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Anatomy of Rape

Tulsa Reported Rapes
July 1990 - December 1991

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of Tulsa's District Attorney's Office, and the Tulsa Psychiatric Center.

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Anatomy of Rape:

Tulsa Reported Rapes July 1990 - December 1991

Introduction

Last year 388 Tulsa women reported being raped. According to most national estimates, fewer than 2 in every 10 women who are raped ever report the incident to the police. If accurate, this could mean that more than 3,000 Tulsa women were forcibly raped during the past year. These figures are alarming. They indicate that a large number of women are experiencing sexual violence, and that an equally large number are at-risk to experience sexual violence in the immediate future. They are also alarming because they indicate that rape is mostly a hidden crime.

In order to develop effective strategies to prevent rape and prosecute rapists, law enforcement officials need to have a thorough knowledge of the circumstances that surround rape and the experiences of rape victims. Moreover, in order to better protect themselves from being raped, women who are the most likely victims also need to know about the circumstances in which rape is likely to occur, and about the experiences of women who have been victims of rape. Because rape is such a hidden crime the circumstances involved in the vast majority of rapes and the experiences of most rape victims are not known. Consequently, when a rape is reported to law enforcement officials, the information contained in that report takes on an added value.

Although files of reported rapes contain valuable information that could aid in the prevention and prosecution of rape, most of this information is inaccessible to any form of systematic study. This inaccessibility is due to the fact that much of the information recorded in the police rape files is collected in a narrative format which does not readily lend itself to quantitative analysis.

The purpose of this study is to: 1) develop a procedure for systematically examining information that is typically recorded when a person reports being raped to the police, and 2) analyze this information to learn more about the circumstances that surround rape and the experiences of rape victims. It is hoped that the procedures and information produced from this study will provide police departments with a tool for monitoring rape in their communities, and will help women learn ways to better protect themselves from becoming victims of rape.

Anatomy of Rape

Executive Summary

Purpose

Scientific studies show that the crime of rape is significantly under-reported to the police. Therefore, rapes that are reported currently provide the best information available about what victims experience immediately before, during, and after a rape assault. The purpose of this study was to: 1) develop a procedure for systematically examining information that is typically recorded when a person reports being raped to the police, and 2) analyze this information to learn more about the circumstances that surround rape and the experiences of rape victims. It is hoped that the procedures and information produced from this study will provide police departments with a tool for monitoring rape in their communities, and will help women learn better ways to protect themselves from becoming victims of rape.

Method

Police files describing 608 cases of rape that took place in Tulsa between July 1990 and December 1991 were systematically examined to learn more about: 1) the victims of reported rape; 2) the circumstances surrounding reported rape; 3) the victims' behaviors before, during, and after rape; 4) the rapists' behaviors during the rape; 5) the assailants who commit and are arrested for rape; and 6) the final police dispositions of reported rape cases.

Main Findings

Results of this study can be summarized in 10 main findings.

1) "Rape is violent"

Results show that physical force and violence are used in 8 out of every 10 cases of reported rape and that the threat of serious violence to the victim and/or her family occurs in nearly half of the cases. Moreover in 1 out of 4 cases the victim is beaten and battered.

2) "Most victims of rape are young women in their teens and twenties"

Results show that the victim in 3 out of every 4 reported rapes is a young woman under the age of 30; in fact, 1 in 3 are teenagers.

3) "More rapes happen indoors, especially in the victim's own home, than out on the streets"

Results show that 34% of rapes reported to the police happen in the victim's own home. Only 12% happen in outdoor settings such as parking lots, parks, or alleys.

4) "Most victims are raped by people they know"

Results show that 55% of the victims who report rape say they were attacked by people they know. Two-thirds of acquaintance rapes involve a casual acquaintance, friend, or other non-relative, 1 in 10 involve a family member, and 1 in 4 an intimate such as a former husband or boyfriend. Only 1/3rd of the victims are raped by total strangers they have never seen before, and 1 in 10 by a stranger they do not know well.

5) "Most victims forcibly resist their assailant and try to escape"

Results show that 3 in 4 victims who report rape tried to resist, and half tried to escape. On the other hand, 24% of the victims report that they complied with the assailant's demands out of fear of being hurt.

6) "Reported rape cases usually do not end in the arrest of an assailant"

Results show that only 1 in 4 reported rape cases end in an arrest or a warrant issued. In cases that do not end in an arrest, 52% were inactivated because the victim dropped the case or stopped cooperating, and in 38% there was insufficient evidence to make an arrest.

7) "The longer it takes for a victim to report a rape, the less likely their assault will lead to an arrest"

Results show that rapes which lead to arrests are reported to the police in less than half the time (72 minutes) than are rapes that do not lead to arrest (188 minutes).

8) "Most victims who report rape inadvertently destroy vital evidence by the way they behave after their assault"

Results show that more than half the victims urinate before they contact the police, more than 1/3rd change their clothes, and nearly 1 in 4 shower or bathe. Each of these behaviors inadvertently destroys vital forensic evidence that could be used to arrest and convict their assailant.

9) "Only half of the victims have a medical/forensic exam after reporting rape"

Results show that only 1 in 2 victims who report rape had a medical/ forensic exam which is a primary means for gathering

evidence in cases of rape. Results also show that when a victim does have a medical/forensic exam it is more likely that the case will end in an arrest.

10) "Most rape suspects who are arrested have extensive criminal histories frequently involving prior sex-related offenses"

Results show that 2/3rds of the arrested rape suspects had a history of Tulsa County felony arrests, and more than half had prior felony convictions. Twenty-seven percent of these suspects were previously arrested for sex-related felonies and 15% specifically for rape. Suspects with prior local arrest records averaged 4 felony arrests and 17 misdemeanor arrests. Results also show that arrested suspects without local criminal histories are the least violent rapists and the most likely to rape friends or family members. Suspects with non-sex related prior felony arrests are the most violent and most likely to rape current or former girlfriends or wives. Finally, suspects with prior sex-related felony arrests are most likely to be involved in stranger rapes.

Conclusions

Overall, results of this study suggest at least three barriers that undermine rape prevention efforts.

One barrier is the criminal justice system. Results show that most men who are arrested for rape have extensive criminal histories that often involve violence and sex-related offenses. Moreover, many of these individuals have been in and out of jail repeatedly for serious felony crime. The fact that men with violent criminal histories are free to rape and batter women indicates that there are serious problems within our nation's criminal justice system. When a man can be convicted of violent rape, sentenced to 20 years in prison, and be back on the streets after serving only three years, it becomes virtually impossible for any community to reduce the incidence of rape.

A second serious barrier to rape prevention are the victims of rape themselves. National studies have shown that most women who experience rape fail to report the assault to the police. Results from this study show that even among women who do report rape, many inadvertently undermine the arrest and prosecution of their assailant by waiting too long to report, by destroying evidence, by not having a medical/forensic exam, and by withdrawing their cooperation during the police investigation. Each time a victim of rape fails to report her rape or fails to cooperate fully with the police investigation following her report, the victim virtually assures that her rapist will remain at large to probably rape again. Consequently, for rape prevention to be successful a significant effort will have to be made to learn more about why most rape victims circumvent the arrest and prosecution of their assailants. Until more rape victims are willing to come forward and assist the police, rape will continue to remain a hidden and for the most part unpunishable crime.

A third barrier concerns restrictions on rape prevention education. Based on the cases of rape that are known, most victims are teenagers and young women. Because of their youth many of the victims and potential victims of rape do not have the knowledge or experience to avoid the kinds of situations that often lead to rape. Most rapes are not committed by total strangers who swoop down on their defenseless victims in the dead of night. Most rapes are committed by men whom the victim knows and in social situations that are not overtly threatening but that are often risky. Unless young girls and young women are taught how to recognize and avoid the situations in which rape can occur and unless they are taught what to do in the event they are threatened or assaulted, young females will continue to be the primary targets of rape and sexual assault. Unfortunately, most public and

private schools, churches, and other institutions that educate young people prohibit access to rape prevention information. Usually this prohibition is grounded in the belief that rape is about sex and therefore, an inappropriate topic for young people. What these institutions fail to understand is that rape is not about sex. Rape is about violence and violation, and educating young people about how to avoid the violence and violation of rape is the only way communities have of protecting their youth. Until rape prevention education is routinely taught to young people (both females and males), rape will continue to be America's most hidden crime - and young girls and young women, its most common victims.

Reforming the criminal justice system and educating women and young people about rape and its prevention will no doubt require a national commitment on the part of the citizens of this country to stop the violent violation of American women and children. If such a commitment is possible it will obviously not happen overnight. In the meantime, Tulsa and other American cities would do well to increase their support of rape victim advocacy and education groups, and increase the number of officers assigned to their sex crimes units. Sex crimes such as rape and lewd molestation are among the most difficult and time consuming crimes to investigate. Even false or doubtful reports must be investigated thoroughly before they are cleared. Asking a sex crimes detective to solve a new sex crime every other day is not the kind of strategy that a community can adopt and still expect to insure the safety of its citizens.

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We want to thank Bob Hamernick, Joan Herrick, Betty Ratliff, and Mary Ann Franks of the Tulsa Police Department Volunteers and Scott McGhee for spending many hours reviewing and coding the files. We also want to acknowledge the Tulsa Police Department Records Personnel for putting up with our seemingly endless stream of records requests.

We want to offer a very special thanks to Helenmarie Zachritz who directs Tulsa's Sexual Assault Nurse Examiners Program and each of the nurses who volunteer their time and energies to help rape victims and gather evidence to prosecute rapists. Our work with Ms. Zachritz during this project has left us convinced that programs like SANE are an absolute necessity for effectively fighting rape in America's communities.

We also want to thank Mayor Susan Savage for supporting the SANE Program and for her strong commitment to making Tulsa a safe place for women to live.

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Dr. Jill Novacek & Dr. Robert Raskin

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I. Background

- * Who Did the Study?**
- * The Method**
- * The Procedure**

Anatomy of Rape:

Tulsa Reported Rapes July 1990 - December 1991

I. Background

A. Who Did the Study?

1. The Sponsors

a. Tulsa Police Department Sex Crimes Unit

The Tulsa Police Department Sex Crimes Unit has eight detectives and a Unit manager who are responsible for investigating rapes, sexual assaults, forcible sodomies, peeping toms, and sexual child abuse. The TPD Sex Crimes Unit is a well-educated and experienced group of officers. All nine members are college graduates with an average of 15 years of law enforcement experience, and an average of three years of specific experience in investigating sex crimes. Moreover, prior to joining the unit each officer receives one month of intensive training in sex crimes investigation. Once in the unit the detectives continuously update their expertise by attending national sex crime related seminars and training schools.

In 1992, the Sex Crimes Unit investigated 388 rapes, 391 lewd molestations, and 154 sexual assaults. This means each detective was responsible for investigating about 120 sex crimes - about one new case every other day.

b. Tulsa Sexual Assault Nurse Examiners Program (SANE)

Tulsa's Sexual Assault Nurse Examiners Program, SANE, which was initiated in 1991 by the Tulsa Police Department, uses trained forensic nurses to collect evidence from rape victims. The program is coordinated through TPD's Sex Crimes Unit and the Mayor's Office, and is a multidisciplinary effort among seven different organizations in Tulsa: the Police Department; Call Rape; Hillcrest Medical Center; University of Oklahoma, College of Medicine; the District Attorney's Office; the Victim/Witness Center; and the Tulsa City-County Health Department. The coordinator is a member of the Mayor's staff which assures the program high visibility and community support.

To date, SANE nurses have completed over 300 rape exams. In recognition of this accomplishment, the Tulsa Police Department Forensic Chemist recently reported a vast improvement in the quality of the forensic evidence collected in cases where victims had a SANE exam. Tulsa District Attorney David Moss has also recognized the contributions of SANE nurses by designating them as expert witnesses in the prosecution of rape. In addition, the Tulsa SANE program received a U. S. Justice Department Award for Public Service in 1991.

2. The Funders

a. Tulsa District Attorney's Office

Funding for this project was provided by a grant from the District Attorney's Drug Forfeiture Fund. The District Attorney's Office has been a strong supporter of the investigators of the Tulsa Police Department Sex Crimes Unit and their efforts to encourage victims to report sexual assault.

b. Tulsa Psychiatric Center

Funding was also provided by a matching grant from the Tulsa Psychiatric Center (TPC). TPC is a nonprofit charitable organization that provides funding for community-based research and human service delivery programs that improve life in Tulsa. For over 20 years, TPC has been Tulsa's largest private contributor of mental health care services to the indigent through its support of Parkside Hospital and The Haven. In addition, TPC has also funded significant research on Tulsa's homeless, the severe and persistently mentally ill, and school dropouts. TPC supported this project in order to help Tulsa's law enforcement agencies obtain information that will assist the community in fighting sexual violence.

3. The Researchers: Tulsa Institute of Behavioral Sciences

The Tulsa Institute of Behavioral Sciences (TIBS) is a nonprofit organization specializing in community research, development, program evaluation, and education. TIBS uses science and technology to examine community problems and guide community efforts to improve quality of life. TIBS has conducted extensive research on homelessness, at-risk youth, teenage substance use, mental health services, and the plight of the severely and persistently mentally ill.

B. The Method

1. Study Time Frame

The study examines the 608 cases of rape that were reported to Tulsa's Police Department (TPD) between July 1990 and December 1991.

2. Reported Rape Files

Information about the 608 reported rapes was obtained from Police Department files containing TRACIS Reports, Supplemental Reports, and Prosecution/Supplemental Reports. When available, information was also obtained from victims' medical/forensic reports. In cases where suspected assailants were arrested, information was also obtained from the TPD's arrest and booking records and from computerized checks of prior local felony arrests records.

Most of the information filed in the police reports consists of victims' detailed descriptions of the rape incident. Because these descriptions are free-style and open-ended they do not readily lend themselves to quantitative analysis. Consequently, the *TIBS Rape File Survey* was developed to quantify the narratives contained in the police reports.

3. The TIBS Rape File Survey

The TIBS Rape File Survey was designed to code and quantify narrative information about the victim, assailant, and circumstances surrounding rape that is typically found in a police rape file. The survey consists of six parts including a 15 item TRACIS form; a 23 item Medical Information Form; a 31 item Suspect Form; a 26 item "Story Line" Form; an 18 item Arrest and Booking Form; and a 2 item Disposition of Case Form. Overall, the survey can be used to code and record 115 pieces of vital information about the report and disposition of a rape case.

C. The Procedure

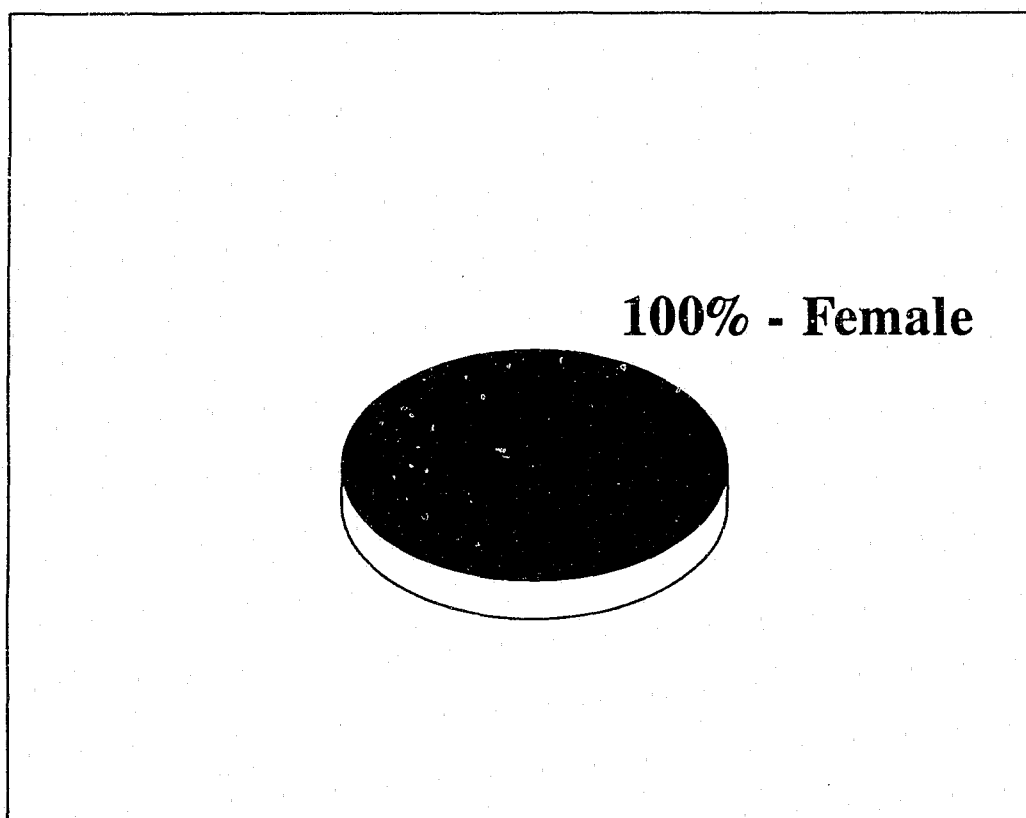
Three TIBS research assistants and four police department volunteers reviewed the complete files of the 608 cases of rape that were reported to the police between July 1990 and December 1991. During this review all pertinent information called for by the TIBS Rape File Survey was coded and entered on the survey forms. On average, each file took approximately one hour to review. Because some information required the reviewers to make judgements, a reliability study was conducted to determine the Rape File Survey's level of inter-judge agreement. In conducting this study, 10 of the reported rape files were randomly selected. Each of the 10 files was then reviewed and coded by three of the reviewers. The 30 Rape File Survey cases were then subjected to intercorrelational analyses which produced an Alpha reliability coefficient of .96. A hit-miss analysis was also performed to determine the percent of time and variables on which the reviewers were in agreement. This analysis showed that all three of the reviewers were in complete agreement 90% of the time and that at least two of the reviewers were in agreement 95% of the time. Overall, the TIBS Rape File Survey showed a very high level of inter-judge reliability which means that the judgments made by the reviewers were consistent across the cases reviewed.

II. Who Is Reporting Rape?

- * Victim Gender**
- * Victim Age**
- * Victim Race**

II. Who Is Reporting Rape?

A. Victim Gender

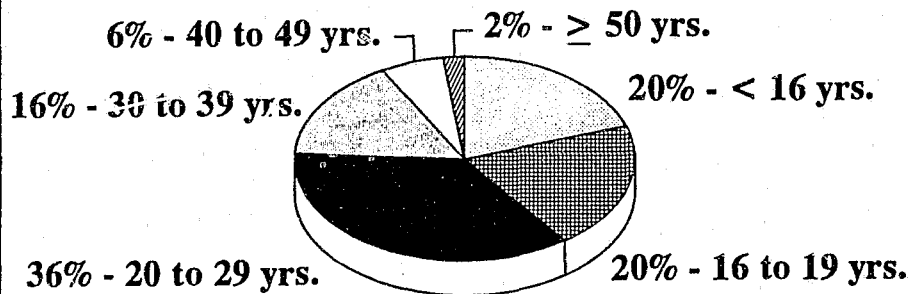


[Figure 1]

All of the 608 rapes reported during the time frame of this study were reported by female victims. There are two points to be made about this result: 1) rape is a crime that is, for the most part, perpetrated against females; and 2) although all of the rapes were reported by females, this does not mean that males are never victims of rape. Although the data does not allow us to estimate the number of male rape victims, it is reasonable to assume that males, especially young males, are occasionally victims of rape. On the other hand, the data does suggest that when males are raped they are either extremely reluctant to report it, or if they do report it, there may be a tendency on the part of police departments to classify these cases under some other crime such as lewd molestation or assault.

B. Victim Age

Most Victims of Rape Are Young: 1 in 3 Are in Their 20's and 1 in 3 Are Teenagers



[Figure 2]

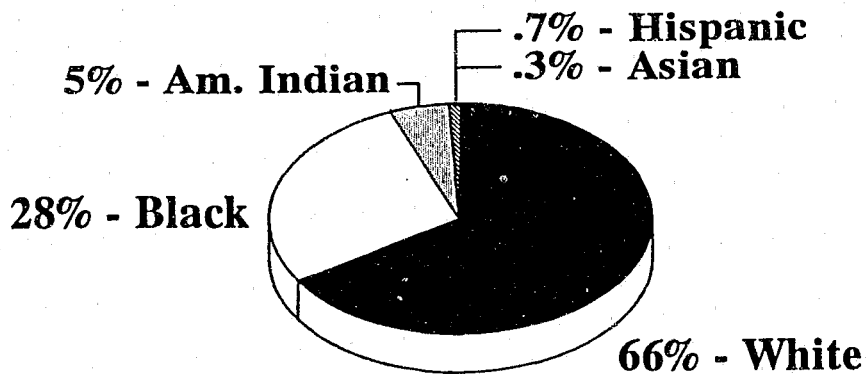
It is clear that young women, especially teenage girls, are the principal targets of rape. Why is this so? One possible reason may be that young women are less worldly than older women. Consequently, they may be more trusting and lacking in judgment about the kinds of social situations they allow themselves to get involved in. It is also possible that rapists believe younger women will be less likely to report rape because they would be afraid of their parents' reactions or afraid of having to deal with the police. Whatever the reasons, it is clear that young women and girls are the individuals who most need rape prevention education if they are to learn how to avoid situations which increase the likelihood of being raped. Unfortunately, it is often this age range of females who are the least likely to have access to this kind of information.

Demographic analyses show no differences in the ages of victims of rape. However, a geographic difference was found in that victims in East Tulsa tend to be younger (average age 20 years) than victims in Central Tulsa (average age 28 years). This difference is probably due to the fact that East Tulsa has the city's highest proportion of residents who are under the age of 30; whereas, Central Tulsa has the smallest proportion of young residents.

Throughout the rest of the report, victims who are under 16 years of age are referred to as child victims (20%); whereas, victims who are 16 or older are referred to as adult victims (80%).

C. Victim Race

Although Most Rape Victims Are White, Black Women Are More At-Risk of Becoming Victims of Rape



[Figure 3]

Results show that 2 out of every 3 reported rape victims in Tulsa are White women. Although this would seem to indicate that White women are especially vulnerable to rape, the fact is there are proportionately fewer White women among reported rape victims than there are White women in Tulsa's general population. On the other hand, results also show that there are more than twice the proportion of Black women among reported rape victims as there are Black women in Tulsa's general population. Taken together, these observations could mean that Black women are more likely to report being raped, or that there is a significantly higher risk that Black women will be victims of rape. Because Black women may be especially vulnerable to the crime of rape, this segment of Tulsa's female population should be a primary target for rape prevention education.

III. Circumstances

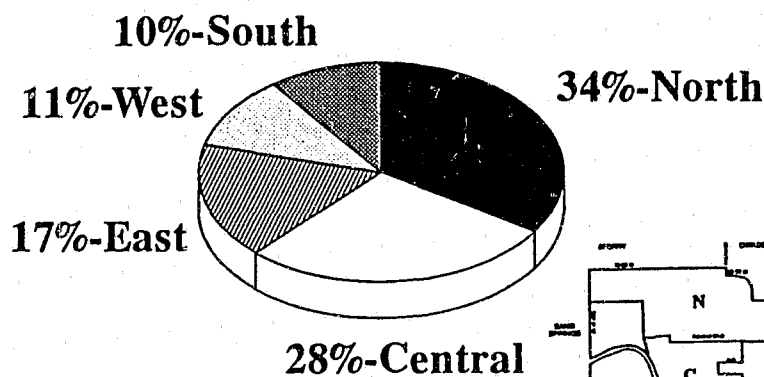
Surrounding Rape

- * **Where Do Rapes Occur?**
- * **When Do Rapes Occur?**
- * **In What Settings Do Rapes Take Place?**
- * **What Are Some Common Scenarios
In Which Rape Occurs?**
- * **How Long Do Rapes Last?**
- * **Are Other Crimes Committed During Rape?**

III. Circumstances Surrounding Rape

A. Where Do Rapes Occur?

Most of Tulsa's Reported Rapes Take Place in North or Central Tulsa

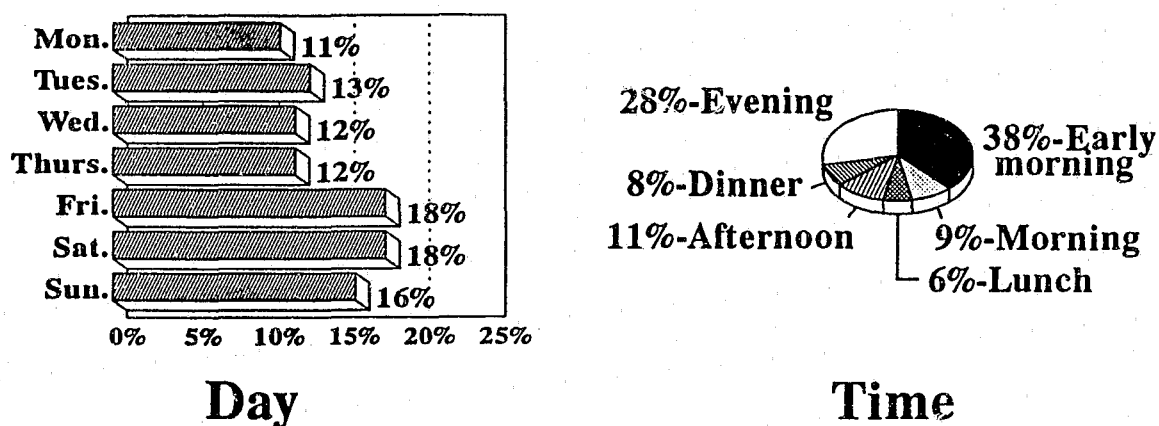


[Figure 4]

Results show that nearly 2/3rds of the rapes that are reported in Tulsa occur in North and Central Tulsa. Only 2 in 10 reported rapes occur in South and West Tulsa. To better understand this apparent geographic disproportion in reported rapes it is important to consider the number of women who live in each of these metropolitan areas. When compared with 1990 census data on Tulsa's female population, the proportion of rapes reported in East, West, and Central Tulsa closely match the proportion of Tulsa females who live in those areas. On the other hand, 20% of Tulsa's females live in North Tulsa and 34% of the reported rapes occurred in that area of the city. This either means that women in North Tulsa are significantly more likely to report rape, or that North Tulsa is a high-risk area for rape to occur. Conversely, less than half the rapes were reported from South Tulsa than one might expect from the proportion of Tulsa females who reside there (23%). This suggests that either South Tulsa women are significantly more likely *not* to report rape when it occurs, or that South Tulsa is an exceptionally low-risk area for rape to occur.

B. When Do Rapes Occur?

Rapes Are Most Likely to Occur on Fridays, Saturdays, or Sundays in the Late Evening or Early Morning Hours



Wednesday Through Sunday the Most Frequent Time Rape Occurs Is Between Midnight and 6 a.m.; on Monday and Tuesday the Most Frequent Time Is Between 7:30 p.m. and Midnight.

[Figure 5]

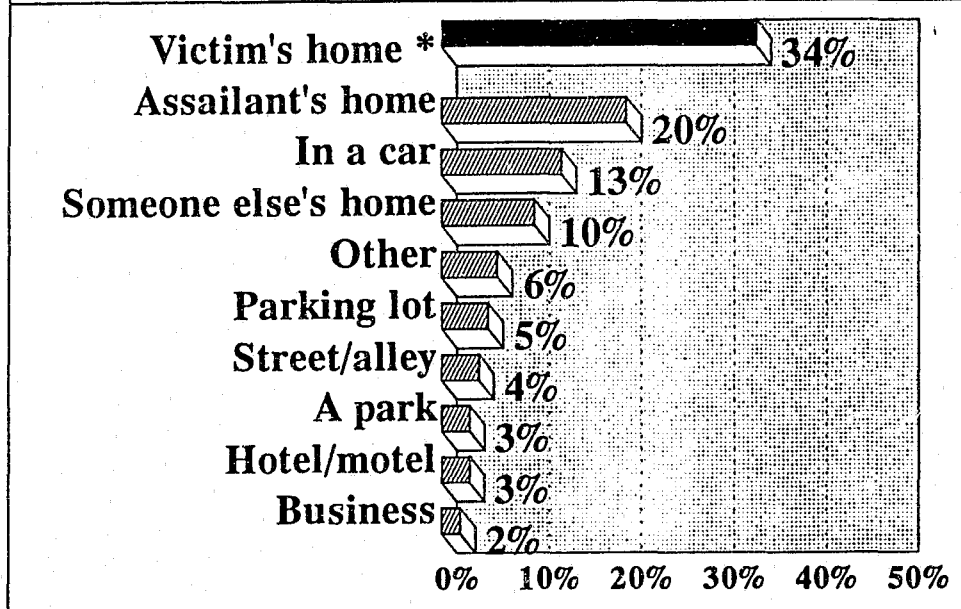
Although results show that rape is more likely to occur on weekends (Friday, Saturday, and Sunday), this general trend only represents a 5% increase in the risk of a woman being raped on a weekend as opposed to a weekday. On the other hand, when the data is examined in terms of daylight hours (morning, lunch, afternoon, and dinner) vs. nighttime hours (evening and early morning) results show that the risk of a woman being raped *doubles* after dark. Overall, 1 in 5 of the rapes reported (23%) occur on weekends between midnight and 6 a.m.

Demographic comparisons of when rapes occur show that when compared with rapes of adults, rapes of children are more likely to occur during weekday daytime hours (27% vs. 17%). This finding suggests that children are especially vulnerable during this period of time and that parents need to be aware of this risk factor. On the other hand, when compared with rapes of children, rapes of adults are more likely to occur during weekend early morning hours (midnight to 6 a.m.; 25% vs. 17%).

Other demographic comparisons involving victim's race and the location of rape show no significant differences in when rape occurs.

C. In What Settings Do Rapes Take Place?

Rapes Usually Take Place in the Victim's Own Home



[Figure 6]

Results show that the most common setting for a rape to occur is in the *victim's own home*. In fact, 3 times as many rapes occur in the victim's own home than occur in outdoor settings such as parking lots, parks, streets, and alleys (34% vs. 12%). Results also show that the second most common setting for rape to occur is in the assailant's home. Overall, the vast majority of rapes occur indoors as opposed to outdoors.

Geographic comparisons of rape settings show that rapes in North Tulsa are almost twice as likely to take place in cars or other types of motor vehicles than rapes occurring in other areas of Tulsa. Demographic comparisons show that although both children and adults are most likely to be raped in their own home (34% and 33%), rapes of children are more likely to occur in someone else's home (18% vs. 8%); whereas, adults are more likely to be raped in cars (14% vs. 9%) and in parking lots (6% vs. 3%).

* Note: Four percent of the reported rapes occurred in a home that both the victim and assailant lived in. These cases were included as rapes occurring in the victim's home.

D. What Are Some Common Scenarios In Which Rape Occurs?

Results have shown that rape takes place in a variety of physical locations. Although a rape may take place in a particular location, there are usually a variety of ways in which the victim and assailant can end up in that location together. For example, if a victim is raped in her own home, it may be that the assailant broke into the victim's home, or it may be that the victim invited the assailant into her own home. Learning more about how victims and assailants are brought together at different rape scenes is important information for rape prevention programs.

Results have shown that the most common place that reported rapes occur is in the victim's own home. Further review of the records show that in 40% of the cases where a woman is raped in her own home, the assailant breaks in. On the other hand, in 34% of the cases where the victim is raped in her own home, the victim invites the assailant into her home prior to the assault. It is also interesting to note that in 10% of the cases in which the victim invites the assailant into her home, they met at a bar or a party before going to the victim's home.

Another common place in which rapes take place is in the assailant's home. Of the rapes that occur in the assailant's home, the assailant invites the victim into his home in 61% of the cases. Of those rapes in which the assailant invites the victim into his home, 2 in 10 of the cases involve the victim and assailant just meeting at a bar or a party (18%).

Among the reported rapes that take place in someone else's home, the three most common scenarios are: 1) the victim and assailant first meet at a bar or party and go to someone else's home (15%); 2) the victim first goes to the assailant's home and then they both go to someone else's home (15%); and 3) the victim is walking on the streets and is abducted and brought to someone else's home (10%).

Among rapes that take place in cars, the three most common scenarios are: 1) the victim is walking on the streets and is abducted in a car (23%); 2) the victim and assailant are at a bar or party and leave in the same car (17%); and 3) the victim is hitchhiking (10%). It is important to note that in only 1% of the reported car rapes did the assailant break into the victim's car and rape her.

The most common scenarios in parking lot rapes are: 1) a victim walking on the streets and being abducted to a parking lot (22%); 2) the victim and assailant leaving a party or bar together (13%); and the victim leaving a store after shopping (9%).

Police records also show that nearly half of the hotel/motel rapes involve the victim and assailant first meeting at a party or bar (44%). With regard to reported rapes occurring in parks or recreation areas, 38% involve an assailant attacking a victim while she is walking or jogging; whereas, 1 in 4 involve the victim being abducted while walking on the streets and being brought to a park (24%).

Overall, about 1 in 10 reported rapes involve abduction of the victim (8%). Among reports where the victim is abducted, 1/3rd of the victims are raped in cars (34%); 2 in 10 of the victims are brought to a third party's house to be raped (19%); 1 in 10 victims are brought to the assailant's home and raped (13%); 1 in 10 are brought to a park or parking lot and raped (11%); and 1 in 10 are brought to the victim's own home and raped (9%). Moreover, among rapes involving abduction, 2 in 10 victims are abducted when they are walking or jogging on the streets; 1 in 10 are abducted after leaving a bar or a party with her assailant (11%); 1 in 10 are abducted after the assailant breaks into the victim's home (11%); and 1 in 10 are abducted while they are shopping (9%).

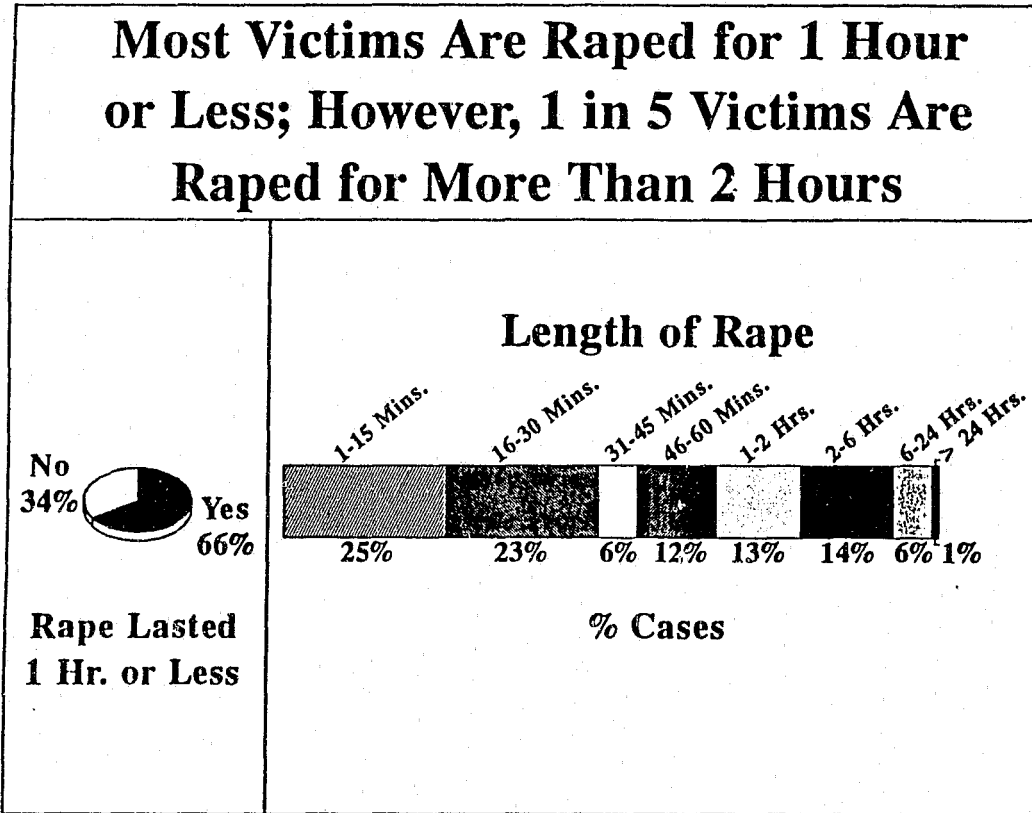
Demographic comparisons of common rape scenarios show that victims in North (16%), West (14%), and Central (9%) Tulsa are more likely to have been walking or jogging on the streets than victims in South (4%) or East (3%) Tulsa. On the other hand, victims in South (19%), East (14%), and Central (14%) Tulsa are more likely to have met the rapist at a bar or party and then leave with him than are victims in North (6%) or West (8%) Tulsa. This latter finding is consistent with the fact that North and West Tulsa have fewer nightspots than other parts of the city.

Victim's race comparisons also show several differences. White victims (8%) are half as likely as Black (16%) and American Indian (21%) victims to have been walking on the streets when they are assaulted. Moreover, compared with White (14%) and American Indian (18%) victims, Black victims (3%) are less likely to have met their rapist at a bar or party prior to the assault.

Age comparisons show that when compared with adult victims, child victims are more likely to have been raped while walking on the street (17% vs. 10%). On the other hand, adult victims are more likely to have been raped when a rapist broke into their homes (17% vs. 6%), or when they met the assailant at a bar or party and left with him (13% vs. 4%) than child victims.

In summary, although most rapes that occur in the victim's own home involve an assailant breaking in, nearly as many involve a victim inviting her assailant in. Moreover, 1 in 10 of all reported rapes involve a victim meeting and leaving a bar or a party with an assailant prior to the assault (11%), and nearly 2 in 10 reported rapes involve a victim walking or jogging outside prior to the assault (17%). Finally, 1 in 10 reported rapes involve kidnapping.

E. How Long Do Rapes Last?



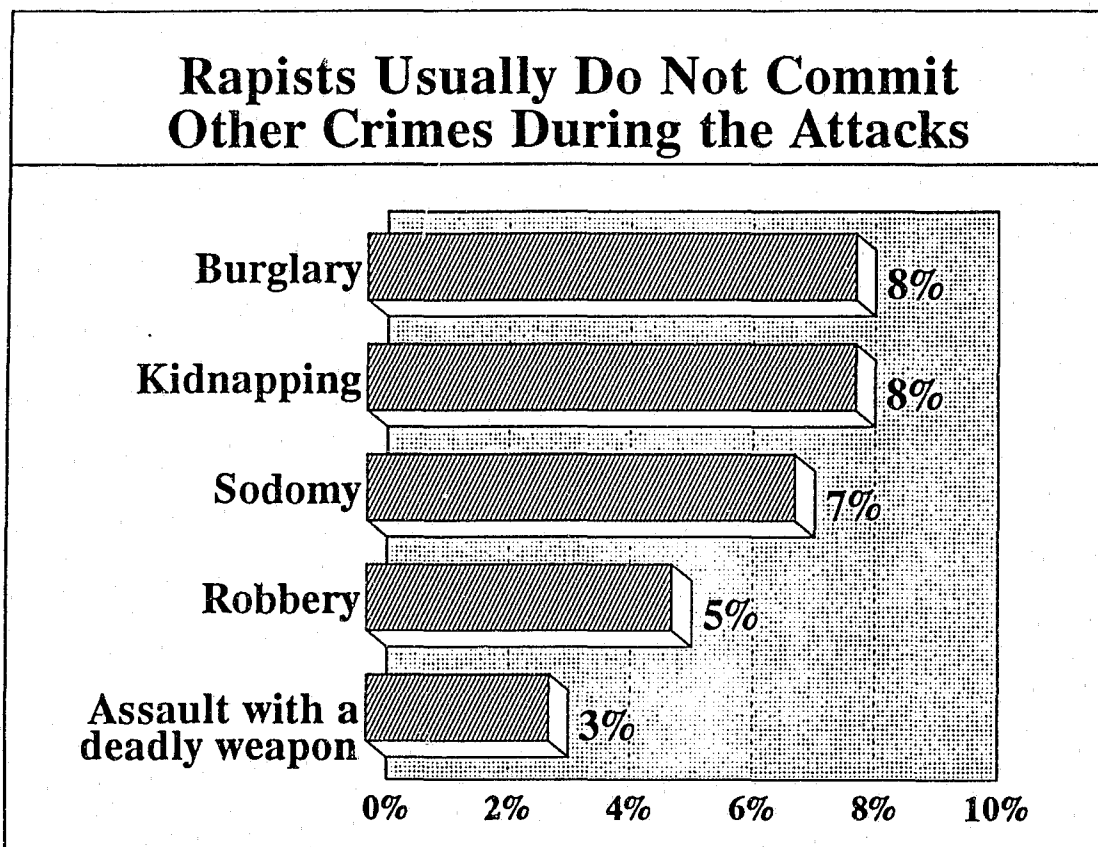
[Figure 7]

As might be expected, results indicate that there is a great deal of variability in the amount of time that rape attacks last. However, within this variability about 2/3rds of the rapes occurring in this sample were reported as lasting for an hour or less; in fact, 1 in 4 were completed within 15 minutes.

Demographic comparisons of the length of rape attacks show that the age of the victims, the race of the victims, and the metropolitan area where the rapes occur are unrelated to how long victims had to endure being raped.

F. Are Other Crimes Committed During Rape?

When rapists rape, do they commit other types of crime during the attack, or is their sole purpose the sexual assault of their victims?



[Figure 8]

Police files indicate that when rape is associated with other serious crime, those crimes usually fall into five categories: burglary, kidnapping, sodomy, robbery, and assault with a deadly weapon. Records show that other crimes occur in 32% of the rapes that are reported. Considering that sodomy is an act of sexual assault, and that kidnapping and assault with a deadly weapon are aids for sexual assault, it is clear that in the vast majority of rapes, sexual assault of the victim is the rapist's only purpose.

Demographic analyses show there are no victim race differences with regard to whether another crime was committed during the rape. On the other hand, there are two victim age differences. Rapes of adults are more likely to also involve burglary (10%) or robbery (6%) than are rapes of children (3% and 0%, respectively).

IV. Rape Victim Behavior

- * What Do Victims Do During a Rape Attack?**
- * What Do Victims Do After a Rape Attack?**

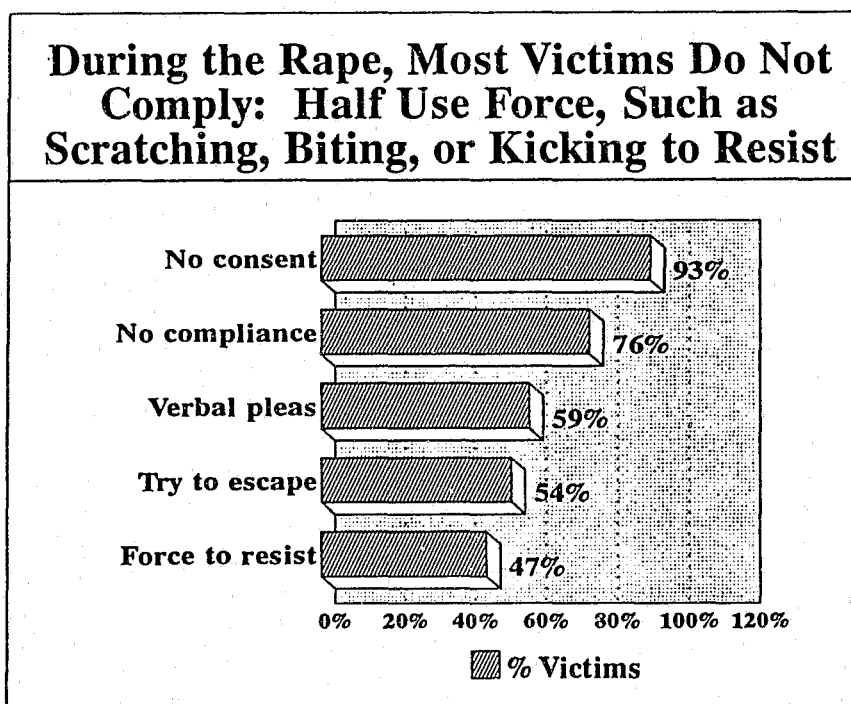
IV. Rape Victim Behavior

A. What Do Victims Do During a Rape Attack?

When a victim is raped there are a number of ways she can respond to the attack. She can meekly comply to the rapist's demands even to the point of giving her coerced consent. She can resist by using verbal pleas, threats, and/or physical force. She can try to escape. Moreover, the ways in which a victim responds to an attack may play a role in how long the rape lasts, whether the rape is successful (meaning the rapist achieves penetration), or in whether the victim is battered and beaten. Consequently, it is important to learn how victims typically behave during an attack, and how victim behaviors relate to rape outcomes.

1. Comply vs. Resist

Do most women comply or resist during a rape attack?



[Figure 9]

Results show that in most cases victims try to resist their attacker by using verbal pleas or physical force. In only about 1/4th of the reported cases did the victim meekly comply or give her coerced consent. Results also show that about half of the victims try to escape during the attack.

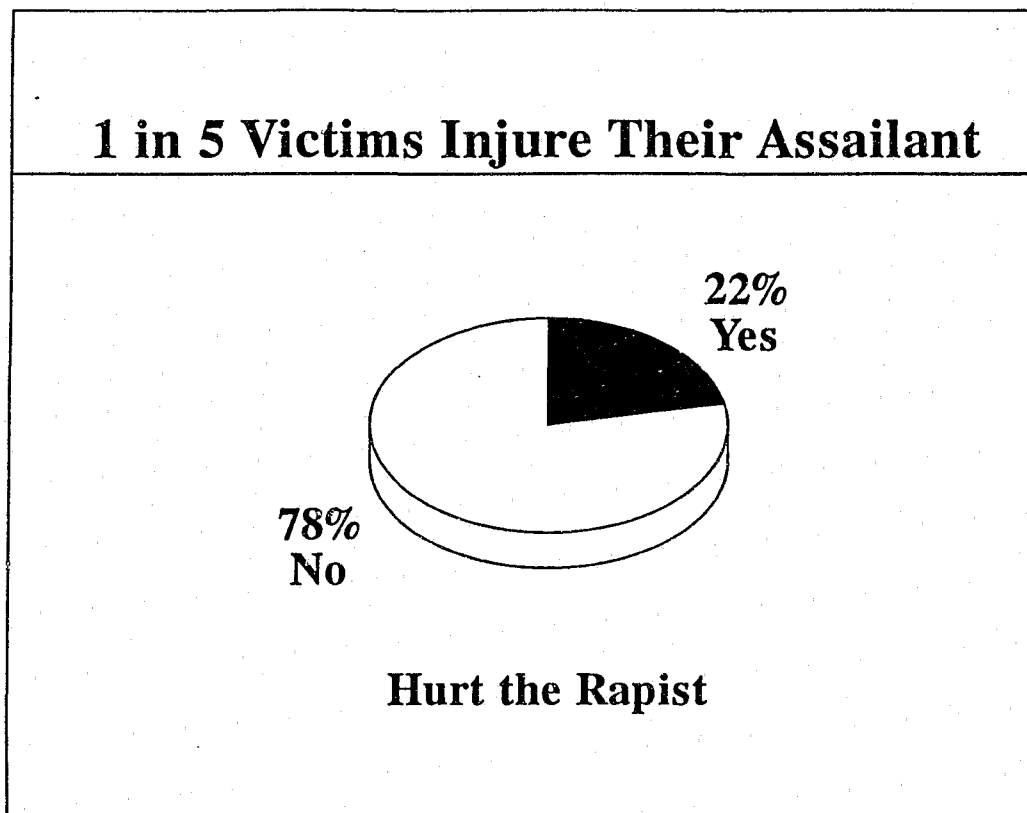
Demographic analyses show no race differences in victim compliance or resistance during the rape. However, there was a victim age difference. Compared with adults, child victims are more compliant during a rape; they are more likely to consent and less likely to use verbal pleas, force to resist, or try to escape.

Analyses of victim behaviors and rape outcomes show that overall, whether a victim complied, resisted, or tried to escape made no difference in the length of time the rape attack lasted. This result is consistent with the experience of many rape victims who describe the complete and utter helplessness they feel during an attack. This result also gives women a pretty strong message. It says that if a woman is attacked the likelihood is that she will have very little control over the situation. Therefore, the best way to prevent being a victim of rape is to learn about and avoid high-risk situations.

Although victim behaviors do not have a relationship with how long a reported rape lasts, they do have a relationship with whether the rapist successfully penetrates his victim and whether the victim is battered and beaten. Results show that victims who comply with a rapist are more likely to be penetrated during the rape (99%) than those who resist with verbal pleas (83%), resist with physical force (78%), or try to escape (79%). Victims who comply are also less likely to be battered and beaten (10%) than those who resist with verbal pleas (28%), resist with physical force (30%), or try to escape (29%). These results illustrate the difficult trade-off that a victim faces when she responds to an attack. If a victim complies she will almost certainly be penetrated, but most probably not be beaten. On the other hand, if she resists or tries to escape, she will slightly reduce the probability that she will be penetrated but also increase the probability that she will be beaten. In considering this apparent victim dilemma it is important to recognize that the data are limited to sexual assaults that were filed as rapes. It may be that some women do successfully escape their attackers and never report the attempted rape to the police.

2. Hurt the Assailant

Because nearly half of the reported rapes involve the victim using physical force to resist, questions arise as to how often the victim is successful in hurting her attacker, and is hurting a rapist related to how long a rape lasts and whether the victim is battered and beaten?



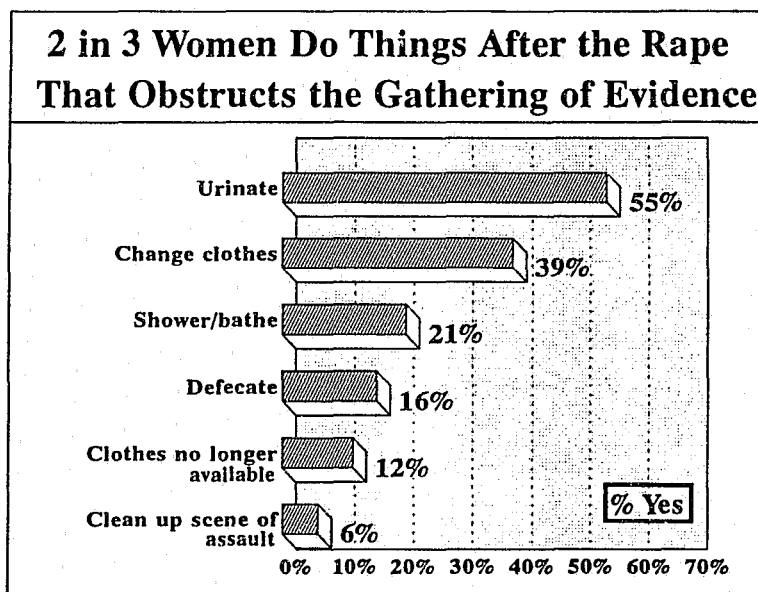
[Figure 10]

Sexual Assault Nurse Examiners records show that 1 in 5 victims report that they injure their assailants. However, when victims report that they hurt their assailants, the rape lasts on average an hour longer. Results also show that victims who hurt their assailants while trying to resist or escape are twice as likely to be battered and beaten as victims who do not hurt their assailants (56% vs. 23%). Although these data suggest that there are often negative consequences associated with fighting back and hurting a rapist, it is important to remember that the data is derived from women who have reported rape. There may be many cases where women have successfully fought off an attack and did not report it to the police.

B. What Do Victims Do After a Rape Attack?

What rape victims do after an attack can have major ramifications with regard to the arrest and prosecution of rapists. Courts rely heavily on physical evidence in making their judgements, and unless physical evidence is available, law enforcement officials cannot justify the arrest of an assailant. Unfortunately, the psychological trauma that victims experience during an attack often impels them to behave in ways that obstruct the gathering of evidence. For example, victims often report feeling "dirty" after an attack so they will shower and/or clean up the crime scene before reporting the attack to the police. Although this may be a natural and even healthy response to this kind of situation, showering or cleaning will invariably destroy valuable physical evidence of the attack and obstruct prosecution of the assailant. Given the consequences, it is important to learn about what rape victims typically do after they are attacked. This kind of information can help future victims behave in ways that will preserve evidence rather than inadvertently destroy it.

1. Obstructing the Gathering of Evidence

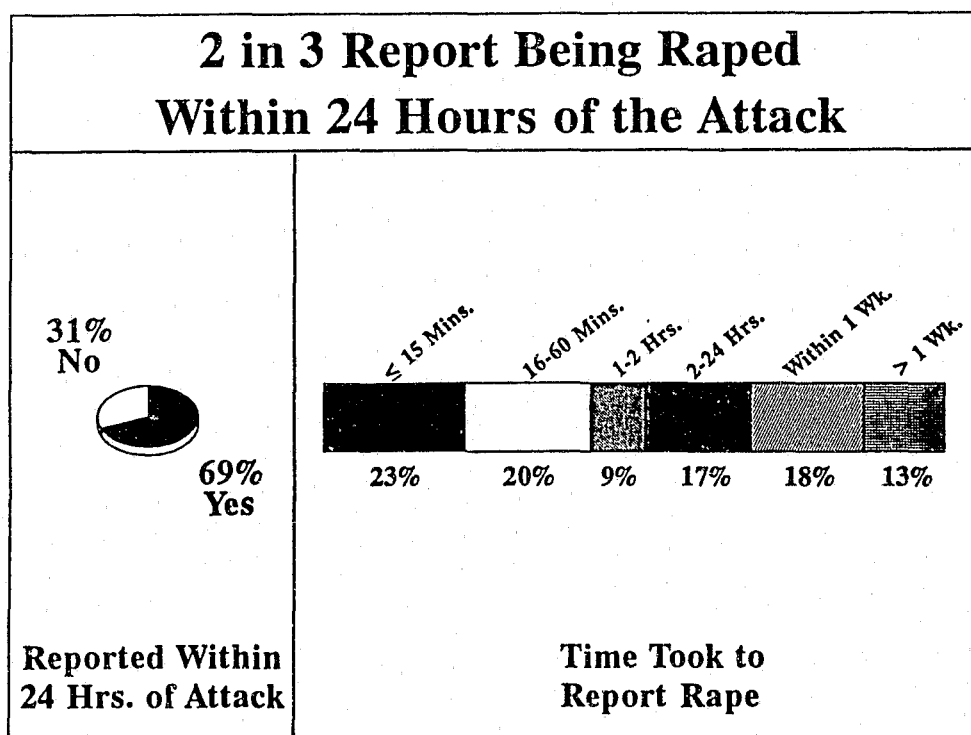


[Figure 11]

Data from victims' medical/forensic reports show that more than half of the women examined destroy evidence of the attack by urinating after the rape, more than 1/3rd change their clothes, and nearly 1/4th shower or bathe. Overall, 33% of the victims engage in one behavior that destroys evidence and 35% engage in two or more behaviors. These results indicate that more community education is needed to alert women about the importance of preserving physical evidence for prosecuting rape and the kinds of evidence they need to try to preserve should they become a victim of rape.

2. Reporting Rape to the Police

Another important factor in gathering evidence of rape is how long after an attack the victim waits before reporting it to the police. The more time that goes by the greater the probability that evidence will be lost or destroyed and the more time an assailant has to escape, cover his tracks, or rape another victim.



[Figure 12]

Police reports show that among women who report rape, only 1 in 4 call the police immediately after the attack. Although most victims who report do so within the first 24 hours after their attack, nearly 1/3rd wait several days or more. Learning more about why victims do not report rape to the police and why they delay reporting is crucial information for effective rape prevention and prosecution.

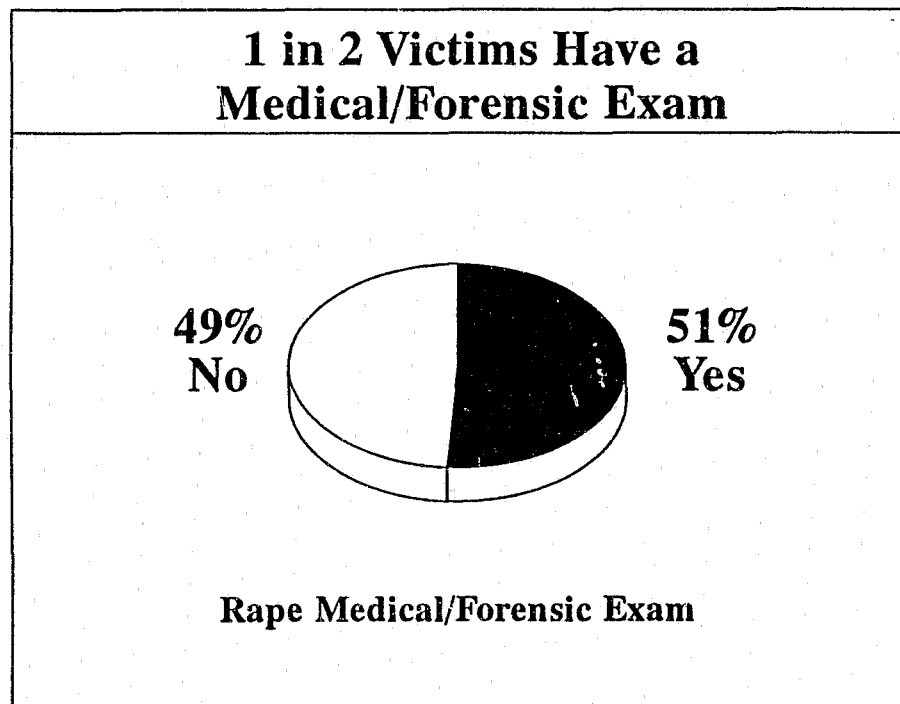
Demographic analyses of the time it takes victims to report to the police show no age or race differences. However, the data does show that victims of rapes occurring in North Tulsa are the fastest to report being raped to the police (average time is 2 hours); whereas, victims of rapes that occur in South Tulsa take the longest time to report (average time is 5 hours). In addition, examining the time it takes to report to the police in relation to rape outcomes shows one significant difference. Victims of a successful rape, where the attacker achieves penetration, are slower to report to the police than are victims of an unsuccessful rape where penetration does not occur. This finding suggests that the act of penetration may create a special set of psychological experiences that can affect a victim's decision whether and when to report a rape to the police.

3. Having a Medical/Forensic Exam

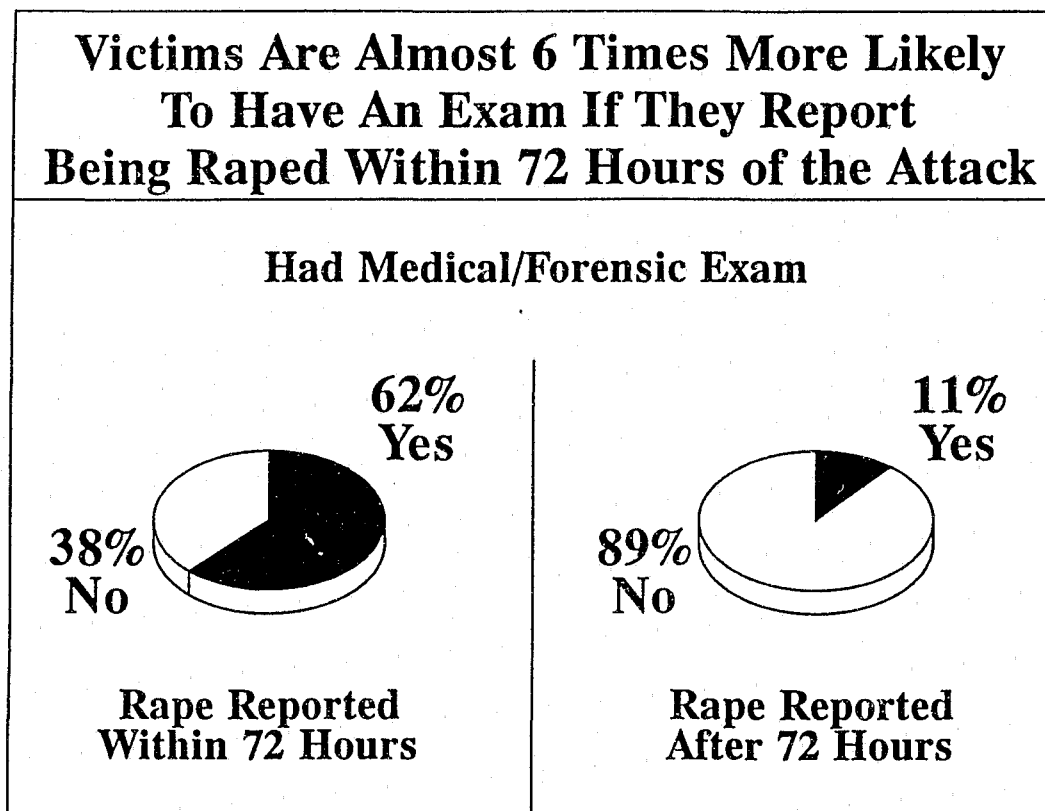
In the case of rape, probably the single most important tool that law enforcement officials have for gathering evidence is the medical/forensic exam. Medical/forensic exams provide physical proof that a woman has in fact been raped and penetrated. They also can produce samples of the attacker's bodily fluids that can be used to help identify an assailant. In fact, much of the forensic evidence that is typically used to prosecute rape is obtained from a victim's medical/forensic exam following the attack.

Forensic medical evidence is by nature extremely fragile. Consequently, for a medical/forensic exam to be an effective evidence gathering tool, victims of rape should have an exam as soon after the assault as possible - and definitely within 48 to 72 hours of the attack. Once 72 hours have passed most medical/forensic evidence that is used to prosecute rape cases will have deteriorated or been lost. Consequently, medical/forensic exams are most effective when they are taken as soon after the assault as possible. The time-limitations associated with medical/forensic examinations clearly underscore the importance of reporting rape to the police immediately after it occurs. Each moment a victim waits could mean the loss of a vital piece of evidence that could be used to arrest and prosecute her assailant.

The decision to have a medical examination is voluntary. Moreover, subjecting oneself to the probing that is involved in a rape exam immediately after being attacked can be a difficult experience for many women. Consequently, it is important to know if most rape victims do decide to undergo a medical examination after they are raped, and if having an exam is related to how long ago the rape occurred.



[Figure 13]



[Figure 14]

Sexual Assault Nurse Examiners reports indicate that only 1 in 2 victims receive a medical exam after they report their rape to the police. Figure 14 shows that how long it took victims to report being raped is a powerful predictor of whether or not they will have an exam. Six in 10 who reported their rape within 72 hours of the attack had an exam as compared to only 1 in 10 who took longer than 72 hours to report being raped. Figure 14 also shows that 38% or 1 in 3 victims who meet the 72 hour time-constraint do not have a medical exam. This means that about 1/3rd of the victims who are in a sense "eligible" to provide medical/forensic evidence against their assailants are choosing not to do so.

Results show that adult victims are more likely to have a medical/forensic exam (56%) than are child victims (39%). Further analyses reveal that this is because a greater percentage of adult victims report being raped within 72 hours of the attack than do child victims (87% vs. 51%). Consequently, when child and adult victims who meet the time-constraints are compared, results show that there is no difference in the percent of child and adult victims who have medical exams (60% of the child victims and 62% of the adult victims).

Results also show that victims of rapists who are Black (62% vs. American Indian: 53% vs. White: 45%), who are strangers (58% vs. 46%), or have weapons (69% vs. 46%) are more likely to have a medical exam. Finally, victims who are successfully penetrated by their attackers (61% vs. 2%), and victims who are beaten up by their attackers (72% vs. 46%) are also more likely to have a medical exam. How long a rape lasts and victim race are unrelated to having a medical exam.

A regression analysis was conducted to determine which of these factors - victim age, assailant race, assailant relationship, presence of weapons, successful penetration, or being battered and beaten - has the strongest influence on whether or not a victim has a medical exam. Results suggest that physical injury is the best predictor of who will have a medical exam.

Overall, these findings show that rape victims are more willing to have an exam when they are raped by strangers and when the rapes are especially violent. Although this is reasonable it is important to realize that most rapes do not involve total strangers or victims who are battered and beaten. Therefore, it is important to educate rape victims and potential rape victims that medical exams are vital for gathering the forensic evidence necessary for arresting, prosecuting, and punishing men who rape women. This also means that victims need to report being raped to the police as soon as possible after the attack. Until this lesson is learned and more rape victims come forward and volunteer to undergo this often difficult process, law enforcement officials will continue to be hampered in their efforts to protect women living in the community.

V. Relationship Between Victim and Assailant

- * Do Victims Know Their Rapist?**
- * Which Strangers and Which Acquaintances Rape?**
- * Differences Between Stranger and Acquaintance Rapes**

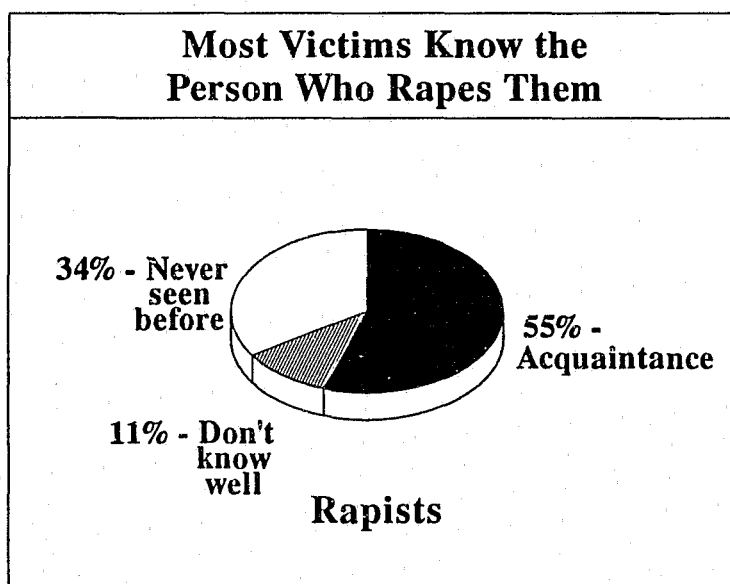
V. Relationship Between Victim and Assailant

One of the most important factors involved in any case of rape is the relationship between the victim and the assailant. Does the victim know her assailant, and if yes, how well? The victim-assailant relationship is a defining characteristic of rape that plays a major role in how both victims and assailants behave before, during, and after an attack. This relationship often plays an equally important role in whether law enforcement officials successfully prosecute a case against an assailant.

In general, the victim-assailant relationship is usually defined in terms of whether the victim is attacked by a stranger or an acquaintance. Overall, five categories of relationships make up this stranger-acquaintance continuum. Women can be raped by *total strangers* whom they have never seen before, by people they do not know well but who they *know by sight* or have *just met*, by *non-romantic acquaintances* including friends and neighbors, by *intimates*, meaning current and former boyfriends and husbands, and by *family members*.

For the purpose of this report, rapes committed by total strangers, by someone the victim only knows by sight, or by someone she has just met are classified as "stranger rapes". Rapes committed by casual acquaintances, friends, boyfriends, husbands, family members, or relatives are classified as "acquaintance rapes". Although some classification systems identify people known by sight or people one has just met as acquaintances, we choose to classify these assailants as strangers because they are not known very well by the victim.

A. Do Victims Know Their Rapist?



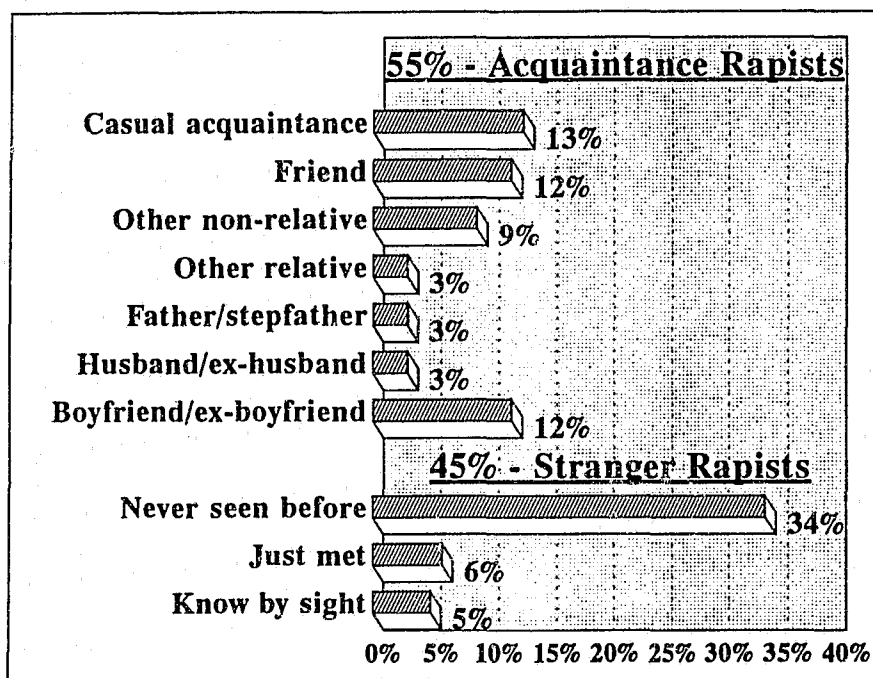
[Figure 15]

Police records show that most victims are raped by someone they know: Only about 1/3rd are raped by total strangers they have never seen before, and 1 in 10 by a stranger they do not know well.

Analyses reveal that victims of stranger rapes tend to be older (average age = 27 years) than victims of acquaintance rapes (average age = 22 years). The data show that there are no differences between White, Black, and American Indian victims and the likelihood that they are raped by strangers or acquaintances. Stranger rapes are twice as likely to involve two or more attackers (24%) than are acquaintance rapes (12%). The data also show that rapes occurring in Central Tulsa are the most likely to involve strangers (52%); whereas, rapes occurring in East Tulsa are the most likely to involve acquaintances (65%).

B. Which Strangers and Which Acquaintances Rape?

Figure 16 shows the proportion of acquaintance rapes that were reported to the police in terms of the nature of the acquaintanceship between the victim and suspected rapist. The figure also shows the proportion of stranger rapes reported in terms of the suspects who were total strangers to their victims, suspects victims just met, and suspects who victims knew by sight but did not know personally.



[Figure 16]

Police records show that more than half of the victims who report rape are raped by someone they know. Among these acquaintance rapes, about 2/3rds involve a casual acquaintance, friend, or other non-relative. Conversely, about 1 in 10 involve a family member such as a father, stepfather, uncle, or cousin; and 1 in 4 of the acquaintance rapes involve an intimate such as a husband, ex-husband, or boyfriend. On the other hand, 45% of the reported rapes were perpetrated by an assailant whom the victim did not personally know. Of these stranger rapes, 3 in 4 involved an assailant whom the victim had never seen before, and 1 in 4 involved an assailant whom either the victim had just met (usually at a party or bar) or had seen before but did not know.

Demographic analyses reveal that adults are more likely to be raped by total strangers (41%) or men they just met (13%) than are children (26% & 4%, respectively); whereas, children are more likely to be raped by family members (21%) or friends (36%) than are adults (3% & 26%, respectively). The data also show that there is no relationship between the race of the victims and which kind of acquaintance they are raped by; nor is there a relationship between victims' race and which type of stranger they are raped by.

C. Differences Between Stranger and Acquaintance Rapes

Whether or not a victim knows her attacker should account for important differences in the circumstances that surround rape, how victims behave during and after an attack, and even in how rapists behave during an attack. Recognizing how stranger and acquaintance rapes differ is an important part of rape prevention education. To learn more about these differences the police records and medical/forensic exams of victims raped by strangers and victims raped by acquaintances were compared. The following five sections present the results of these comparisons.

1. Circumstances Surrounding Stranger and Acquaintance Rapes

Are there differences in the circumstances surrounding rapes committed by strangers as compared to rapes committed by acquaintances of the victim? Police records show that overall, most acquaintance rapes (40%) and most stranger rapes (28%) occur in the victim's home. However, they significantly differ in how the assailant gets into the victim's home. For example, in 63% of the rapes in which an assailant breaks into a victim's home, the assailant is a stranger; whereas, in 37% of the cases the assailant breaking in is an acquaintance. Conversely, in 79% of the rapes in which the victim invites the assailant into her home, the assailant is an acquaintance; whereas, in 21% of the cases the assailant being invited in is a stranger. The data also show that stranger rapes are more than twice as likely to take place in cars (18% vs. 9%) or outdoors (21% vs. 5%) than acquaintance rapes. For example, stranger rapes are twice as likely to occur when the victim is shopping (5% vs. 2%), and more than 6 times more likely to occur when the victim is walking on the streets (20% vs. 3%) than are acquaintance rapes. On the other hand, acquaintance rapes are 3 times more likely to occur when the victim goes to the assailant's place (23% vs. 7%) than are stranger rapes. Overall, the results indicate that when potential victims are outside of their homes and out on the streets they are more vulnerable to being attacked by someone whom they *do not* know; whereas, potential victims are more vulnerable to being attacked by someone they know when they are at home.

With regard to the time of day and day of week that stranger and acquaintance rapes happen, analyses show no significant differences in the patterns of when these two types of rape occur.

2. Victim Behavior During Stranger and Acquaintance Rapes

Are there differences in what victims of stranger rapes do during an attack as compared to what victims of acquaintance rapes do? Overall, the data show that victims of acquaintance rapes tend to be more passive than victims of stranger rapes. For example, acquaintance rape victims are more likely to consent under duress (11% vs. 1%), and comply (28% vs. 18%) than are victims of stranger rapes. Stranger rape victims, on the other hand, are more likely to use force to resist (54% vs. 42%) and try to escape (58% vs. 50%). One explanation for why acquaintance rape victims usually are more passive during rape can be found in victim reports describing how they become immobilized by surprise and shock once they realize they are being assaulted by someone they have known and trusted.

Given that women behave differently during stranger and acquaintance rapes, do stranger and acquaintance rapes also differ in how long the rape attack lasts, whether it is successful, and whether the victim gets battered and beaten. Analyses of police records show that there are no differences in how long stranger and acquaintance rapes last. Records also reveal that victims who are raped by acquaintances are more likely to be successfully penetrated (87%) than the victims who are raped by strangers (80%). Although the records also show that strangers and acquaintances are equally likely to batter their victims, further analyses reveal differences within these groups. Within the acquaintance rape category, intimates and ex-intimates are more likely to batter their victims (28%) than friends (17%) or family members (9%). In fact, when it comes to beating up their victims, former and current husbands and boyfriends act more like total strangers (26%) than acquaintances. It is also interesting that victims who are raped by intimates are also the most likely to injure their assailants (35%) as compared to victims raped by total strangers (23%), people they know by sight (23%), friends (19%), people they have just met (11%), or family (0%).

3. Victim Behavior After Stranger and Acquaintance Rapes

Are there differences in what victims of stranger as compared to acquaintance rapes do after the rape occurs? Police and Nurse Examiners files show several important differences. Victims of acquaintance rapes are more likely to do things after being raped that interfere with or obstruct the gathering of evidence than are victims of stranger rapes. For example, victims of acquaintance rapes are more likely to shower (27% vs. 16%); urinate (62% vs. 49%); and defecate (21% vs. 11%) between being raped and having a medical/forensic exam than are victims of stranger rapes. In addition, acquaintance rape victims also take longer to report being raped to the police. Whereas, 87% of stranger rape victims reported being raped to the police with 24 hours of the attack, only 56% of acquaintance rape victims did so. In fact, the average time it took for a victim of acquaintance rape to report it was 3 hours and 17 minutes as compared to an average of 2 hours and 6 minutes for victims of stranger rapes. Finally, victims of acquaintance rapes are also less likely to have a medical/forensic exam than are victims of stranger rapes (58% vs. 46%).

4. Rapist Behavior During Stranger and Acquaintance Rapes

Are there differences in the behaviors of rapists who rape strangers as compared to acquaintances? Men who rape strangers are more likely to threaten (55% vs. 36%) and use force (87% vs. 64%); have a weapon (36% vs. 14%); and attempt to penetrate the victim's mouth (45% vs. 28%) than are men who rape acquaintances. On the other hand, acquaintance rapists are more likely to use verbal pressure (33% vs. 25%) and attempt to penetrate the victim's vagina (98% vs. 93%). There are no differences between stranger and acquaintance rapists and their use of condoms during the attack.

Comparisons between stranger and acquaintance rapists and whether they batter and beat their victims show that victims are more likely to be beaten up when they are raped by current or former boyfriends or husbands (28%), men they have just met (28%), and total strangers (25%), than when they are raped by friends (17%) or family members (9%).

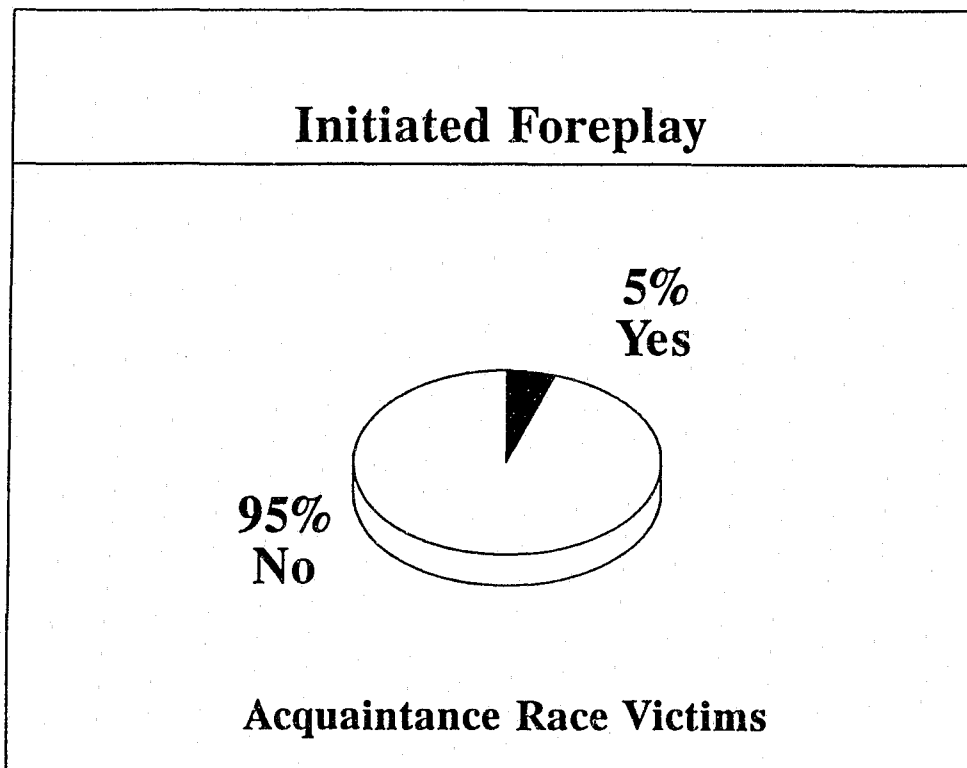
In examining stranger rapes, the data show that assailants who rape total strangers are more likely to use a weapon (43%) than are assailants who rape women they have just met (11%). With acquaintance rapes, assailants who rape their former or current girlfriend or wife are more likely to use a weapon (23%) than are assailants who rape family members (3%) or friends (13%).

The records also show that men who rape acquaintances are more likely to successfully penetrate their victims (87%) than are men who rape strangers (80%).

Overall, results indicate some important differences between stranger and acquaintance rapes in terms of how victims behave during and after an assault and how rapists behave during an assault. Among these differences it is especially important to recognize that women who are raped by people they know appear to be more reluctant to report their assault to the police and less likely to have a medical/forensic exam. Because acquaintance rapes appear to be the most frequent type of rape, and because acquaintance rapes are rapes in which the assailant can be positively identified, it is important to learn more about the factors that inhibit acquaintance rape victims from reporting their assault to the police and following through with the prosecution of their assailant(s). It is also important to educate women that rape by an acquaintance is a prosecutable crime if the victim reports it, it meets statutory requirements, and the victim is willing to cooperate with law enforcement officials.

5. Do Victims of Acquaintance Rapes Lead Their Attackers On?

Because most victims of rape have had a relationship with their assailant, often even romance and marriage, a key question that is often brought up during a rape investigation is whether the victim led the assailant on just prior to the attack. How often do victims lead their assailants on by initiating some kind of foreplay?



[Figure 17]

Based on victim reports, only 5% of the acquaintance rape cases indicate that the victim initiated some kind of foreplay prior to the rape attack. These results show that victims rarely see their own behavior as the stimulus for the attack. Unfortunately, there is no record of the assailant's perceptions of the victim's behavior prior to the attack. Comparing the two accounts of rape could help identify some of the boundary problems that are frequently involved in acquaintance rape.

Because rapists who rape strangers might claim that their victim led them on prior to the attack even though the victim had never seen them before, it is worth noting that only 2% of the stranger rape cases reviewed revealed victim behaviors that might be construed by an independent reviewer as initiating foreplay. Moreover, in each of these cases the victim and assailant had just met at a party or bar.

VI. Who Commits Rape?

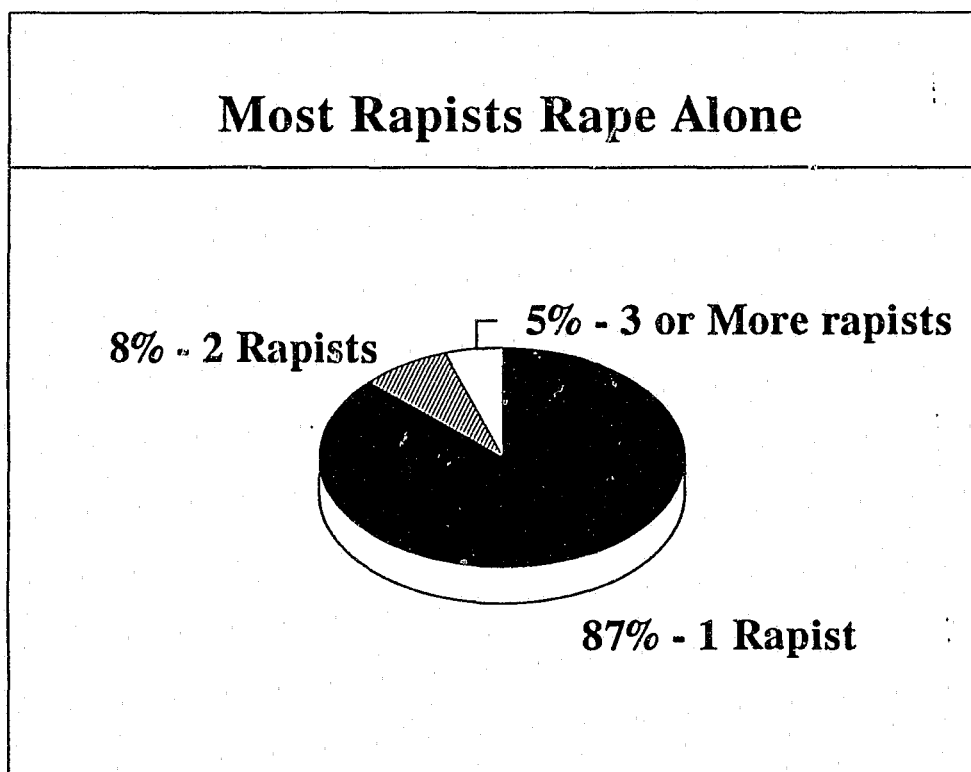
- * Number of Assailants**
- * Race of Assailants**
- * What Do Rapists Do During a Rape Attack?**

VI. Who Commits Rape?

Police files do not contain much information about rape suspects unless they are acquaintances who the victim knows well or they are arrested. The information they do have is mostly based on victim accounts of the number of attackers involved, the race of the suspects, and the rapists' behaviors during the rape.

A. Number of Assailants

How many assailants are usually involved in a rape attack?



[Figure 18]

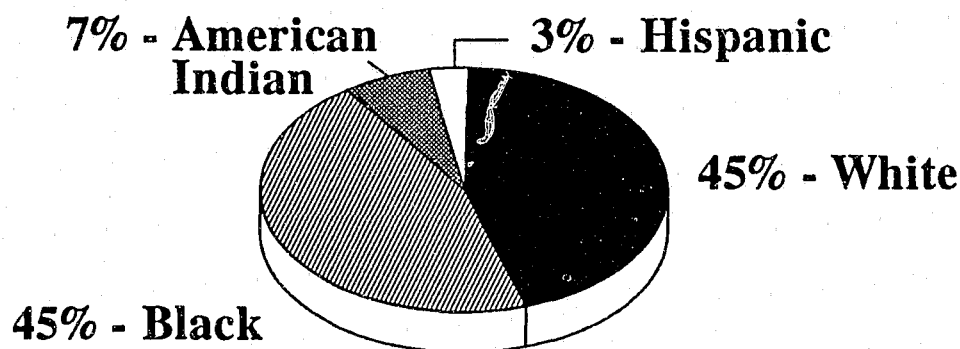
Results show that most rapists rape alone: 87% of the reported cases involved one assailant, 8% involved two, and 5% involved three or more. Overall, the 608 reported rape cases involved 701 suspects. In 9 out of 10 of the cases involving multiple assailants, the assailants are of the same race.

Are there differences between rapes involving one assailant as compared to rapes involving multiple assailants? The data show that there are no differences in the areas of Tulsa where the rapes occur, the time or day of the rape, the victim's or assailant's race, whether the assailant or assailants successfully penetrate the victim, whether the victim injures the assailant, and how long the rape lasts.

On the other hand, analyses show that rapes involving one assailant are 3 times more likely to take place in the victim's home and twice as likely to take place in the assailant's home; whereas, rapes with multiple assailants are twice as likely to take place in someone else's home, a parking lot, park, or alley. In addition, rapes involving multiple assailants are 3 times as likely to involve kidnapping (69% vs. 20%) of the victim and twice as likely to involve sodomy (13% vs. 6%). Victims of multiple assailant rapes, however, are less likely to be beaten: 18% of multiple assailant rape victims are beaten up compared to 30% of victims raped by one assailant. This may be because two or more men can maintain more control over their victim and force her to be more compliant.

B. Race of Assailants

4 in 10 Assailants Are White Another 4 in 10 Are Black



[Figure 19]

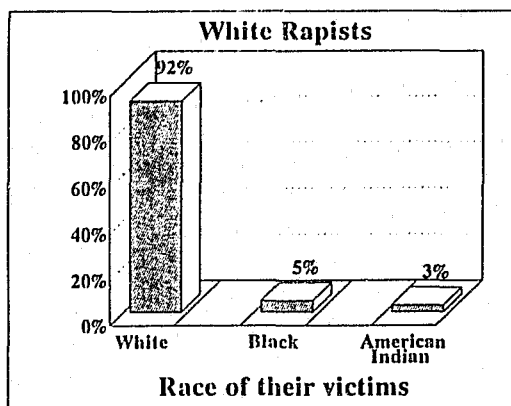
Results show that 4 in 10 assailants in the reported rapes are White, 4 in 10 are Black, and 1 in 10 are American Indian or Hispanic. White and American Indian assailants commit most of their rapes in Central Tulsa; whereas, Black assailants commit most of their rapes in North Tulsa.

Are there differences in the circumstances surrounding rapes committed by White, Black, and American Indian rapists? There are no differences in the time, day, place, or length of rapes committed by White, Black, or American Indian rapists. With respect to the scenarios that lead to the rapes, however, White rapists are the most likely to have been invited by the victim into her home prior to the rape and the least likely to grab a victim off the streets; White and American Indian rapists are almost 4 times more likely to have left a bar or party with their victims than are Black rapists; and Black rapists are almost twice as likely to break into the victim's home and rape her.

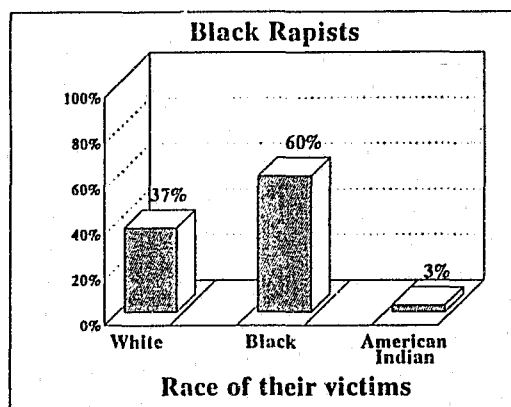
Comparing these results with the racial distribution of men in Tulsa County shows that Black males are significantly overrepresented among Tulsa's rape suspects. To better understand what this means it is important to learn more about who rapists are raping and the extent to which interracial rape occurs.

Who do rapists rape? The data show that White and American Indian rapists are more likely to rape acquaintances (62% and 57%) than strangers; whereas, Black rapists are evenly split between raping acquaintances and strangers (50% and 50%). Black rapists are more likely to rape total strangers (44%) than are White (30%) or American Indian (39%) rapists and least likely to rape family members (4% vs. 9% vs. 11%). On the other hand, White rapists are more likely to rape current or former girlfriends or wives (23%) than Black (13%) or American Indian (11%) rapists. There are no differences among White, Black and American Indian rapists in their tendencies to rape children or adults.

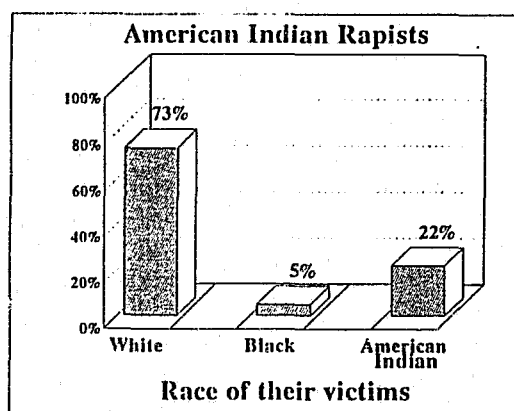
1. Are Most Rapes Inter- or Intra- Racial?



[Figure 20]



[Figure 21]



[Figure 22]

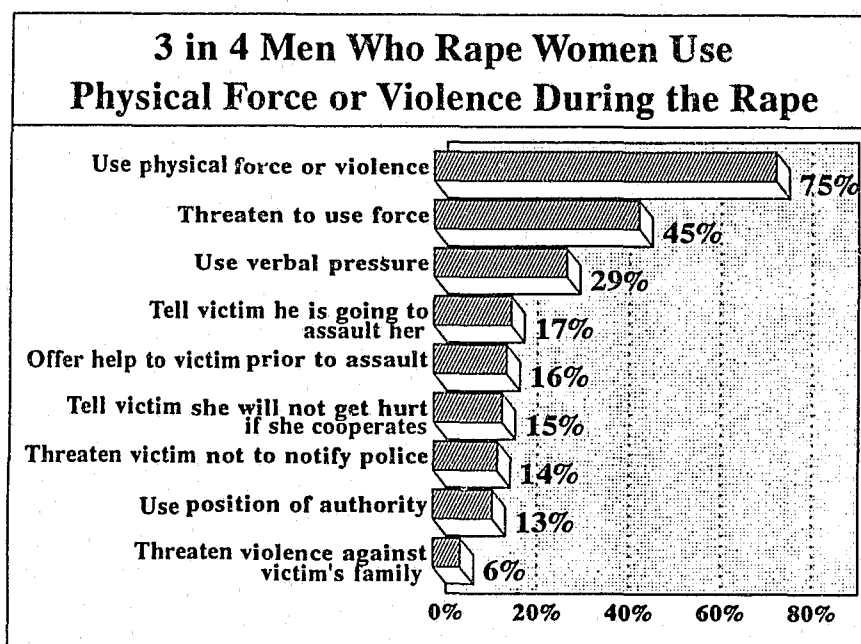
Results show that in 3 in 4 cases, rapists rape victims who are of the same race as they are; 27% of the cases, however, are interracial. Analyses show that only 1 in 10 White rapists rape women who are not White: 5% rape Black victims and 3% rape American Indian victims. On the other hand, 4 in 10 Black rapists rape women who are not Black: 37% rape White victims and 3% rape American Indian victims. Finally, American Indian rapists are 3 times as likely to rape women who are not American Indian than who are: 73% rape White victims and 5% rape Black victims.

The results showing who reported rapists are raping and the extent of interracial rape point towards several considerations that may help to explain the overrepresentation of Black males among Tulsa's rape suspects. The first consideration is based on a belief that victims who are raped by men they do not know (strangers) are more likely to report their attack to the police than are victims who are raped by friends, relatives, or intimates. To the extent that this assumption is true, the results showing that Black rapists are more likely to rape total strangers than White or American Indian rapists would mean that rapes involving Black suspects would be more likely to be reported. Second, it is also reasonable to believe that victims are more likely to report an attack when the attacker is of a different race than when he is of the same race. To the extent that this assumption is true, the results showing that Black and American Indian rapists are more likely to participate in interracial rape than White rapists, and that most rape victims are White, mean that rapes involving Black and American Indian assailants are more likely to be reported. In other words, it is probable that Black males are overrepresented in the rapist population because they are more likely to engage in the two kinds of rape that are most likely to be reported: total stranger rape and interracial rape.

C. What Do Rapists Do During a Rape Attack?

Previously, this report describes how victims typically behave during a rape assault. Overall, the records show that victims behave in a variety of ways, most of which can be classified in terms of whether their behavior was compliant or resistant. Moreover, records of reported rapes show that with the exception of harming the attacker, most victim behaviors appear to have little influence on the outcome of the attack in terms of how long the attack lasts, whether the victim is penetrated, and whether the victim is battered and beaten. To the extent that victims appear to have little influence over the course of an attack, most of the control must rest with the rapist. What do rapists do during an attack to gain control of their victims and how do the rapists' behaviors relate to rape outcomes?

1. Physical Force and Threat of Violence



[Figure 23]

Analyses of police records show that in the vast majority of cases rapists use physical force or violence to control and rape their victims. Records also show that the second most widely used behavior by rapists is the threat of violence. Overall, these findings carry a very clear message: *rapists use violence to rape their victims*. Although some rapists may start their assault with verbal pressure, subtle coercion, or even offers of help or reward, they usually end up subduing their victims through the use of physical force and violence.

It is interesting to note that 17% of the rapists tell their victims they are going to assault them prior to the attack. This is critical information to know especially when the rapist is unsuccessful in penetrating his victim. Cases can only be filed as "attempted" rape if the rapist verbalizes his intent to rape; otherwise, cases involving unsuccessful penetration will be classified as assaults.

Are there differences in how rapists treat adult victims as compared to child victims? Results show that rapists are more likely to offer help to adult victims prior to the assault (18% vs. 8%), threaten them with force (49% vs. 29%), and use physical force against them (81% vs. 51%) than they are with child victims. In other words, rapists tend to be less violent with child victims than they are with adult victims. This is probably because child victims tend to be more compliant and less resistant than adults. There are no differences in the ways rapists behave when they are raping White, Black, or American Indian victims. This means that although the race of rapists will influence who they select as their victims (in most cases someone of the same race) race has little to do with how the assailant behaves during an assault. Whether White, Black, or American Indian, rapists almost always use force and violence to subdue their victims.

How do rapists' behaviors during an assault relate to rape outcomes? Rapists who commit successful rapes (meaning they penetrate their victims) are more likely to threaten their victims not to tell the police (16% vs. 1%), threaten violence against their victims (47% vs. 31%) and against the victims' family and friends (7% vs. 1%), and use their position of authority to make their victims cooperate (14% vs. 5%). On the other hand, rapists are more likely to use physical force against their victims during unsuccessful rapes (84%) than during rapes that are successful (74%).

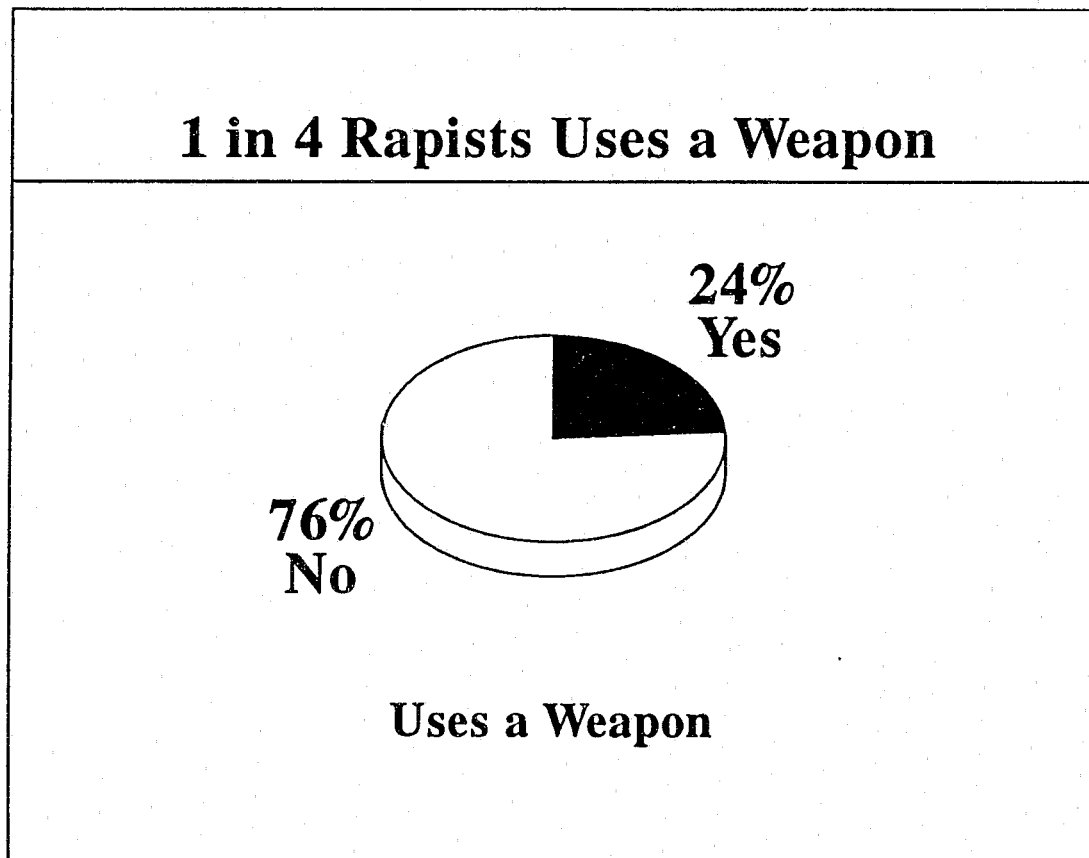
Rapists' behaviors are also related to how long a rape lasts and whether or not the victim gets beaten up. Analyses show that rapes last 3 times longer when rapists threaten their victims not to tell the police and twice as long when rapists threaten physical force against their victims. Results also show that rapists who beat up their victims are more likely to tell their victims that they will **not** get hurt if they cooperate (23% vs. 14%), threaten them **not** to tell the police (21% vs. 12%), and use physical force to make them comply (75% vs. 42%).

From the standpoint of potential rape victims, it is worth noting that only 14% of the rapists specifically threatened their victims not to notify the police and yet this particular rapist behavior was a strong predictor of negative rape outcomes: successful penetration, longer assaults, and victims getting battered. This suggests that if a woman is raped and the attacker expresses overt concern about the police, the victim may be in for a particularly bad and violent experience. It is also worth noting that when a rapist tells his victim that he will not hurt her if she complies, the likelihood increases that he will hurt her.

Overall, reported rape records show that what rapists say and do during rape are powerful predictors of the outcomes of rape. When seen in the light of previous findings about victim behaviors during rape, results suggest that rapists exercise most of the control during a rape especially with regard to the negative consequences victims experience during and after the assault. It is interesting to note that many psychologists believe that it is precisely this apparent ability to control their victims that may motivate many rapists to rape.

2. Weapons

Violent crimes often involve the use of weapons. Rape is a violent crime so it is important to ask how often rapists use a weapon to coerce and control their victims.



[Figure 24]

Data show that 1 in 4 men who rape women use a weapon during the attack. In half of the cases when rapists use a weapon, they use a knife, and in 1/3rd of the cases, a gun.

Are there differences between rapes involving weapons and rapes in which no weapons are used? Results show that there are no relationships between the use of a weapon and the day, time, or area of the city in which the rape occurs. Nor is there a relationship between whether a weapon was used and the victim's race. On the other hand, the data show that weapons are more likely to be used with older victims than younger ones.

Results also show several significant differences in terms of whether a weapon is used and the circumstances surrounding rape. For instance, rapes involving weapons are more likely to take place outdoors (20% vs. 11%) and less likely to take place in the rapist's home (9% vs. 20%) than are rapes that do not involve weapons. Rapes involving weapons are also more than twice as likely to happen when the victim is at home and the assailant breaks in (28% vs. 11%), or the victim is shopping (6% vs. 2%) or walking outdoors (18% vs. 9%). Conversely, rapes happening after a victim invites the assailant into her home or leaves a bar with him are less likely to involve weapons (4% vs. 14%, and 6% vs. 12%, respectively).

Is the use of a weapon during a rape related to how the victim behaves during and after the assault? The data indicate that the use of a weapon has no relationship to how a victim behaves during an assault in terms of whether she uses verbal pleas, uses force to resist, or tries to escape. On the other hand, when a weapon is used during a rape, victims are more likely to report the rape within 24 hours of the attack (79% vs. 64%) and have a medical exam (69% vs. 46%).

Next we examined differences between rapist characteristics and behaviors and whether they used a weapon during the assault. Police records show that rapists who rape strangers are more than twice as likely to use a weapon than are rapists who rape acquaintances (36% vs. 14%). Records also show Black assailants are more likely to use a weapon during a rape than are American Indian or White rapists (31% vs. 23% vs. 17%).

Are rapists who use a weapon more likely to commit other crimes during a rape attack? The data indicate that they are. Rapists who use a weapon are 7 times more likely to commit robbery during a rape (14% vs. 2%), and more than 3 times more likely to commit burglary (18% vs. 5%), or kidnap their victims (17% vs. 5%). They are also twice as likely to sodomize their victims (10% vs. 5%).

In addition to committing other crimes, there are several other rapist behaviors that are related to using a weapon during a rape. For instance, rapists who use a weapon are more likely to tell the victim he is going to rape her prior to the assault (25% vs. 14%), tell the victim he will not hurt her if she cooperates (28% vs. 11%), and threaten the victim not to tell the police (23% vs. 11%). Rapists with weapons are also much more likely to threaten their victims (77% vs. 34%), use physical force (92% vs. 70%), and attempt penetration of the victim's mouth (45% vs. 28%).

Does the use of a weapon influence the outcomes of a rape attack? Records show that whether or not a rapist uses a weapon has no relationship to how long the rape assault lasts and whether or not the rapist successfully penetrates his victim. On the other hand, victims of rapists who use a weapon are 4 times more likely to be battered and beaten (31% vs. 8%).

Overall, results indicate that weapons are used relatively frequently during rape attacks, especially in stranger rapes and rapes in which other types of crime are involved. Results also indicate that when a weapon is used it increases the probability that the victim will be seriously hurt during the assault. In other words, weapons significantly increase the violence that is already inherent in rape.

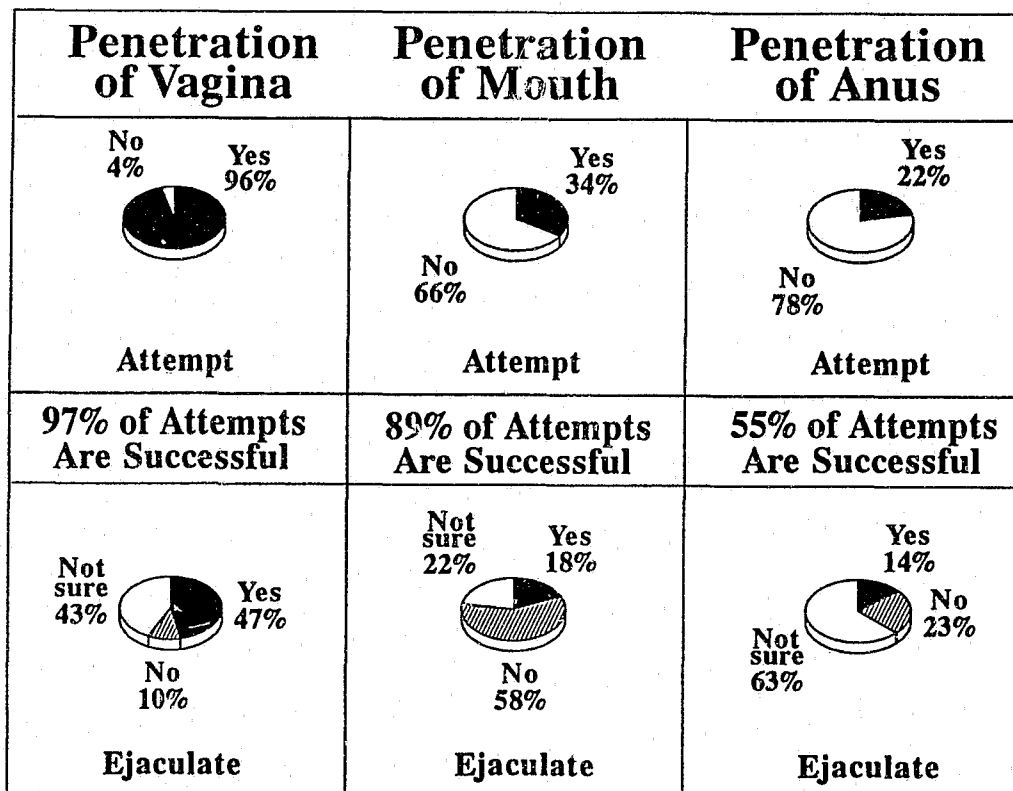
3. Penetration

In 8 out of every 10 rapes, the rapist successfully penetrates his victim. Fifty-nine percent of the victims who are penetrated have a medical exam. The following information about penetration attempts, ejaculation, and condom use is based on the Sexual Assault Nurse Examiners medical/forensic reports.

a. What Kinds of Penetration Occur During Rape Attacks?

Police and medical records documenting reported rapes vividly show that rape is a violent penetration of a woman's being - her body, mind, and freedom. To learn more about how victims experience this violent act, we examine the ways in which rapists violently penetrate their victims, and the extent to which they ejaculate inside their victims. This information is important because the ejaculation of an assailant's seminal fluids during a rape can lead to serious long-term consequences for the victim such as AIDS and/or pregnancy.

Figure 25 shows the ways in which rapists try to penetrate their victims, the extent to which their penetration attempts are successful, and the extent to which they ejaculate during penetration of their victims.



[Figure 25]

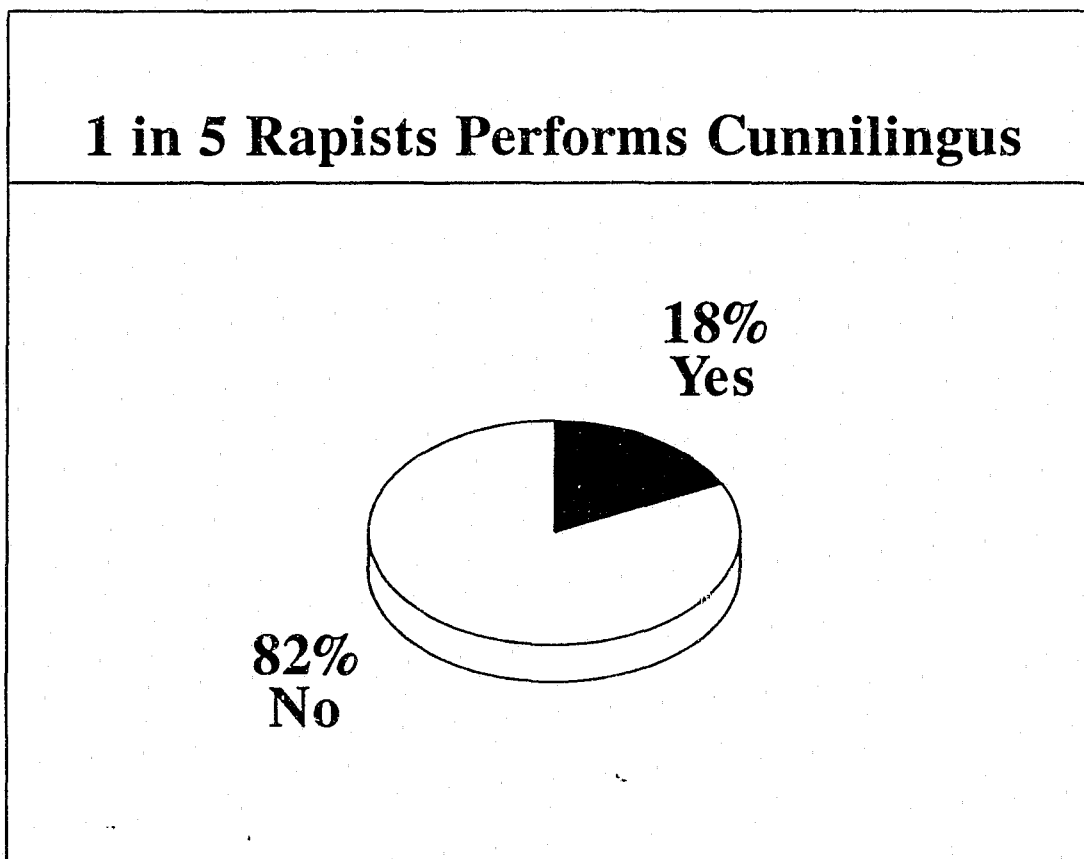
Almost all rapists attempt penetration of the victim's vagina and almost all are successful. However, only about half of the victims who are penetrated vaginally report with certainty that the rapist ejaculated in their vagina. About 1/3rd of the rapists attempt to penetrate the victim's mouth and again almost all of these attempts are successful. However, only about 1 in 5 of the victims report with certainty that the rapist ejaculated in her mouth; whereas, another 1 in 5 of the victims are unsure. Less than 1 in 4 rapists attempt to penetrate the victim's anus, and about half of these attempts are successful. Among these cases of anal penetration, only about 1 in 10 of the victims could say with certainty that the rapist ejaculated in her anus, 2/3rds of the victims are unsure. The only relationships found in the data with respect to rapist penetration attempts are that rapists are twice as likely to try to penetrate an adult victim's mouth (37%) than a child victim's mouth (16%), and they are also more likely to try to penetrate the mouth of a victim who is a stranger (45%) than an acquaintance (28%).

There is also an interesting finding with regard to rapist ejaculation. Rapists who rape ex-intimates and significant others are the most likely to experience orgasm during the rape (28%); whereas, rapists who rape a family member (e.g., daughter, niece, cousin) are the least likely to experience orgasm during the rape (3%). Finally, because it is possible that rapist ejaculation might influence a victim's decision to shower, clean up, or otherwise engage in behaviors that would obstruct the gathering of evidence we examined the data for these possible relationships. Analyses do not reveal any significant relationships among rapist ejaculation and behaviors that victims engage in after they are raped.

There are several observations to be made about these results. Almost all reported rapes involve successful penetration of the victim's vagina and in at least half of these rapes the rapist ejaculates in or on the victim. This means that at least half of the time, rape involves a significant risk for contracting a serious disease and/or pregnancy. The second observation is that victims do not always know whether their assailant ejaculates inside them, especially when the penetration is vaginal or anal. Consequently, it is important that potential victims of rape be educated about the importance of having a medical/forensic exam in the event they are raped. In addition to the evidence gathering function of these exams, it is important for victims to find out whether there was ejaculation during the assault so that they can take precautions against unwanted disease or pregnancy. Unfortunately, only about half of the women who report rape to the police have a medical exam.

b. Do Rapists Perform Cunnilingus?

In addition to the forms of victim penetration that can lead to rapist ejaculation in the victim, there is another form of violent penetration that victims can be subjected to, namely cunnilingus. To what extent are victims subjected to this type of penetration?

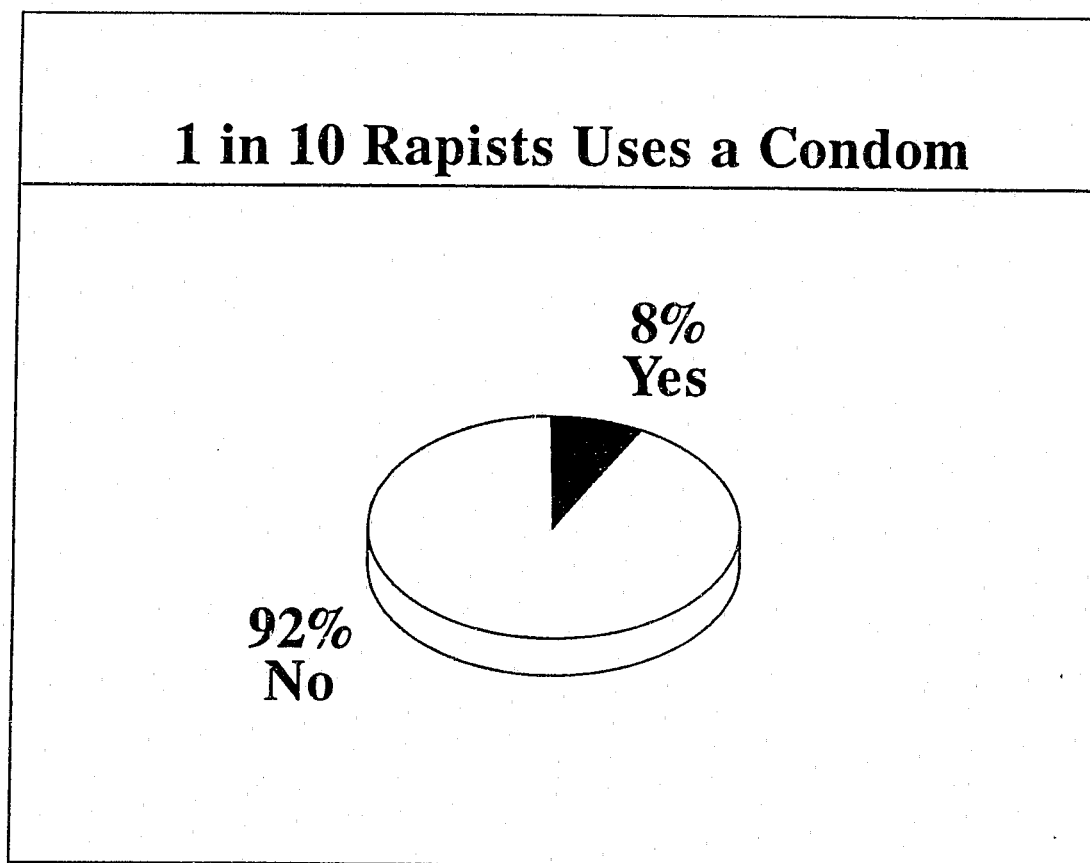


[Figure 26]

Among those victims who receive medical examinations, 1 in 5 report that they are forced to submit to cunnilingus. Analyses also show that in all of the cases in which cunnilingus is part of the rape, the victims are adults.

c. Do Rapists Wear Condoms During These Penetration Attempts?

Because rapist ejaculation can lead to long-term health consequences for victims, it is useful to examine the extent to which rapists wear condoms during their assault.

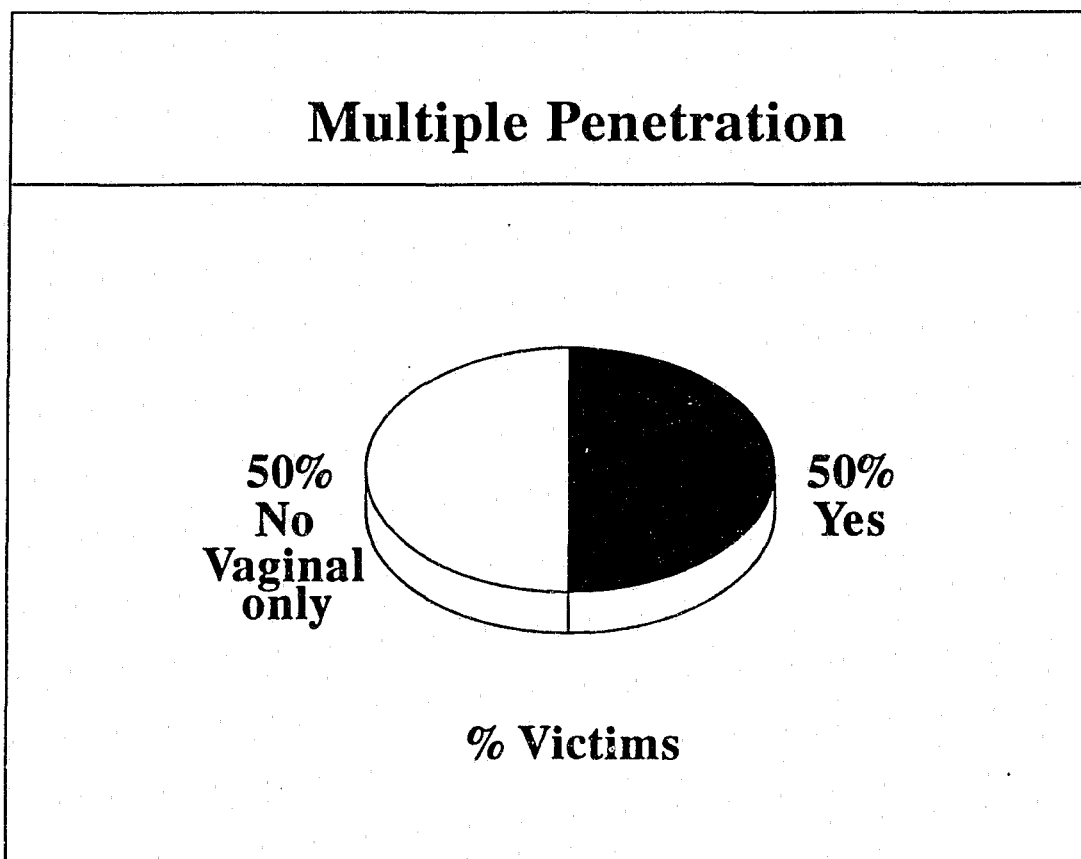


[Figure 27]

Nine in 10 rapists do not use condoms when they are raping women.

d. Multiple Types of Penetration

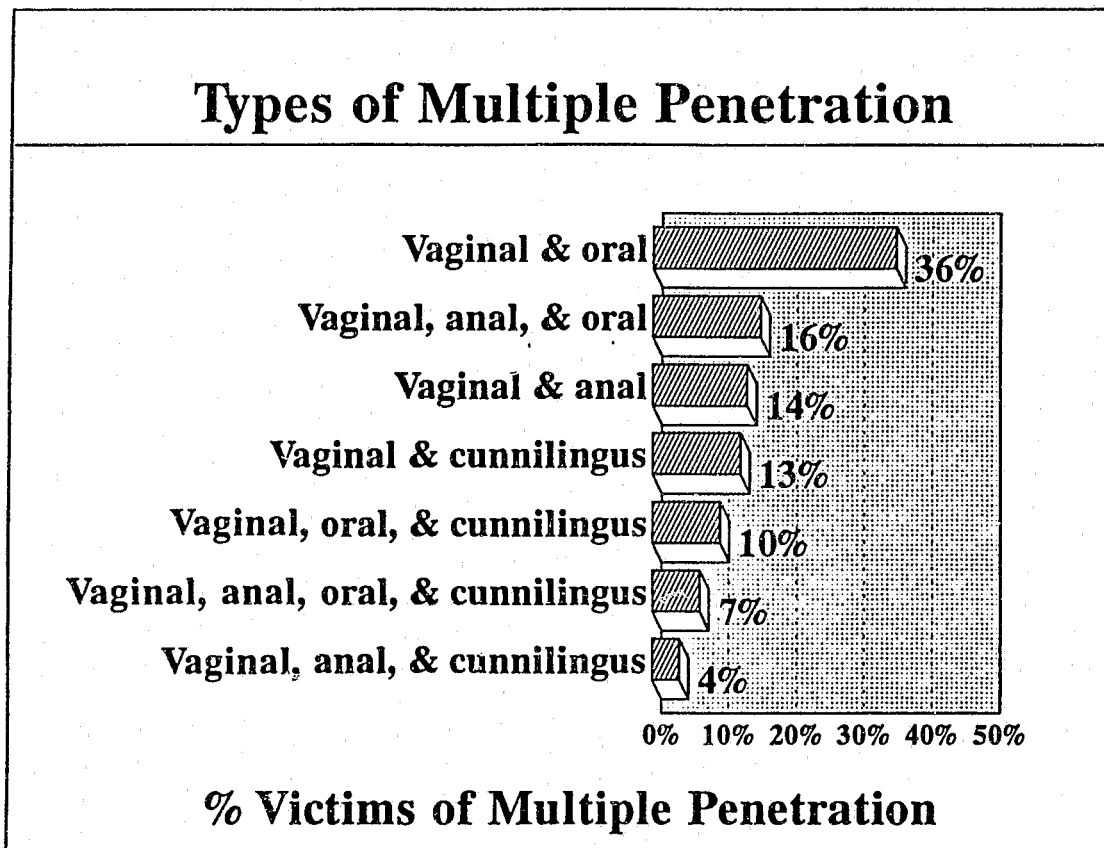
Records of reported rapes show that there are four ways in which rapists violently penetrate women: vaginally, orally, anally, and through the act of cunnilingus. Given the various methods of rape available to the rapist it is reasonable to assume that some victims are subjected to only one form of rape, and that others may be subjected to multiple forms of rape. Moreover, as multiple forms of rape represent repeated assaults on the same victim, it is important to examine whether rapes involving multiple types of penetration and assault are different than rapes that involve only vaginal penetration.



[Figure 28]

Nurse Examiner reports show that 50% of the victims who had an exam were subjected to two or more types of penetration during their assault. Of the women who were subjected to multiple types of penetration, 7% were subjected to all four types of penetration, 30% were subjected to three types of penetration, and 63% were subjected to two types of penetration.

Figure 29 shows the various combinations of penetration to which victims of multiple penetration were subjected.



[Figure 29]

Are rapes that involve multiple types of penetration different than rapes that involve only vaginal penetration?

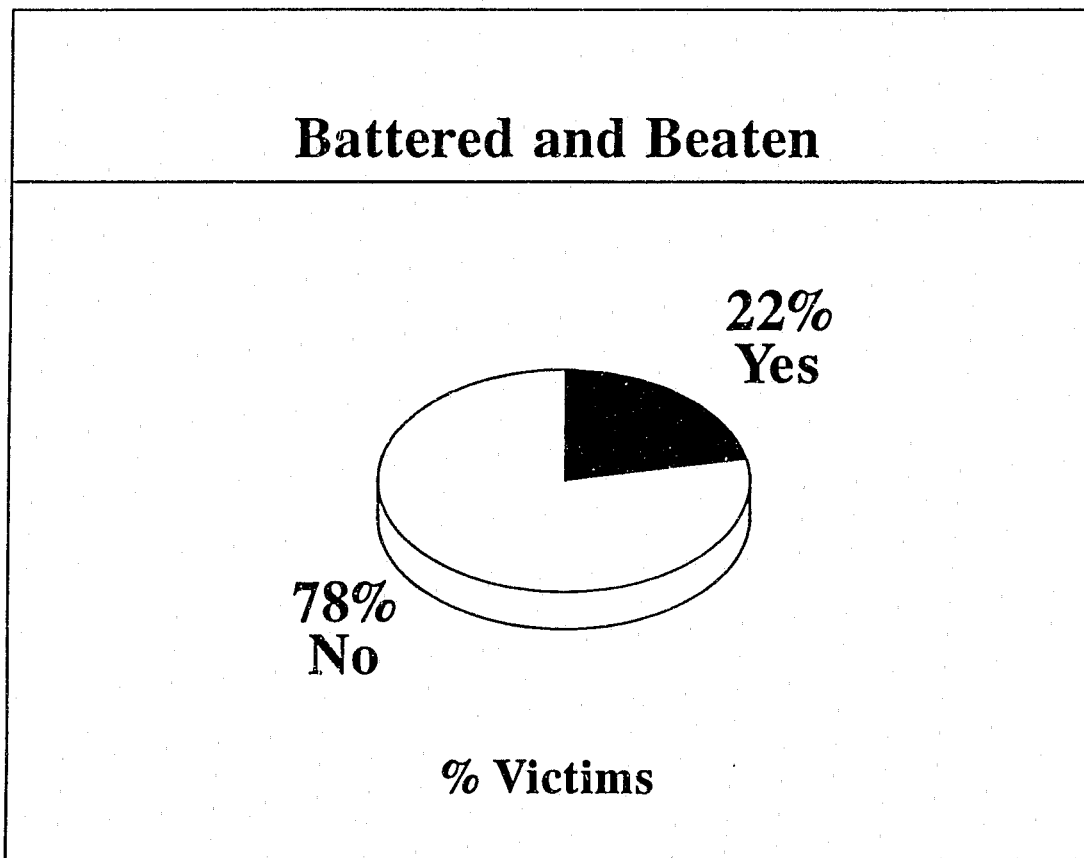
Analyses comparing vaginal penetration and multiple types of penetration reveal several differences. Child victims and victims in their teens and early 20's are less likely to experience multiple types of penetration than are victims in their late 20's and 30's. During the assault, victims of multiple types of penetration are less likely to give their coerced consent (3% vs. 10%), more likely to use pleas to resist (67% vs. 52%), try to escape (62% vs. 41%), and hurt their assailant (37% vs. 19%). On the other hand, rapists who subject their victims to multiple types of penetration are more likely to use a weapon (38% vs. 25%), threaten the victim with force (59% vs. 48%), use verbal pressure (35% vs. 26%), and use their position of authority to coerce the victim into compliance (13% vs. 6%).

There are no differences in whether victims are multiply penetrated and whether the victims are beaten or injured during the assault, or in the victims' behaviors after the attack with the exception that multiply penetrated victims tend to report their rape to the police more quickly after their assault (115 minutes vs. 195 minutes). On the other hand, rapes involving multiple types of penetration do last appreciably longer than rapes involving only vaginal penetration (137 minutes vs. 91 minutes). Finally, results also indicate that American Indian assailants are almost twice as likely to subject their victims to multiple forms of penetration than are White or Black assailants (81% vs. 48% vs. 46%, respectively).

Overall, results show that rape often involves multiple assaults of the victim, especially when the victim is an adult female. Moreover, in about 1/3rd of the cases in which victims report multiple penetrations the rapist uses a weapon and significant threat of violence to force compliance from his victim.

4. Beating Up the Victim

Police records have shown that rape is a violent crime and that in most cases a rapist will use the threat of violence and physical force to subdue his victims. Because of the violation and violence inherent in rape, its victims are always hurt. All victims are mentally and emotionally hurt and many receive minor physical injuries. However, in some cases the violation in rape turns into pure violence and the victim is battered, beaten, and often seriously injured. How often are victims battered and beaten during rape and what kinds of circumstances are typically involved?



[Figure 30]

Police records show that in nearly 1 in 4 of the rapes that are reported the victim is battered and beaten.

Analysis of police records shows that older victims are more likely to be beaten during a rape assault than younger victims. In addition, victims who are beaten up are more likely than victims who are not beaten to be raped in parks (7% vs. 3%) or streets and alleys (8% vs. 3%). Results also show that rapes in which the victim is battered last significantly longer (average: 207 minutes) than rapes in which victims are not battered (average: 121 minutes). Moreover, victims who are battered are more likely to be successfully penetrated (92% vs. 83%), experience attempted penetration in the mouth (43% vs. 30%), and sodomized (13% vs. 5%).

It is also interesting to note that police records show that stranger rapists and acquaintance rapists are equally likely to batter their victims during a rape. However, within the acquaintance rape category intimates and ex-intimates are more likely to batter their victims (28%) than friends (17%) or family members (9%). On the other hand, within the stranger rape category, total strangers and assailants who the victim just met or knows by sight are equally likely to batter their victims (25% vs. 27%).

Several victim behaviors during rape also show relationships with whether the victim was battered or not battered during the rape. Records show that victims who are beaten are less likely to comply (11% vs. 26%) or give coerced consent (1% vs. 8%) than victims who are not beaten. Furthermore, victims who are beaten are more likely to use verbal pleas (73% vs. 54%), use force to resist (65% vs. 43%), try to escape (70% vs. 49%), and injure their assailant (42% vs. 14%).

There is no relationship between beating up the victim and the race of the assailant. Assailant behaviors during the rape, however, are related to whether or not the victim is battered. Victims are more likely to be battered during rapes involving one assailant (23%) as compared to two or more assailants (14%). Rapes during which the victim is battered are also more likely than rapes in which the victim is not battered to involve assailants who: have weapons (35% vs. 21%); threaten violence (73% vs. 36%); use physical force (100% vs. 69%); tell their victims they are going to rape them prior to the assault (23% vs. 15%); tell them they will not get hurt if they cooperate (23% vs. 13%); and tell them not to tell the police (21% vs. 12%).

Finally, whether or not victims are battered and beaten is also related to victim behaviors after the rape occurs. Battered victims report their rape to the police more quickly, and they are also more likely to have a medical/forensic exam (72% vs. 46%). On the other hand, victim battering is not related to the behaviors that victims engage in after a rape that can inadvertently destroy evidence, such as showering or cleaning the rape scene.

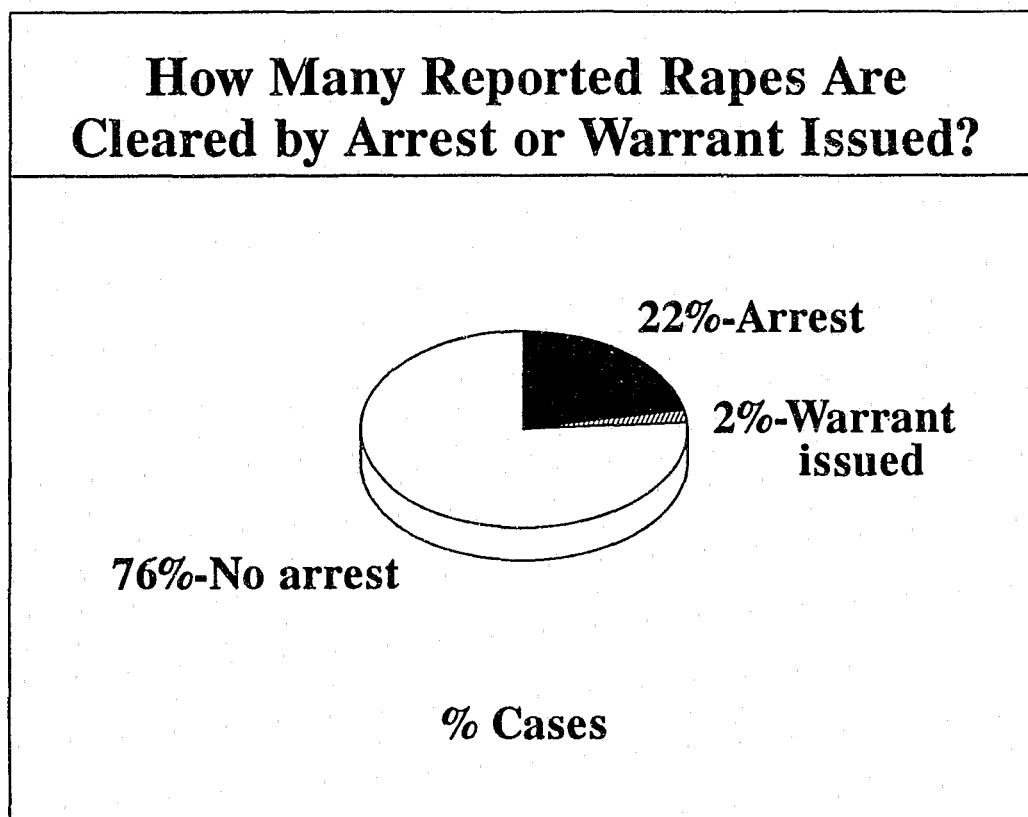
Overall, police records show that nearly 1 in 4 rapists batter and beat their victims during rape. Analyses comparing reported rape cases in which the victim is battered and beaten and cases in which the victim is not battered suggest that when a rapist threatens a victim with violence in almost anyway or starts the rape using physical force, and the victim resists or tries to escape, it increases the probability that the assailant will retaliate with excessive physical violence and the victim will be battered.

VII. Final Dispositions

- * Rape and Arrest**
- * Rapes That Do Not End in Arrest**

VII. Final Dispositions

Arresting, convicting, and jailing men who commit rape is fundamental to rape prevention. Every rapist who eludes arrest and prosecution increases the vulnerability of potential rape victims. Consequently, it is important to examine how law enforcement officials are faring in their fight against rape. We begin by looking at how many reported rapes end in arrest or warrant issued.



[Figure 31]

Results show that 1 in 4 reported rape cases were cleared by arrest or warrant issued between the time a rape occurred and this study was being conducted (1 to 2 1/2 years later). Sixty percent of these arrests were made on the same day the rape was reported to the police.

It is clear that the vast majority of rapes that are reported to the police do not end in arrest. Although this arrest rate may seem low to the casual observer, it is important to realize that many factors beyond the control of the police prevent them from arresting more suspects. Some of these factors include victims who decide to no longer cooperate after they report a rape, a lack of physical evidence to justify an arrest, and suspects who are never identified. More information about these barriers to rape arrest will be presented in the later part of this chapter when reported rape cases that do not end in arrest are examined. We begin, however, by looking at rapes that end in arrest.

A. Rape and Arrest

1. Which Rapes End in Arrest?

Given the difficulties involved in arresting rape suspects it is useful to examine which kinds of rape cases are most likely to end in arrest.

Overall, police files indicate that 24% of reported rape cases end in arrest or warrant issued. In comparing rapes that lead to arrest with rapes that do not, analyses reveal no differences with regard to where in Tulsa the rape occurs, how long it lasts, the victim's race or age, whether or not the victim tries to escape or injures her attacker, the rapist's race, whether the rapist has a weapon, whether the rapist beats up his victim, or whether or not the rape was interracial. On the other hand, rapes that occur indoors are more likely to lead to arrest (29%) than rapes that take place outdoors (13%) or in cars (18%). Results also show that rapes involving 1 assailant are more likely to lead to arrest (26%) than rapes involving 2 or more assailants (15%).

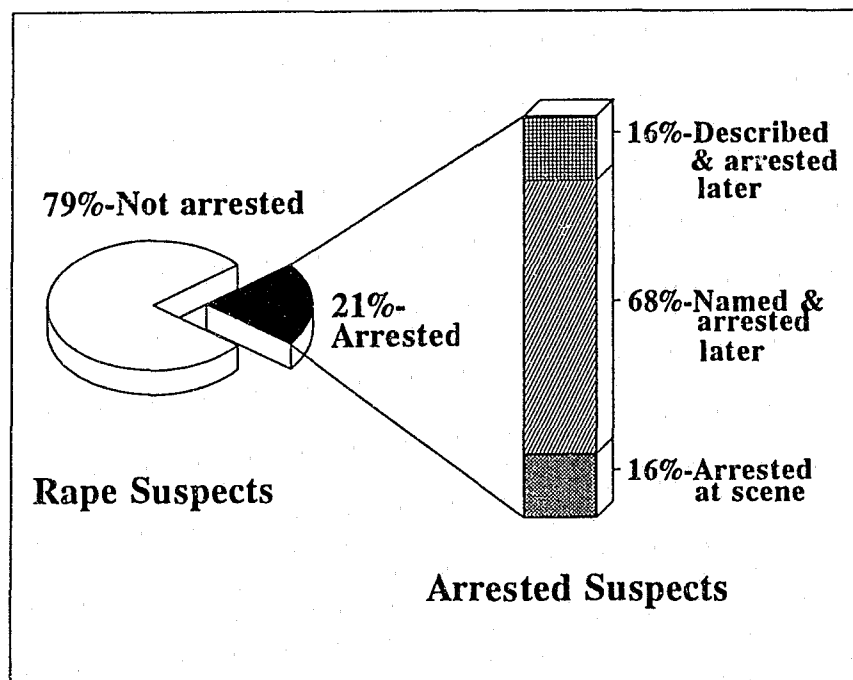
Further analyses indicate two factors that are related to whether or not a reported rape leads to arrest of the assailant. One factor depends on knowing the identity of the assailant, and the other depends on securing enough evidence to enable the police to arrest the assailant. In terms of knowing who the rapist is, analyses show that the more acquainted victims are with the men who rape them, the more likely the rapists will be arrested. For example, arrests occur in 45% of rapes committed by family members, in 27% committed by current or former boyfriends or husbands, and in 30% committed by friends. On the other hand, arrests occur in only 20% of the rapes committed by men who the victims just met, and in only 16% of rapes committed by total strangers.

The other important factor related to rape arrests is having enough evidence so that the police are able to arrest the rapist. Analyses show that rapes which lead to arrests are reported to the police in less than half the time it takes for victims of rapes that do not lead to arrest to report (average reporting time: 72 minutes vs. 188 minutes, respectively). In addition, 28% of the rape cases in which the victim has a medical exam lead to arrest as compared to only 20% of the rapes in which the victim does not have a medical exam. Furthermore, 1/3rd of the cases (34%) in which the victim does not urinate before having the medical exam result in arrest as compared to only 22% of the cases in which the victim does urinate.

These results again highlight the need to educate women about the importance of reporting rape to the police immediately after it happens, about how NOT to destroy evidence after a rape by showering, changing clothes, or urinating, and about the importance of having a medical exam. When victims do not report rape, preserve evidence, or have a medical exam, they basically insure that their assailants will remain free to possibly rape again.

2. How Many Rape Suspects Are Arrested?

Seven hundred and one suspects were involved in committing the 608 reported rapes. Figure 32 shows how many of these suspects were arrested within 1 to 2 1/2 years after the rape occurred, and how the arrest was made.



[Figure 32]

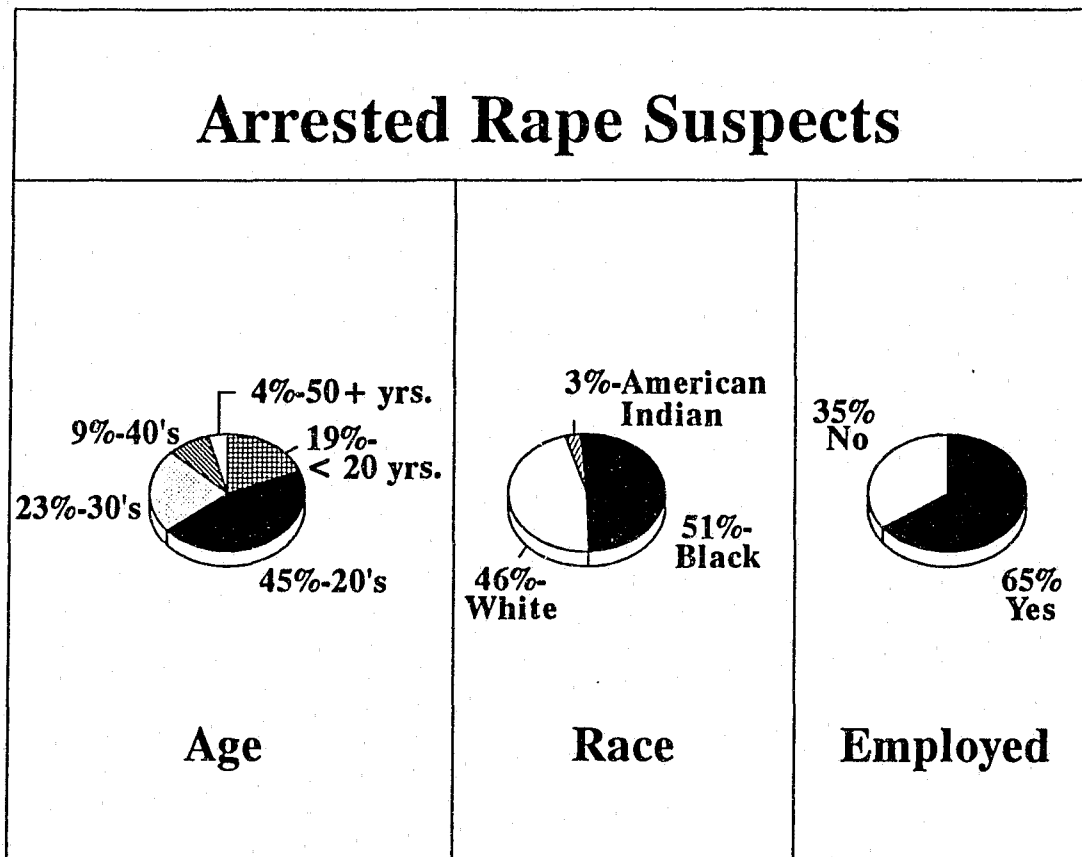
Results show that 1 in 5 of the rape suspects were arrested between the time a rape occurred and this study was being conducted. Of the arrests that were made, 1 in 5 were arrested at the rape scene, 1 in 5 were arrested at a later time as a result of being physically described by the victim, and 3 in 5 were arrested at a later time as a result of being named and identified by the victim. These figures show that it is a relatively rare and fortuitous event to apprehend a rapist at the scene of his crime, and that most of the arrests that are made are made on the basis of the victim knowing her assailant.

Further examination of arrest records reveals that half of the suspects who are named (54%) and half of these who are just described (53%) are arrested the same day the rape is reported to the police. Of the 40% of arrested rape suspects who were arrested more than one day after their crime was reported, 28% were arrested within one week of their crime, 18% within one month, 44% within six months, 6% within one year, and 4% within two years.

Overall, the results show that if a rape suspect is not arrested within the first week or so after the rape is reported, the probability significantly decreases that an arrest will be made. This reality emphasizes the importance for rape victims to report their assault to the police immediately after it happens and to preserve as much evidence as possible.

3. Who Gets Arrested For Rape?

Figure 33 presents the demographic information that is available on the rape suspects who were arrested.



[Figure 33]

Arrest records indicate that 2/3rds of the suspects arrested for rape are young men in their 20's and 30's, about half are Black and about half are White, and about 2 in 3 were employed at the time of their arrest.

Does age, race, and employment status of men arrested for rape have any relationship to the circumstances in which rape occurs, how victims behave during a rape, rape outcomes, or how rapists behave during a rape?

The ages of men who are arrested for rape show no relationships with the places, times or circumstances surrounding rape. The only victim behavior during the rape that is related to the age of arrested suspects is that rape victims tend to be more compliant with younger rape suspects than older ones. There are also no relationships found between the ages of the men arrested for rape and whether weapons were used during the rape or whether the victims were battered or beaten. On the other hand, older arrested suspects are more likely to subject their victims to multiple types of penetration and force their victims to perform oral sex. Moreover, rapes involving older arrested suspects tend to last somewhat longer than rapes involving younger arrested suspects.

The data indicate that the race breakdown of rape suspects who are arrested is almost identical to the race breakdown of all suspects described in the original rape reports. This fact clearly demonstrates that race is not a factor in determining which rape suspects the TPD Sex Crimes Unit arrests and which they do not arrest.

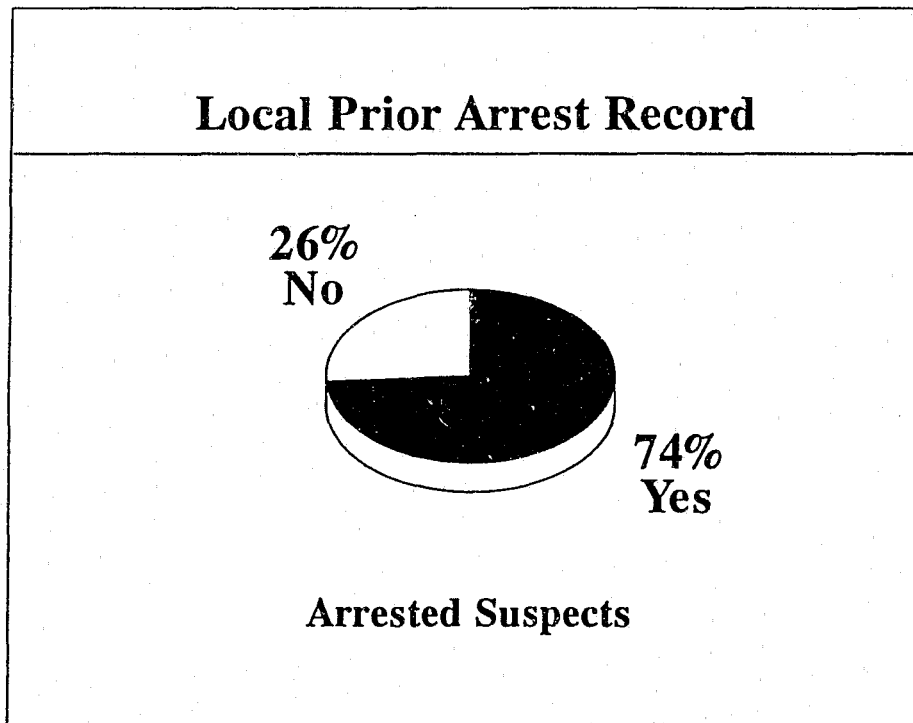
Because almost all of the arrested suspects are either White men or Black men, the three American Indian suspects who were arrested are not included in the race comparisons. Overall, results show no differences between the race of suspects arrested for rape and the places, times, and circumstances surrounding the rapes they were arrested for. However, 44% of arrested White suspects were arrested for rapes occurring in Central Tulsa; whereas, 44% of arrested Black suspects were arrested for rapes occurring in North Tulsa. There are no differences found between the arrested suspects' race and the victims' behaviors during the rape. After the rape, however, victims raped by arrested Black suspects are more likely to have a medical/forensic exam (72%) than are victims of arrested White suspects (52%). Results show that Black men who were arrested are twice as likely to be arrested for rapes in which a weapon is used than White arrested suspects (34% vs. 15%), and more likely to be arrested for rapes that occurred during weekdays (59% vs. 31%). Black arrested suspects are also more likely to be arrested for rapes in which the victim was successfully penetrated than are White arrested suspects (92% vs. 72%). On the other hand, White arrested suspects are more likely to attempt penetration of the victim's mouth (54% vs. 30%) and to sodomize her (16% vs. 3%).

Analyses examining the employment status of arrested rape suspects and the rapes they were arrested for show no significant relationships.

4. Do Arrested Rape Suspects Have Prior Arrest Records in Tulsa County?

Rape is a crime of violence. Consequently, it is important to ask whether the rapes committed by suspects who are arrested are isolated instances of violence or whether they are part of a pattern of criminal and violent histories. In other words, do arrested rape suspects tend to have previous arrest records for serious crimes?

To answer this question, computer arrest records checks of the 144 arrested rape suspects were examined for prior arrests made in Tulsa County.

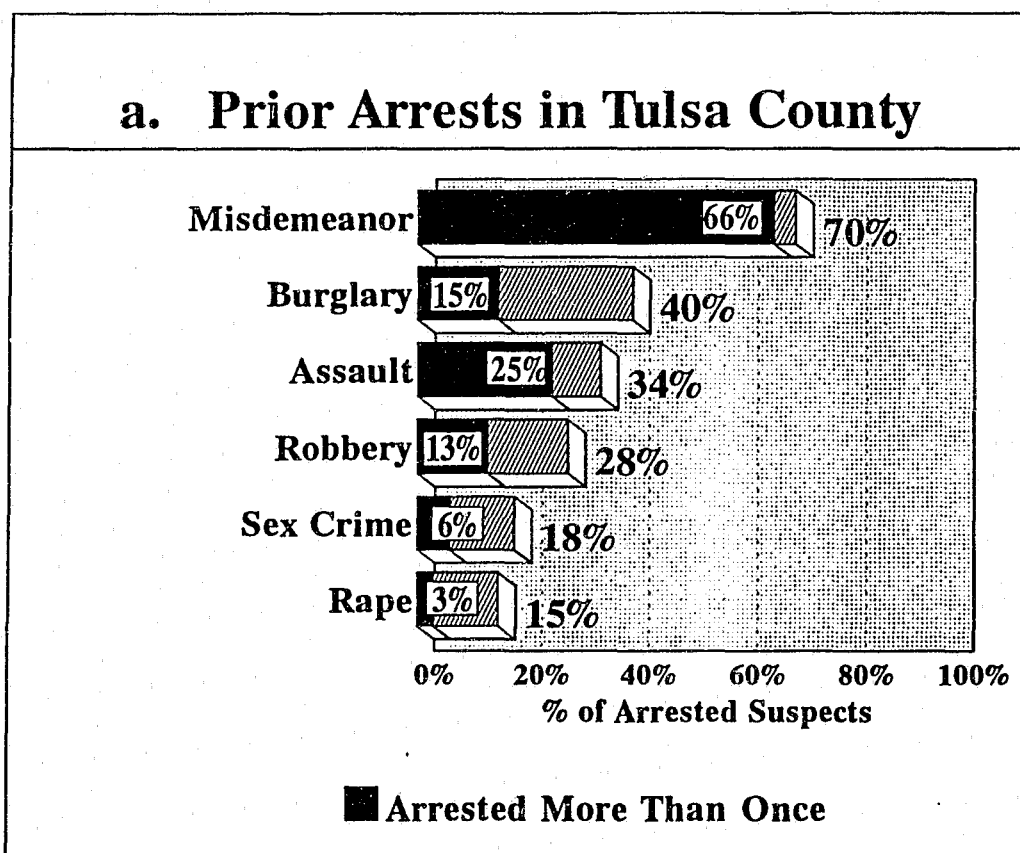


[Figure 34]

Figure 34 shows that 3/4's of the arrested rape suspects have previous arrest records in Tulsa County. Upon closer examination, it is found that 7% of the arrested rape suspects have prior arrests that involve only misdemeanor offenses such as outstanding traffic violations, public intoxication, or disorderly conduct. On the other hand, 2/3rds (67%) of the arrested suspects have prior arrest records that involve felony offenses. Moreover, the men arrested for rape who had local prior arrest records averaged four previous felony arrests and 17 previous misdemeanor arrests. These results clearly show that the vast majority of men who are arrested for rape have had prior contacts with the police that involved felony crime. In weighing this fact it is important to remember that these previous arrest records were only for crimes committed in Tulsa County and that many of these suspects may have arrest records in other cities.

5. What Types of Local Prior Arrest Records Do Arrested Rape Suspects Have?

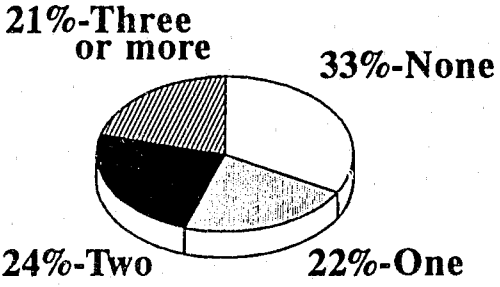
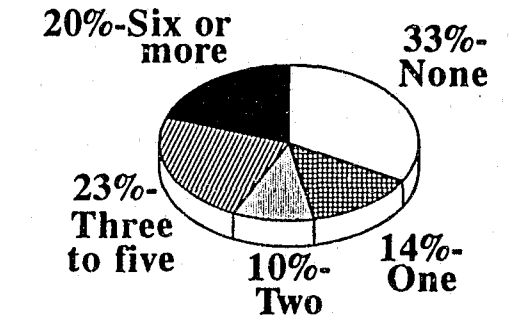
Police records show that the average rape suspect arrested by the police has an extensive history of both misdemeanor and felony arrest. What kinds of crimes make up these extensive arrest histories?



[Figure 35]

Figure 35 shows that 66% of the arrested rape suspects have at least two or more previous misdemeanor arrests. More importantly, 4 in 10 of the arrested suspects have at least one previous arrest for burglary, 3 in 10 have at least one previous arrest for felony assault, 3 in 10 have at least one previous arrest for robbery, and 3 in 10 have at least one previous arrest for rape or some other sex-related crime. Moreover, Figure 35 also shows that a significant proportion of the arrested rape suspects were arrested more than once for these felony crimes.

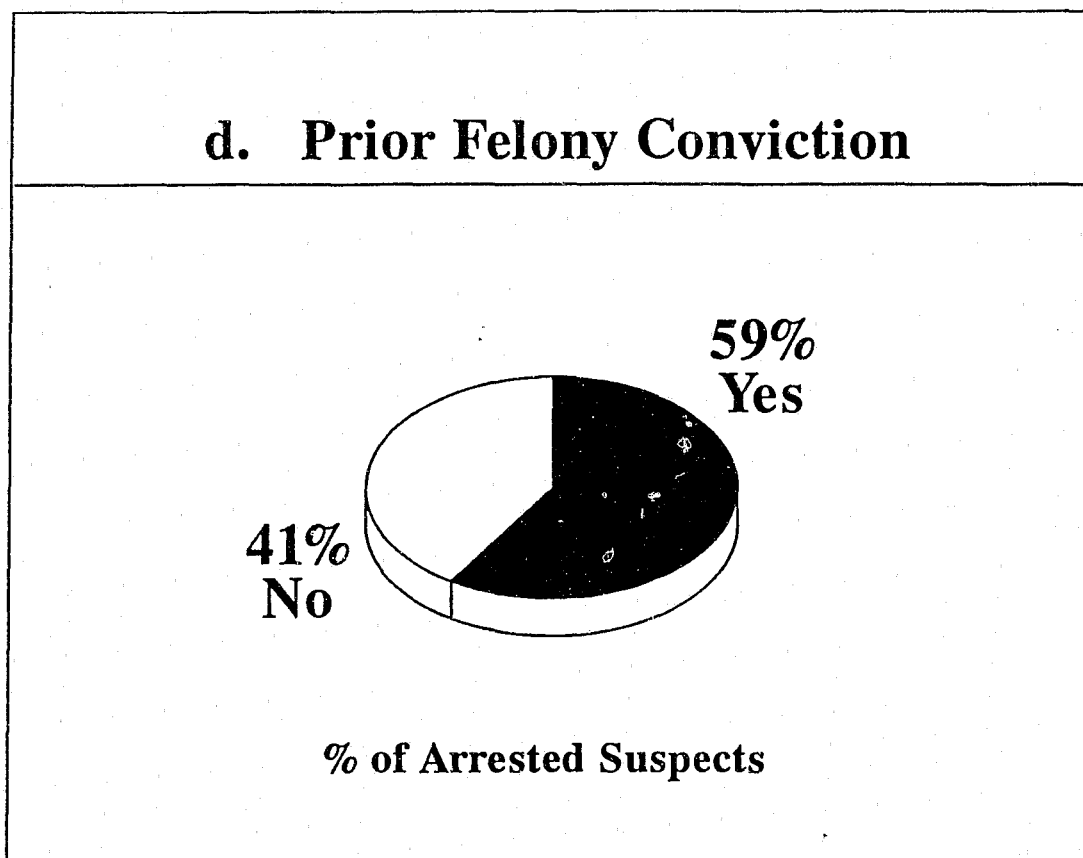
Figure 36 shows that nearly half of the arrested rape suspects have previous local arrests for 2 or more types of felonies (i.e., burglary and assault). Figure 37 shows that 1 in 5 have been arrested 6 or more times for committing felonies.

b. Number of <u>Types</u> of Felonies Previously Arrested for in Tulsa County	c. <u>Number</u> of Prior Felony Arrests in Tulsa County																						
 <p data-bbox="414 1181 670 1266">Arrested Rape Suspects</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="279 787 774 1074"> <caption>Data for Figure 36</caption> <thead> <tr> <th>Number of Types of Felonies</th> <th>Percentage</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>None</td> <td>33%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>One</td> <td>22%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Two</td> <td>24%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Three or more</td> <td>21%</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Number of Types of Felonies	Percentage	None	33%	One	22%	Two	24%	Three or more	21%	 <p data-bbox="957 1181 1212 1266">Arrested Rape Suspects</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="821 798 1340 1117"> <caption>Data for Figure 37</caption> <thead> <tr> <th>Number of Prior Felony Arrests</th> <th>Percentage</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>None</td> <td>33%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>One</td> <td>14%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Two</td> <td>10%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Three to five</td> <td>23%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Six or more</td> <td>20%</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Number of Prior Felony Arrests	Percentage	None	33%	One	14%	Two	10%	Three to five	23%	Six or more	20%
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[Figure 36]

[Figure 37]

In addition to their prior Tulsa County arrest records it is important to note that 59% of these arrested rape suspects also had at least one prior conviction for a felony.



[Figure 38]

Are there differences between arrested suspects who have prior felony convictions and those who do not? Analyses show that suspects with prior convictions tend to be older (31 years vs. 25 years) and commit their rapes during the week (60% vs. 29%). Their rapes are more likely to occur inside the victim's home (44% vs. 28%), less likely to take place in their own home (17% vs. 28%), and they are also more likely to involve burglary (20% vs. 7%). Suspects with prior felony convictions are also more likely to have a weapon (32% vs. 17%) and penetrate their victims anally (26% vs. 14%).

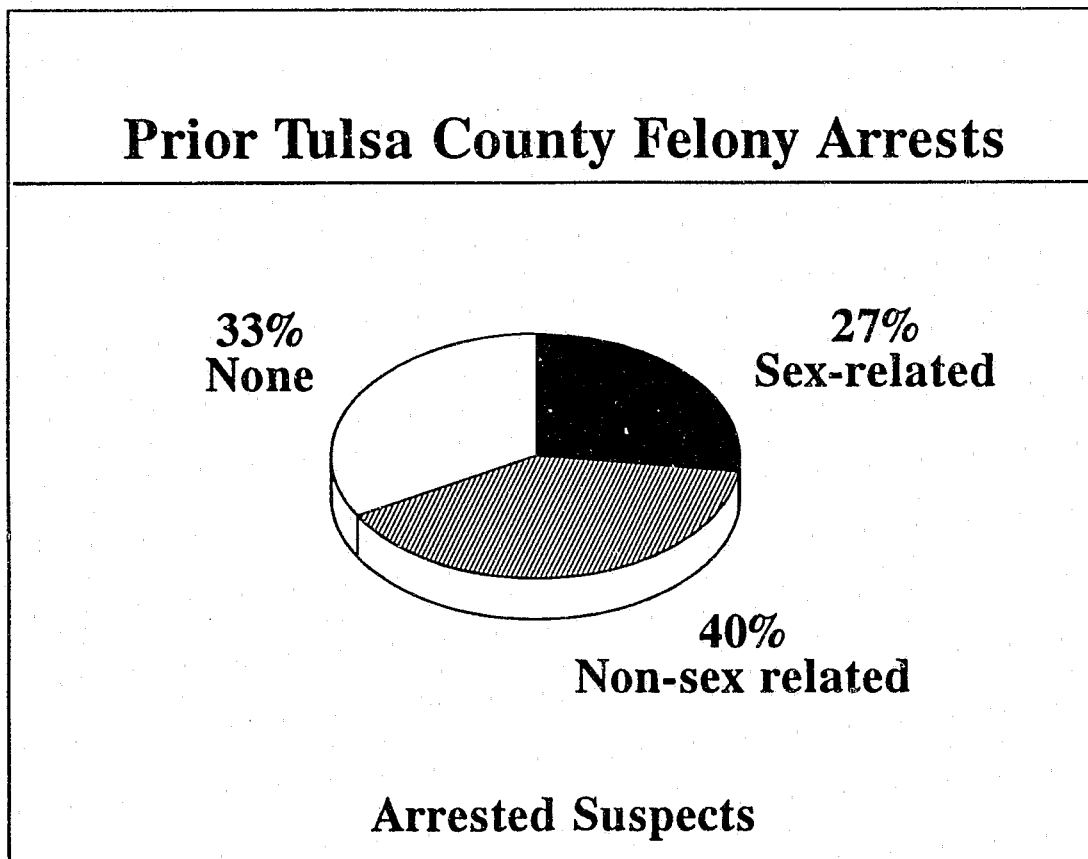
Having a prior felony conviction has no relationship to the victim's age, race, or behaviors during the rape, the time it took to report the rape, or having a medical exam.

Overall, results indicate that men with prior felony convictions are generally more aggressive when they rape than are men without prior felony convictions.

Bearing in mind that these criminal histories were limited to Tulsa County arrests and known felony convictions, it is evident that the majority of men who are arrested for rape have previously been involved in serious crime, and a significant proportion of them appear to be career criminals.

6. Comparisons Among Arrested Suspects With Sex-Related Prior Arrest Records, Non-Sex Related Prior Felony Arrest Records, and No Prior Arrest Records

Men who are arrested for rape can be categorized into three groups. One group consists of those arrested suspects who have no local previous arrest record and were unknown to the police prior to the rape they were arrested for. The second group consists of arrested suspects who have a local previous arrest record for felony crime that does not include any sex-related offenses. The third group consists of arrested suspects who also have a local previous arrest record for felony crime but one that includes arrest for one or more sex-related offenses. Figure 39 shows the proportion of men who are arrested for rape that fall into each of these groups based on computerized arrest records checks.



[Figure 39]

Arrest reports indicate that about 1/3rd of the men who are arrested for rape do not have a local previous arrest record, 40% show previous felony arrests but none involving sex-related offenses, and 1 in 4 show previous sex-related felony arrests. It is also important to note that more than half of the men in the suspected sex-offender group have been previously arrested in Tulsa County for rape. These results indicate that about 2/3rds of the men who are arrested for rape are already known to the police as felons or suspected felons and that a significant proportion of these are listed in their computers as probable sex-offenders. On the other hand, about 1/3rd of the men who are arrested by the police are unknown to them prior to their arrest.

Because some men who are arrested for rape are already known to the police and some are not, analyses were conducted to examine whether prior police knowledge about a suspect is related to the circumstances surrounding their arrest. The data show that suspected criminals are the most likely to be arrested at the scene of the rape; whereas, suspects with no prior arrest record are the most likely to be arrested later as a result of being named by the victim. Conversely, suspected sex offenders are the least likely to be arrested at the scene of the rape and the most likely to be arrested later as a result of being described by the victim.

Figure 40 presents typical profiles of the age, race, employment status, criminal histories, and arrest circumstances of these three groups of men who are arrested for rape.

Profile of Arrested Rape Suspects				
	Suspected Sex-Offender	Suspected Criminal	No Prior Record	
Average Age:	32 yrs.	27 yrs.	28 yrs.	
Race: Black:	67%	61%	20%	
White:	30%	37%	77%	
Employed:	68%	63%	67%	
Victim's Race: Black:	32%	31%	21%	
White:	65%	65%	74%	
Prior Arrests: Burglary:	61%	59%	0%	
Robbery:	36%	43%	0%	
Rape:	55%	0%	0%	
Other Sex Crime:	67%	0%	0%	
Assault:	45%	55%	0%	
# Local Felony Arrests:	6	3	0	
# Local Misdemeanor Arrests:	9	21	1	
Felony Conviction:	79%	57%	0%	
Arrest Circumstances: At Scene:	9%	23%	15%	
Later & Named:	65%	61%	75%	
Later & Described:	26%	16%	10%	

[Figure 40]

Analyses comparing arrested suspects with prior sex-related arrests (suspected sex offenders) to arrested suspects with prior non-sex related felony arrests (suspected criminals) show that suspected sex offenders tend to be older, have more felony arrests, and have felony convictions.

There are no differences in the percent of suspected sex offenders and suspected criminals who have prior arrests in Tulsa County for burglary, robbery, or assault.

Because men who are arrested for rape show significant differences with regard to prior criminal histories, it is important to examine whether these differences in prior criminal activity are related to the different types of rapes they are arrested for. In other words, do arrested rape suspects with prior sex-related arrests commit rape differently than arrested suspects with prior non-sex related arrests, or arrested suspects with no prior arrests?

Analyses show that rapes committed by arrested suspects who have **no prior criminal arrest record** last an average of 69 minutes and are most likely to take place during daytime hours on weekdays. More than half of their victims are friends or family members. During these rapes, the rapist is more likely to use verbal pressure and his position of authority to coerce his victim into compliance. He is less likely to have a weapon, use physical force, or be injured by the victim.

Rapes committed by arrested suspects who have a **prior arrest record for non-sex related felonies** last twice as long, averaging 147 minutes, and are most likely to take place during the early morning hours between midnight and 6 a.m. on weekends. These rapists are the most likely to warn their victims not to tell the police, use physical force, and attempt anal penetration. They are the least likely to wear a condom. Half of their victims are friends and 1/4th are current or former intimates.

Rapes committed by arrested suspects who have **prior arrests for other sex-related crimes** last an average of 79 minutes, and are most likely to happen between midnight and 6 a.m. on weekdays. These rapists are the least likely to warn victims that they are going to rape them prior to the attack, and the most likely to wear a condom and be injured by the victim. These rapists have the highest number of prior felony arrests and are the most likely to have felony convictions. Two in three of their victims are total strangers or women they have just met.

Overall, results suggest arrested suspects without criminal histories are the least violent type of rapist, and are the most likely to have been arrested for rape of a friend or family member. On the other hand, arrested suspects with non-sex related felony histories appear to be the most violent type of rapist, and are the most likely to be arrested for raping a current or former girlfriend or wife. Finally, arrested suspects with sex-related felony histories appear to be most typical of the stranger rapist who stalks his victims in the dead of the night.

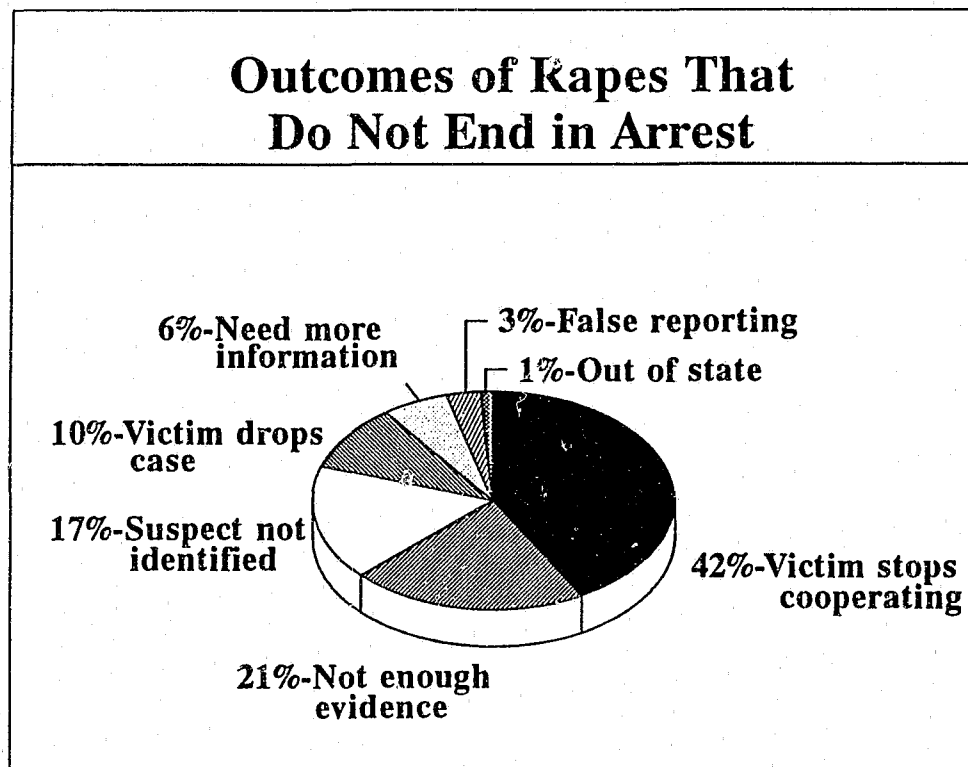
In summary, examinations of the men who are arrested for rape show that most of the successful police investigations that lead to arrest involve suspects who already have criminal records. This fact should be a source of public concern. According to the best evidence available, namely rapes that are officially reported and suspects that are officially charged with the crime of rape, many of the women who are victimized by rape are being victimized by men who have already demonstrated that they are a threat to society. Moreover, 1 in 4 of these men were either convicted of or arrested for committing prior sex-related offenses. The concern then is why are these violent individuals free to create more victims, and how can rape prevention be successful when success is largely defined by recycling the same criminal offenders in and out of jail over and over again? Clearly, significant changes will have to be made within the criminal justice system if America's communities are to reduce the incidence of rape.

B. Rapes That Do Not End in Arrest

Three in four rapes that are reported to the police do not end in an arrest or a warrant for an arrest being issued. In evaluating these non-arrest outcomes, it is important to realize that a number of difficult conditions must be met in order for the police to make a criminal charge against a suspected assailant. First, the victim must be able to report a coherent story about the assault. She also must be able to describe or identify her assailant(s). There must be factual evidence available to indicate that a rape did take place and that a given suspect is the likely assailant. The victim must also be willing to cooperate with the police throughout the entire investigation and arrest process. Unless these conditions are met, the probability of the police making an arrest becomes infinitesimal.

To learn more about the barriers to rape arrest, final dispositions of the 464 cases in which a suspect was not arrested or warranted were examined.

1. What Are the Outcomes of Rapes That Do Not End in Arrest?



[Figure 41]

Results show that the most common barrier preventing the arrest of more rapists is that the victim stops cooperating with the police or withdraws her case during the investigation. This fact raises a very important question. Why would a victim of rape stop cooperating in the arrest of her assailant? Unfortunately, scientific research has rarely addressed this issue so there is little normative information available to answer this question. However, there are a number of probable reasons for why many rape victims might want to drop an investigation. One reason is that rape is an extremely traumatic experience and some victims may not want to relive that experience during the many times she would have to retell her story during the arrest and prosecution process. Another probable reason is that some rape victims fear that their assailants will retaliate against them with further violence should they continue cooperating with the police. Another reason is that many rape victims may fear that their sexual assault will become public knowledge and they will be stigmatized as a rape victim. Sometimes victims may stop cooperating because their assailant is somebody close to them and they do not want to see this person get into trouble, or because of their relationship with the assailant, they may feel that they are in some way partly responsible for the assault. Some victims may stop cooperating because they simply do not believe that there is enough corroborating evidence to lead to an arrest and that they would just be wasting their time. Others may stop cooperating because they fear that their case will eventually go to a trial in which a defense attorney will try to prove that they are the guilty ones and their assailants the victims. It is also probable that some victims stop cooperating because they do not like the way they are being treated by the police. The important point about these speculations is that there are many legitimate and understandable reasons why rape victims may choose to stop helping the police arrest their assailant. However, as understandable as these reasons may be, the fact remains that when victims stop cooperating, rapists go free. Consequently, it is important that more research be conducted on rape victim non-cooperation and that the factors contributing to this non-cooperation are addressed.

The second most common barrier to arresting rape suspects is that the police cannot find enough factual evidence to justify an arrest. Many times this lack of evidence is a result of the circumstances surrounding a rape. For example, when a victim is alone and raped by a masked stranger whom she cannot identify or even describe, it is unlikely that there will be evidence to connect the assault to a suspect. On the other hand, as results from this study have already shown, there are many instances where evidence is inadvertently destroyed or not even collected because of how a victim behaves immediately after the assault. For example, examination of just those cases that were inactivated due to insufficient evidence shows that victims waited an average of nearly 4 hours before reporting their assault to the police, about half of the victims urinated (56%) or changed clothes (43%) after the assault, and 1 in 4 showered or bathed after their rape (23%). Although these evidence obstructing post-rape behaviors are often reasonable and natural ways to respond to a sexual assault, they do contribute to the high non-arrest rate that is associated with rape.

6. Comparisons Between Non-Arrest Rapes Where There Is Not Enough Evidence and Non-Arrest Rapes Where the Victim Stops Cooperating

The two barriers of *victim non-cooperation* (i.e., cases in which a victim stops cooperating or drops her case) and *insufficient evidence* (i.e., cases in which there is not enough evidence to support an arrest or the victim cannot identify or describe her suspect) are involved in 90% of all reported rape cases that do not end in an arrest or warrant being issued. In considering these two barriers to rape arrest there is an obvious psychological difference on the part of victims who are involved in these two kinds of cases. In cases of victim non-cooperation, victims willfully impede the police investigations. In the cases of insufficient evidence, victims willfully cooperate in the police investigations (even though they may have unwillingly impeded the investigations through their post-rape behavior). To learn whether these two very different victim mind-sets are associated with different rape circumstances, police records of reported rapes in which the victim stopped cooperating or dropped her case were compared with police records of reported rapes in which there was not enough evidence available to support an arrest or the victim could not identify her assailant(s).

Results from these comparisons show that rapes occurring indoors or in cars are more likely to end in non-arrest because the victim does not cooperate (60% and 67%) as opposed to there being insufficient evidence (40% and 37%). On the other hand, rapes occurring in outdoor settings are more likely to end in a non-arrest because of a lack of evidence (55%) than from the victim not cooperating (45%). Results also show that cases in which the victim stops cooperating are more likely to involve circumstances where the victim invites the assailant into her home (15% vs. 9%) or meets her assailant at a bar or party and leaves with him (14% vs. 7%) than are cases in which there is not enough evidence. In addition, non-cooperating victims are also more likely to be raped by acquaintances (60% vs. 43%); whereas, victims whose cases end in non-arrest due to insufficient evidence are more likely to be raped by strangers (57% vs. 40%). Finally, rapes that happen to victims who eventually stop cooperating last almost twice as long and are more likely to happen in the evening (73% vs. 65%) than rapes that end in non-arrest because of insufficient evidence.

These results suggest that victims who end up not cooperating in police investigations are more likely to be involved in rapes where the assailant is a friend or an intimate and in circumstances that might appear somewhat cloudy with regards to the issue of consent, such as, inviting an assailant into their homes, leaving a bar or party with an assailant, or being in a car with an assailant who is a close acquaintance. Consequently, one important factor that may be influencing victims to stop cooperating with the police is that they do not believe their assailant will be arrested and convicted given the circumstances in which their rapes occurred.

Comparisons between cases in which the victims stop cooperating and cases in which there is insufficient evidence for arrest produced some interesting non-differences. For example, there were no differences found between these two groups of cases with regard to the time it took victims to report to the police and whether or not they had a medical/forensic exam. This may mean that many victims who end up not cooperating in a case begin the investigative process by cooperating with the police but then change their minds at some point later in the process.

Results also show no differences between the two groups of cases in terms of whether the victims complied, resisted, or tried to escape during the rape, in terms of the assailant's behaviors during the rape, or in terms of whether the victim was multiply penetrated or beaten and battered during the rape. These lack of differences suggest that what happens during a rape assault, even battery, does not appear to play a significant role in whether a victim will eventually stop cooperating during a police investigation. On the other hand, as already noted, the relationship between victim and assailant and the circumstances leading up to the rape appear to be factors that may influence victims to stop cooperating during a rape investigation. Finally, the victim's race, the assailant's race, and whether the rape was interracial show no relationship to victim non-cooperation in cases that do not end in arrest.

In summary, analysis of the final dispositions of reported rapes that do not end in arrest show that victim non-cooperation and insufficient evidence to justify arrest are the 2 principal barriers that prevent the police from arresting more rape suspects. Moreover, the results suggest both of these barriers could be significantly undermined if potential rape victims were better educated about how to preserve evidence and if factors influencing victim non-cooperation were better understood and addressed.

**VIII. Legitimacy Judgements
of Victims' Reports to Police
About Being Raped**

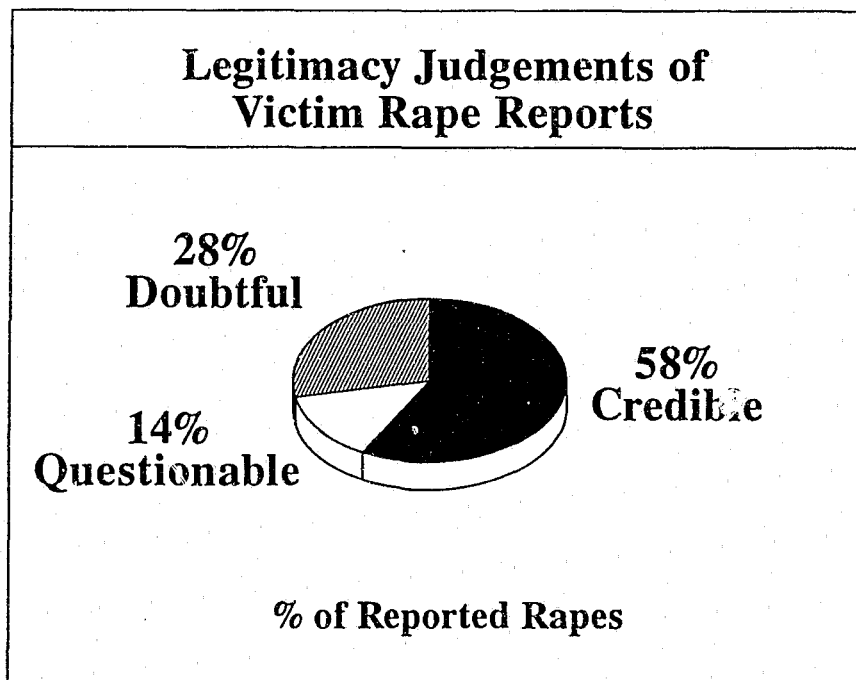
*** Legitimate vs. Doubtful Rape Reports**

VIII. Legitimacy Judgements of Victims' Reports to Police About Being Raped

Examination of the dispositions of reported rape cases show that 3 in 4 do not end in arrest, and that most of the cases are dropped because the victim decides not to cooperate or there is not enough evidence to support arrest and prosecution. Further review of these inactive cases suggests that an important influence guiding the disposition of these cases is the credibility of the victim's report of the rape. A number of the cases reviewed appear to describe circumstances that are so cloudy with regard to the issue of victim consent, or contained so much inconsistent information that it was difficult to determine whether a rape had occurred at all. Because the credibility of a rape victim's report may influence how an investigation proceeds and its final disposition, this issue was examined.

Three case reviewers re-reviewed 222 cases (37% of the files) and using Oklahoma's legal definition of rape rated them as to whether the events described in each file appeared to be a legitimate case of rape, or whether the events described cast doubt on whether a rape did occur. To make these judgements the reviewers used an 11-point rape credibility rating in which a rating of "0" signified complete doubt that a rape did occur, a rating of "10" signified complete certainty that a clear-cut case of rape did occur, and midpoint ratings signified various degrees of uncertainty as a result of questionable circumstances described in the report.

What percent of victims' reports to the police of being raped are judged by independent reviewers as being clear-cut legitimate cases of rape as compared to reports that cast doubt as to whether a rape occurred? Figure 42 summarizes 0-3 ratings as being "doubtful", 4-6 ratings as "questionable", and 7-10 ratings as "credible".



[Figure 42]

Results from this empirical review show that most of the examined reports describe circumstances that are judged to be clear-cut cases of rape. On the other hand, about 1/4th of the reported rapes describe circumstances that observers find highly questionable in terms of whether a rape did in fact occur. These dubious reports usually involve inconsistencies in the victim's account of the assault, or circumstances that raise significant doubt about whether or not the alleged victim consented to have sex with her alleged attacker. For example, in one case a 16 year old girl reported to the police that she was raped by an 18 year old boy. However, as the report unfolded the young woman admitted that she both wanted to and consented to having sex with the alleged assailant, but that her parents found out and insisted that she tell the police she had been raped. In another case, a young woman reported that she met a man in a bar, invited him to her home where she modeled lingerie for him, and then he raped her.

Without trying to undermine the seriousness of rape or the alarming frequency with which it happens, it is important to recognize that police departments do receive a substantial number of questionable or doubtful rape reports each year.

A. Legitimate vs. Doubtful Rape Reports

These results indicate that incidents of reported rape take place in a wide variety of circumstances, and that these circumstances and the way in which an alleged victim describes them influence judgements about the legitimacy of the report. Analyses were conducted to examine how legitimacy ratings are related to reports of the circumstances surrounding rape, the victims' and assailants' demographics and behaviors, and rape outcomes.

Results show that victim race and age, and the time, day, and Tulsa location of the attack are unrelated to judgements about whether a rape did in fact occur. In addition, how long the rape lasted, whether the victim was raped by a stranger or acquaintance, or an assailant who tried various methods of penetration, and whether the victim had a rape medical exam are not related to the judged credibility of rape reports.

Information that is related to legitimacy judgements includes where the attack took place, the reported behaviors of both the victim and the assailant during the attack, the length of time it took the victim to report the rape to the police once the attack was over, and the outcomes of the case. Analyses show that reports of rapes which occurred in the victim's home tend to be rated as more legitimate than reports of rapes which took place in someone else's home. This difference is related to the finding that a greater percentage of rapes occurring in the victim's home involve circumstances in which the victim was at home and the assailant broke in. Analyses also show that the more a victim reports that she pleaded and used force to resist or tried to escape, the more the report is judged as legitimate. Conversely, reports by victims who initiated foreplay or gave their coerced consent are judged as less legitimate. In addition, the more quickly a victim reports being raped to the police, the more likely her report is judged to be legitimate.

Assailant behaviors during the rape that are related to judgements of the reports' legitimacy include telling the victim he is going to rape her prior to the attack and that she will not get hurt if she cooperates; using verbal pressure to coerce the victim into cooperating; threatening to harm both the victim and people close to her if she does not cooperate; using physical force; having a weapon; and beating up the victim. Reports are also rated as more legitimate when robbery or burglary are reported to have occurred during the rape.

Finally, it is interesting to note that reports that are rated as being more legitimate are also more likely to have ended in arrest. Conversely, reports that are judged as being doubtful are more likely to have lacked enough evidence for an arrest to be made.

There are several observations and perhaps lessons to be learned from these findings. The first is that there is at least one important factor that is within a victim's control that often influences whether or not her report of being raped will be seen as credible. This factor is the time that elapses after the victim is assaulted and she reports the assault to the police. When a victim waits days or even months to make a report, the facts she reports may become inconsistent or jumbled, evidence to support the report is often lost, and doubt may be raised as to why she waited so long. Consequently, it is important for victims who want to be believed and who want justice to report their rape to the police as soon as possible.

A second lesson to be learned is that police departments receive a significant number of dubious rape reports each year. This means that when a victim does report a rape she should be prepared to face a thorough inquiry as to the facts in her case, and to present those facts as consistently and logically as possible. Although sex crime unit detectives are aware of the traumatic experience that a rape victim has gone through and try to provide emotional support as she relates her story, they need to hear a credible and consistent story before they can act.

Another observation related to these findings has to do with how the public evaluates police efforts to arrest rapists. To some public observers the fact that 3 in 4 reported rapes do not end in arrest may cast doubt on the effectiveness of police in apprehending rape suspects. However, if we consider that a proportion of reported rapes are dubious at the outset, and that in many cases the victim changes her mind about cooperating, or there is simply no corroborating evidence available, then the number of cases that do end in arrest rises dramatically in relation to those that could possibly end in arrest in the first place. In other words, there are many factors that enter into a police department's arrest record, one of which is the credibility of victim reports.

**IX. A Final Note: Reported Rapes
and Substance Use**

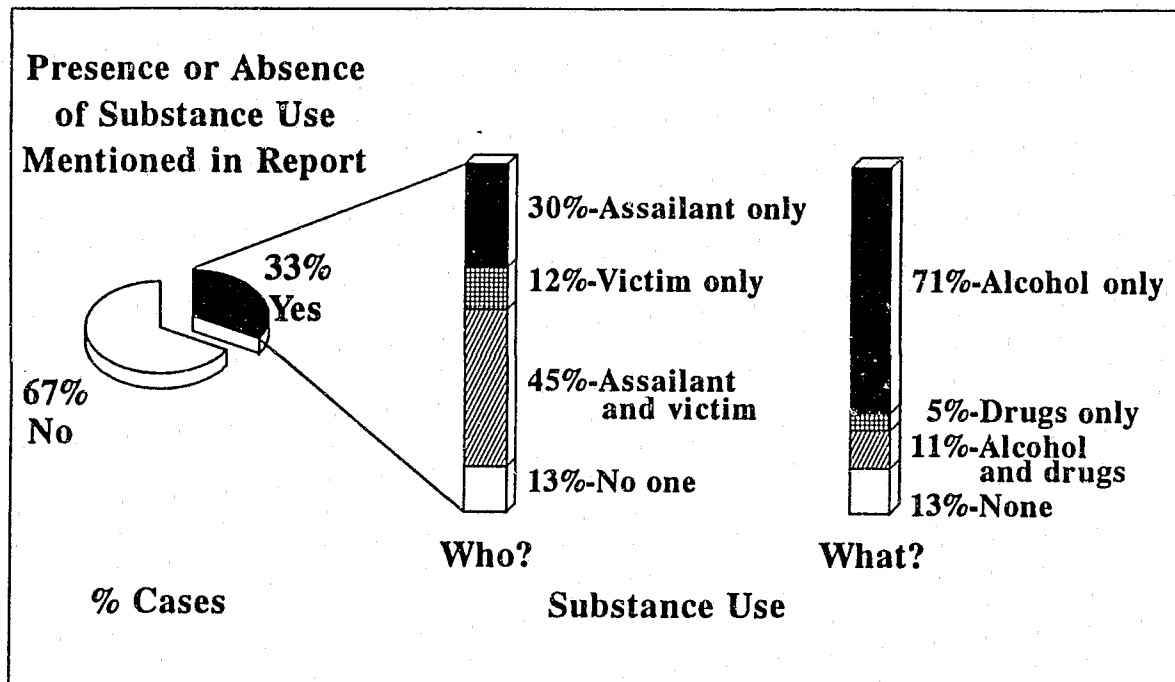
IX. A Final Note: Reported Rape and Substance Use

Criminology research has repeatedly shown that alcohol and/or drug use are often involved in violent crime. Because rape is a violent crime it is important to examine the extent to which the use of alcohol and/or drugs may play a role in reported rape.

Analyses of reported rape records show that the Tulsa Police Department does not routinely record assailant or victim substance use in their rape reports. As a result, in 67% of the cases there was no mention of whether alcohol use was involved in the rape or not, and in 90% of the cases there was no mention of whether drug use was involved in the rape or not. There are several reasons for these omissions about substance use. One is that the TPD Sex Crimes Unit, like most other such units around the country, does not use a standardized rape interview form. Consequently, the information recorded during a rape interview is mostly at the discretion of the investigating officer. Second, many victims who report rape are in a traumatized and fragile condition at the time of their report. Most detectives try to be sensitive to a victim's condition. As a result, when victims are traumatized, investigating officers tend to limit their inquiries to those areas of a case that will directly lead them to the apprehension of the assailant. Unless substance use is a key factor in the victim's assault, detectives are often reluctant to stray into areas that may seem peripheral to the arrest of an assailant. Moreover, traumatized victims sometimes have a tendency to perceive questions about alcohol and drug use as accusatory, and one of the last things investigating officers want is for a victim to stop cooperating because she believes she is being accused of contributing to her own assault.

Because of these omissions, this investigation of reported rape and substance use will necessarily be limited to those cases in which reference was specifically made to the issue of substance use. Because we cannot know why the presence or absence of substance use was referred to in any given case, caution should be applied in interpreting results from those cases in which it was mentioned. On the other hand, it is important to recognize that even given the idiosyncrasies involved in substance use reporting, substance use was specifically reported to be involved in more than 1/4th of the reported cases.

Of the 608 reported rape cases reviewed, 33% or 199 cases specifically mentioned whether alcohol use was involved in the assault. In addition, 10% or 63 cases specifically mentioned whether drug use was involved in the rape. It is also worth noting that in 94% of the cases where drug use was mentioned, alcohol use was also mentioned. Overall, 203 cases made a reference to substance use.

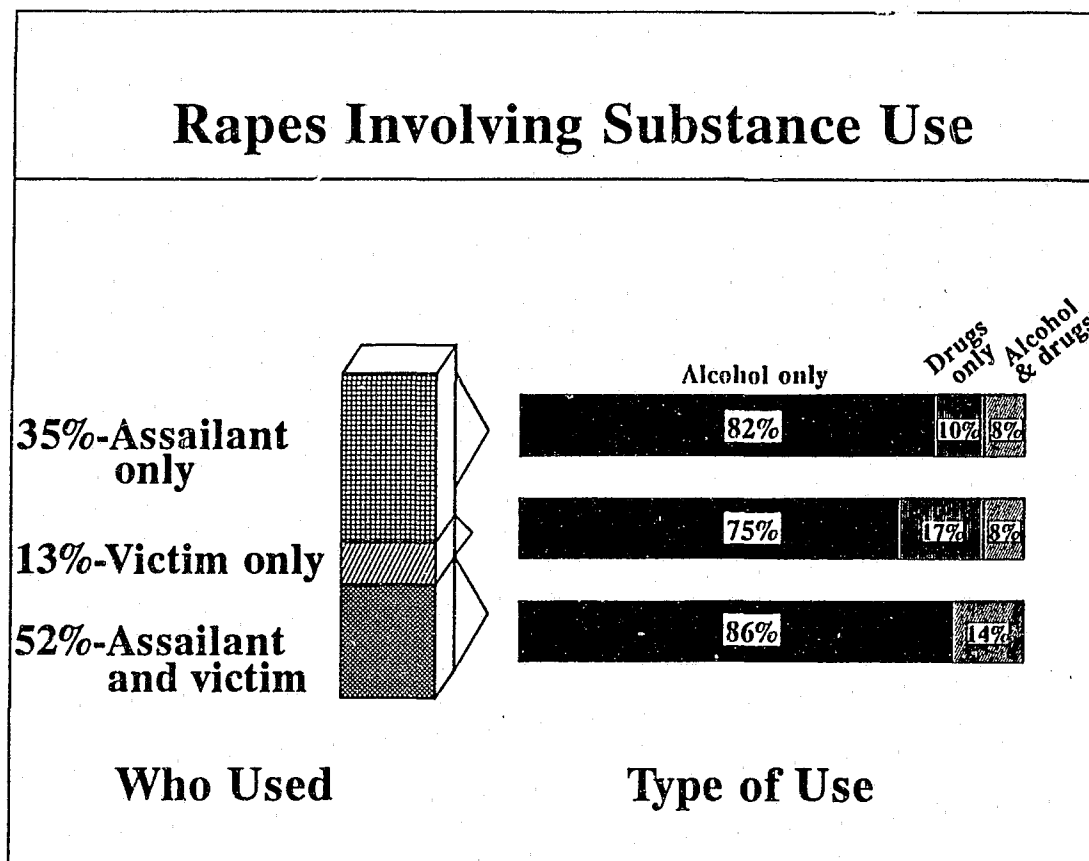


[Figure 43]

Figure 43 shows that among the 203 reported rapes that addressed substance use, 13% stated that no substance use was involved in the rape incidence. Conversely, 87% of the cases reported that substance use was involved in the assault: in 30% of the cases the *assailant only* was under the influence of a substance; in 12% of the cases the *victim only* was under the influence of a substance, and in 45% of the cases both the *victim and assailant* were reported to have used a substance. In the 87% of cases that involved substances, 71% involved alcohol only, 5% involved drugs only, and 11% involved both alcohol and drugs.

Overall, these data show that substance use was definitely involved in at least 177 cases which constitutes 29% of the total 608 reported rapes reviewed. It is clear that the use of substances by assailants and/or victims plays a role in a significant number of reported rapes.

Of the 177 cases in which the use of substances was identified, the assailant was the only one under the influence of a substance in 35% of the cases; the victim was the only one under the influence in 13% of the cases; and both the victim and assailant were under the influence of a substance in 52% of the cases. In other words, in rapes in which substances are reported to be involved the assailant is under the influence 87% of the time and the victim is under the influence 65% of the time. Figure 44 shows the type of substances the victims and assailants were using.



[Figure 44]

Substance use and rape were further examined in the sample of 203 "substance use relevant" cases by comparing *no use*, *assailant use only*, *victim use only*, and *both victim and assailant use* with regard to the circumstances surrounding rape, rape outcomes, victim characteristics and behaviors during and after the assault, assailant characteristics and behaviors during the assault, and assailants' criminal histories.

Analyses of the cases referring to substance use show that substance use involvement in rape is not related to the victim's race, the Tulsa location in which the rape occurs, or whether the rape occurs on a weekend or weekday. Nor is substance use involvement in rape related to the rapist's race or age, the length of time the rape lasted, whether the victim was singly or multiply penetrated, or how the victim behaved after she was raped, including the length of time it took her to report it and whether or not she had a medical/forensic exam.

On the other hand, the data show that cases involving substance use are twice as likely to occur between midnight and 6 a.m. than during daytime or evening hours (53% vs. 22% vs. 25%). Results also show that rapes involving assailant use only are equally likely to occur at anytime of the day, night, or early morning. On the other hand, cases involving victim use only are most likely to occur during daytime hours; whereas, rapes involving both victim and assailant use are most likely to occur during the late night to early morning hours.

Analyses of substance use and whether the assailant was a stranger or an acquaintance show that in this sample of cases substance use was slightly more likely to be involved in rapes in which the assailant was unknown to the victim prior to the attack. Substance use was involved in 98% of the cases in which the assailant was a total stranger, and in 84% of the cases in which the victim had just met her assailant. Although nearly all of these cases involved an assailant who was under the influence, more than half involved a victim who was also under the influence of a substance. Rapes showing the smallest incidence of substance use involved victims being raped by family members. Substance use was reportedly involved in 56% of the family rapes, and in nearly all of the cases it was only the assailant who was under the influence of a substance. Finally, it is interesting to note that the most common substance use scenario involved in rapes committed by friends was that both the assailant and victim were under the influence of a substance at the time (44%); whereas, in the case of rape by intimates and ex-intimates, assailant use only was the most common scenario (41%).

Comparisons between adult victim and child victim cases show that adult cases are more likely to involve substance use (92% vs. 56%). In 8 in 10 of the adult rapes the assailant uses a substance, and in 6 in 10 the victim uses a substance. On the other hand, in 5 in 10 of the child rape cases the assailant uses a substance, and in 3 in 10 the child victim uses a substance. Although these data are limited, they show a relatively high incidence of victim use in reports where substance use is mentioned. Of particular concern is the extent of substance use by victims under 16 years of age (25%). This suggests that teenage drinking may be a contributing factor in some rapes that involve minors.

Analyses examining the use of substances in relation to the circumstances surrounding reported rape show some interesting trends in this sample of cases. For example, in rapes occurring in the victim's own home, the assailant is reported under the influence in 77% of the cases; whereas, the victim is reported under the influence in only 31% of the cases. On the other hand, when the rape occurs in the assailant's home or someone else's home, the assailant is reported to be under the influence in 3 in 4 cases; whereas, the victim reportedly uses in 2 in 3 cases. These results suggest that victim use may be less of a factor in rapes that happen to a victim when she is in her own home than when she is at the assailant's home or someone else's home. Another interesting trend found in these data is that both victim and assailant substance use is the most common scenario reported in rapes taking place in cars (57%).

This sample of substance use relevant cases also offers several observations related to victim behavior during rape. For example, victims are more likely to be under the influence of substances in cases where they forcibly resist their attacker than in cases where victims do not forcibly resist (84% vs. 57%). Similarly, assailants are more likely to be under the influence in cases where their victims forcibly resist than in cases where they do not forcibly resist (84% vs. 72%). These data also show that in cases where assailants are under the influence, victims are less likely to comply to their demands. Overall, these data seem to suggest that substance use by assailants and/or victims may increase the level of victim resistance during rape.

Examination of reported substance use and assailant behavior during rape shows that in 3 in 4 cases in which the assailant uses substances, the assailant also uses physical force to make his victim comply. Moreover, in 2 in 3 cases where the victim is under the influence of a substance, the assailant uses physical force during the rape. It is also worth noting that in 3 in 4 cases in which an assailant uses a weapon, the assailant is under the influence of a substance at the time, and that in most of these cases the victim is not under the influence of a substance. Finally, the data from this sample shows that in 100% of the cases in which a victim is battered and beaten, substances are involved in the case. In half of these cases both the victim and assailant are under the influence, and in 1/3rd of the cases the assailant only is using.

Taken together, results examining victim and assailant behaviors in this selected sample of "substance use relevant cases" suggest that when substance use is involved in a rape it increases the likelihood that physical force and violence will happen during the assault. Victims tend to resist more, assailants tend to counter the resistance with more physical force, and the victim is more likely to end up battered and beaten.

Another important question is whether the use of substances in a case of reported rape is related to the final police disposition of the case? Results from this selected sample of substance use relevant cases show that when substance use is involved in a reported rape case, it is less likely that a suspect will be arrested than when substances are not involved in the case (24% vs. 30%). Further analyses also show that there is a relationship between who uses substances in a rape case and whether a suspect is eventually arrested. For example, an arrest is twice as likely to be made when the assailant only is under the influence of substances than when the assailant and victim are both under the influence during the assault (41% vs. 19%). In addition, when only the assailant uses substances, an arrest is 10 times more likely to be made than when only the victim is under the influence during the assault (41% vs. 4%). These results suggest that when victims are under the influence of alcohol or drugs at the time of their assault, it diminishes the probability that the rape will end in an arrest.

Because victim non-cooperation and insufficient evidence are the two greatest barriers to arresting suspected assailants, cases involving these barriers were compared in relation to whether substance use was involved in the cases. Results show that in cases where substance use is involved, significantly more cases end in non-arrest because the victim stops cooperating than because there is insufficient evidence (62% vs. 38%). On the other hand, in cases where substance use is not involved there is no difference in whether cases end in non-arrest because the victim stops cooperating or because there is insufficient evidence (47% vs. 53%). These findings suggest that when rapes involve the use of substances it is more likely that victims will stop cooperating at some point during the police investigation.

Overall, substance use appears to be a factor in whether reported rapes will end in arrest. One reason for this may be that when substance use is involved in a case, particularly when both the assailant and victim are using, it may cast a cloud on the issue of consent.

In summary, results presented in this section are based on selected cases in which police records "happened" to mention whether substance use was involved in the assault. Because of the bias involved in this selection procedure, caution needs to be applied in generalizing from the findings. However, there are two findings to come out this examination that do appear generalizable. The first is that no matter how the cases were selected, the fact is that substance use is clearly involved in at least 1 in 4 of the rapes that are reported to the police. Moreover, the true incidence of substance use in rape is probably higher. The second conclusion that can be drawn from these data is that most reported rapes that do involve substance use usually involve alcohol use, especially on the part of assailants. On the more tenuous side, there are several findings from this selected sample that are suggestive. These are: 1) both victim and assailant alcohol use are probably involved in a significant number of rape incidents, 2) substance use on the part of the victim or assailant probably increases the risk of physical violence and battering during a rape, and 3) teenage drinking probably contributes to the incidence of teenage rape.