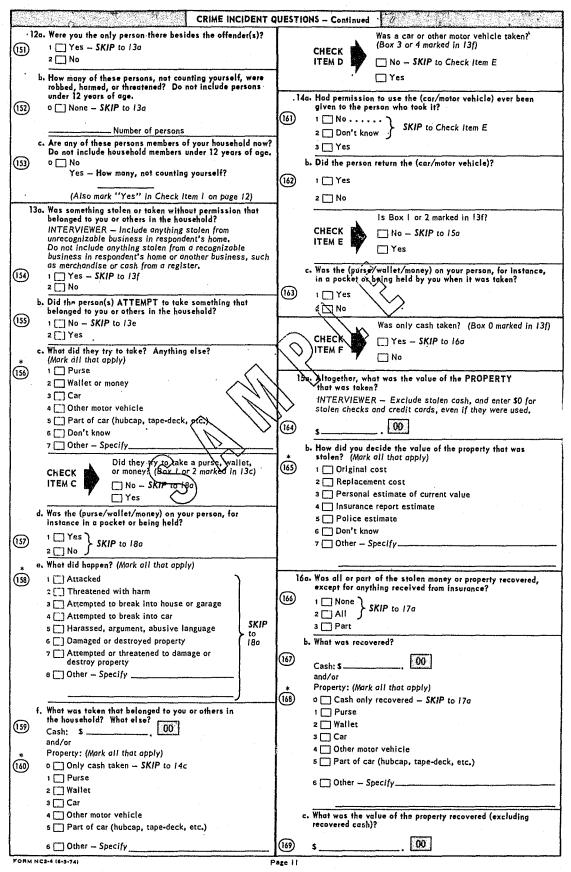
•			Form Approved: O.M.B. No. 41-R266
	KEYER - 1 NEW RECORD	Notes	NOTICE — Your report to the Census Bureau is confidential by law (Public Law 93-83). All identifiable information will be used only by persons engaged in and for the purposes of the survey, and may not be disclosed or released to others for any purpose.
102	umber n question number nt number		FORM NCS-4 (6-3-74) U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE social and economic statistics administration "Acting as collecting agent for the Law ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE CRIME INCIDENT REPORT NATIONAL CR ME SURVEY CENTRAL CITIES SAMPLE
\leq	ou raid that during th	o last 12 months – (Refer to	
a; In (S	ppropriate screen que what month (did this how flashcard if nece ive exact month.)	<pre>e last 12 months - (Refer to stion for description of crime), /did the first) incident happen? essary. Encourage respondent to (01-12) s incident report for a series of crimes?</pre>	 5a. Were you a customer, employee, or owner? 1 [] Customer 2 [] Employee 3 [] Owner 4 [] Other - Specify b. Did the person(s) steal or TRY to steal anything belonging to the store, restaurant, office, factory, etc?
(1115)	неск 🔥 🖽	 Io – SKIP to 2 'es – (Note: series must have 3 or more similar incidents which respondent can't recall separately) 	(114) 1 [] Yes 2 [] No 3 [] Don't know 6a. Did the Affender(s) live there or have a right to be
* (A 12 3 4 (106) 1 2 3 (1) 1 2 3	Mark all that apply) [_]Spring (March, Ap [_]Summer (June, Jul [_]Fall (September, [_]Winter (December,	ly, August) October, November)	there's such a guest or a workman? 1 [] Yes SKIP to Check Item B 2 [] No 3 [] Don't know b. Did the offender(s) actually get in or just TRY to get in the building? 1 [] Actually got in 2 [] Just tried to get in 3 [] Don't know c. Was there any evidence, such as a broken lock or broken
2. A 108 1		a.m. to 6 p.m.) o 6 actm.) dnheht	window, that the offender(s) (forced his way in/TRIED to force his way in) the building? (1)7 1 □ No Yes - What was the evidence? Anything else? (Mark all that apply) 2 □ Broken lock or window 3 □ Forced door or window (or tried) 4 [Slashed screen 5 [] Other - Specify
109 1 2 3	id this incident take ity or somewhere else []] Inside limits of d []] Somewhere else i []] Outside the Unite	his city - SKIP to 4	 d. How did the offender(s) (get in/try to get in)? 11B 1 [] Through unlocked doc: or window 2 [] Had key 3 [] Don't know 4 [] Other - Specify
0 6 1 1	[_] No	he limits of a city, town, village, etc.? e of city, town, etc. 7	(119) CHECK ITEM B A CHECK (If not sure, ASK) (119) CHECK (IF NOT SURE ASK) (IF NOT
112 1	/here did this inciden [] At or in own dwei other building on break-in or attem [] At or in vacation	Iling, in garage or property (Includes pted break-in)	 7a. Did the person(s) have a weapon such as a gun or k"ife, or something he was using as a weapon, such as a bottle, or wrench? 120 1 [No 2 [Don't know Yes - What was the weapon? (Mark all that apply)
3	[]] Inside commercia	al building such as bank, gas station, te or station tory, or warehouse yard, sidewalk, t, apartment hall e break-in or in) SKIP	 3 [] Gun 4 [] Knife 5 [] Other - Specify b. Did the person(s) hit you, knack you down, or actually attack you in some other way? 1 [] Yes - SKIP to 7f
. 7		rounds or parking lot [Item B	2 []] No c. Did the person(s) threaten you with harm in any way? (122) t []] No - SKIP to 7e 2 [] Yes

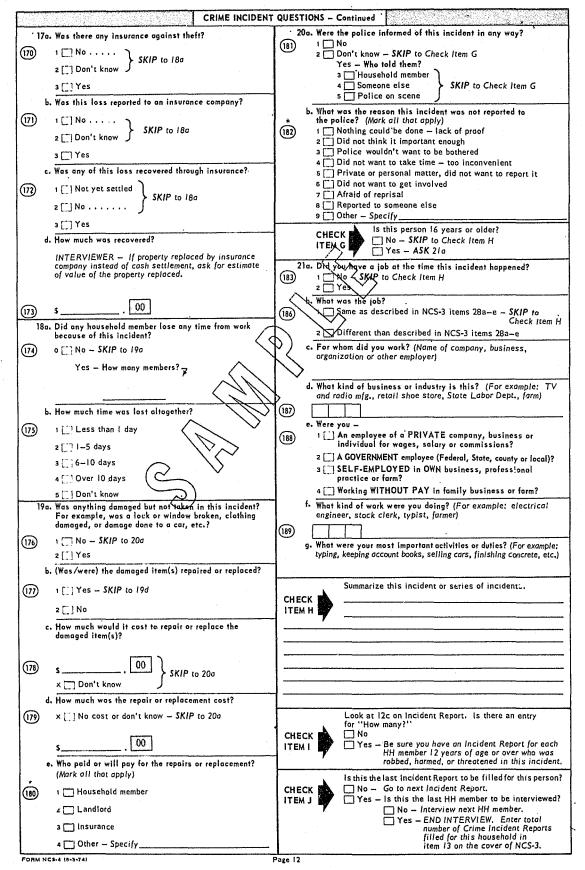
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Survey victimization and/or attitude data.	

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