

5-1-2012

Formal, Bounded, and "Hyper" Rationality in Police Processing of Sexual Assault Claims: Case Dispositions and UCR Reporting

Brooke M. Wagner

University of Nevada, Las Vegas, wagnerb3@unlv.nevada.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalscholarship.unlv.edu/thesesdissertations>



Part of the [Criminology Commons](#), [Law Enforcement and Corrections Commons](#), and the [Women's Studies Commons](#)

Repository Citation

Wagner, Brooke M., "Formal, Bounded, and "Hyper" Rationality in Police Processing of Sexual Assault Claims: Case Dispositions and UCR Reporting" (2012). *UNLV Theses, Dissertations, Professional Papers, and Capstones*. 1641.

<https://digitalscholarship.unlv.edu/thesesdissertations/1641>

This Dissertation is protected by copyright and/or related rights. It has been brought to you by Digital Scholarship@UNLV with permission from the rights-holder(s). You are free to use this Dissertation in any way that is permitted by the copyright and related rights legislation that applies to your use. For other uses you need to obtain permission from the rights-holder(s) directly, unless additional rights are indicated by a Creative Commons license in the record and/or on the work itself.

This Dissertation has been accepted for inclusion in UNLV Theses, Dissertations, Professional Papers, and Capstones by an authorized administrator of Digital Scholarship@UNLV. For more information, please contact digitalscholarship@unlv.edu.

FORMAL, BOUNDED, AND “HYPER” RATIONALITY IN POLICE PROCESSING
OF SEXUAL ASSAULT CLAIMS: CASE DISPOSITIONS AND UCR REPORTING

By

Brooke M. Wagner

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

Department of Sociology
College of Liberal Arts
The Graduate College

University of Nevada, Las Vegas
May 2012



THE GRADUATE COLLEGE

We recommend the dissertation prepared under our supervision by

Brooke M. Wagner

entitled

Formal, Bounded, and “Hyper” Rationality in Police Processing of Sexual Assault Claims: Case Depositions and UCR Reporting

be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

Department of Sociology

Andrew Spivak, Committee Chair

Barbara Brents, Committee Member

Simon Gottschalk, Committee Member

William Sousa, Graduate College Representative

Ronald Smith, Ph. D., Vice President for Research and Graduate Studies
and Dean of the Graduate College

May 2012

Abstract

Over the past three decades, many scholars have examined the prevalence, consequences, and official sanctions of sexual violence. The following study builds on past research by quantitatively examining police and crime analyst discretion in sexual assault claims. Using recently accessed data from the Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department from 2008 through 2010 and utilizing labeling theory, rape myth literature, and the theoretical perspectives of justice processing outcomes, I assess the extent to which police officers and crime analysts are influenced by extralegal variables like victim and offender's race, victim's age, the location of assault, incident characteristics, and victim's background. I use binary logistic regression to explore the use of formal and bounded rationality in case attrition by police officers and crime analysts for sexual assault claims. Specifically, I examine the extent to which socially constructed stereotypes about what constitutes 'real' rape and 'real' rape victims influenced whether or not a sexual assault claim was deemed founded, or legitimate, by the police and whether or not the case was reported to the Uniform Crime Report (UCR) as a rape or attempted rape. Results indicate that police officers and crime analysts employ bounded rationality while determining if a claim should be founded or reported to the UCR. In this analysis, victim's age, the victim offender relationship, incident characteristics, victim's behavior before and after the offense, and the victim's background all influenced the likelihood of claims being deemed founded, as well as being reported to the UCR as rape or attempted rape incidents. Many of the variables found to significantly impact the dependent variables are also associated with rape myths, generating additional questions about the objectivity and/or motivations of members of the criminal justice system.

Though initial results imply the significance of culturally constructed notions of ‘real’ rape in determining the legitimacy of sexual assault claims, I am reluctant to claim that the observed bounded rationality is due to rape myth acceptance by key members of the criminal justice system. Instead, I suggest that police officers and crime analysts may place bureaucratic needs of the criminal justice system over victim needs, a process I call “hyper-rationality.” Finally, I discuss both the theoretical and political implications of this research.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to a number of people for their guidance and support. My past and future successes are largely shaped by my advisory committee. Dr. Andrew L. Spivak deserves particular credit for helping me develop my dissertation research, teaching me SAS, and always being available to answer my questions. Dr. Barbara G. Brents was an influential mentor from the moment I began graduate school. Dr. Brents was the chair of my Masters committee and taught me the importance of passion, application, and activism. Dr. Simon Gottschalk also deserves recognition for his guidance and insight over the years. With his encouragement, I have presented at several Symbolic Interactionist conferences and developed an area of specialization in Social Psychology. I would also like to thank Dr. William Sousa, Dr. David Dickens, and Dr. Andrea Fontana for supporting this research and offering their time to discuss both this project and many others through my time in graduate school. I also owe gratitude to Dr. Jennifer Keene, Dr. Robert Futrell, Dr. Michael Borer, and Dr. Shannon Monnat for offering mentorship in the classroom and while on the job market.

The faculty in the Department of Sociology (DOS), as a whole, was very generous with time and patience while nurturing my academic development. I would like to thank the Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department (LVMPD) for granting me access to the Las Vegas Sexual Assault Dataset. In particular I would like to thank Officer Steve Pace for inviting me to work with the LVMPD in the quest to reduce sexual violence in Las Vegas.

I am also grateful to the University of Nevada, Las Vegas (UNLV) Graduate College, and UNLV Graduate Student and Professional Association (GPSA) for awarding me

funding that was partially responsible for my ability to complete my dissertation in a timely manner. Dr. Fredrick Krauss deserves recognition for all his help with Graduate College bureaucracy and being an inspiration for completing this journey.

I would like to thank all my friends that encouraged me throughout this process. I am fortunate for my DOS office mates Sarah St. John and Dan Krystosek for being extremely supportive and tolerant of my excessive clutter and constant presence in the office. I am also grateful for my friendship with Christina Nicholas, who has always been empathetic to my struggles and willing to celebrate my success. I would like to thank the CSEC team for becoming a pillar of support over the past few months (especially Jenny H, Jenni W, Raeven, and Gabby). I am thankful toward Allison Sahl and Jenna Findlay for offering a hand in friendship, which made my final years in the DOS more enjoyable.

When coming to UNLV, I left a very large and supportive family back in Indiana. Though my family did not always understand what I was doing or why I was doing it, they always encouraged me to seek happiness. I am thankful to my sister Wendy for being a voice of sympathy during difficult times. I am grateful for my father Scott Wagner for always encouraging me to ask questions and seek answers. I want to thank my parents Delane & Michael Sarkey for teaching me what it means to be responsible. I am also indebted to my grandmother Dorothy Hoffman, who offered me a home when I was a young single mom. My accomplishments today would not have been possible without the kindness, help, and lessons I received from my family.

Finally, I would like to thank my family in Las Vegas for continuing to be a positive influence in my life while I pursued my academic ambitions. In particular, my partner Brandon Biggs, aka Brandon Awesome, deserves special recognition for putting his

dreams on hold so I could reach mine, for not allowing me to quit when things were rough, and for always managing the family and household when I needed to devote more time to my studies. Thank you Brandon. I also owe gratitude to my two children. Thank you Scott for sharing me with my work over the past 7 years and inspiring me to dream big, and thank you Rebel for giving me the final push I needed to complete this journey. To anyone I missed... Thank you ☺

Table of Contents

Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	v
Table of Contents	viii
List of Tables	ix
List of Figures	x
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Chapter 2: Theoretical Perspectives on Deviance and Sexual Assault	20
Chapter 3: Methodology	56
Chapter 4: Results	66
Chapter 5: Discussion/Conclusion	88
Appendix A: Data Coding and Procedures in the SAS System	108
References	116
Author's CV	144

List of Tables

Table 1	Variable Definitions and Frequencies.	65
Table 2	Correlation Matrix for Dependent Variables.	75
Table 3	Descriptive Table Across Dependent Variables.	76
Table 4	Bivariate Logistic Regression. Coefficients (B) and Odds Ratios (Exp B) for H1 and H2.	78
Table 5	Bivariate Logistic Regression. Coefficients (B) and Odds Ratios (Exp B) for H3 and H4.	80
Table 6	Bivariate Logistic Regression. Coefficients (B) and Odds Ratios (Exp B) for H5.	81
Table 7	Bivariate Logistic Regression. Coefficients (B) and Odds Ratios (Exp B) for H6 and H7.	83
Table 8	Bivariate Logistic Regression. Coefficients (B) and Odds Ratios (Exp B) for H8 and H9.	85
Table 9	Bivariate Logistic Regression. Coefficients (B) and Odds Ratios (Exp B) for H10 and H11.	86

List of Figures

Figure 1	Distribution of Founded Sexual Assault Claims to LVMPD from January 2008 through March 2010, N=2,027.	66
Figure 2	Distribution of Sexual Assault Cases Reported to the UCR, N=2,027.	67
Figure 3	Distribution of Victim's Ages, N=2,027.	67
Figure 4	Distribution of Victim and Offender Race, N=2,027.	68
Figure 5	Distribution of Victim Offender Relationship, N=2,027.	69
Figure 6	Distribution of Sexual Assaults that Occurred in a Hypersexualized Environments, such as the Las Vegas Strip or Downtown area, N=2,027.	70
Figure 7	Distribution of the Localized Premises for Sexual Assault Claims, N=2,027.	71
Figure 8	Distribution of Variables Measuring Overt Force, N=2,027.	72
Figure 9	Distribution of Variables Measuring Victims' Behavior Before and After the Offense, N=2,027.	73
Figure 10	Distribution of Variables Measuring Victims' Background, N=2,027.	74

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

While it has been a concern for women throughout history, sexual violence only recently moved to the forefront of the public agenda. Before the 1970s, the criminal justice system was reluctant to treat many incidents of sexual assault as a crime. Rape claims commonly remained silent; they were not discussed, not brought to trial, and not calculated in official crime statistics (Bevacqua 2000). In the United States, sexual assault moved into the political spotlight with the beginning of the women's movement (Garland 2009). Postmodern society has experienced substantial changes in the way sexual assault is understood, portrayed, and reported; however, inconsistencies do still occur within the justice system in regard to sexual crime.

Several criminological studies have examined the process of "attrition" (Goff 1997; Griffiths and Verdum-Jones 1994; Clark and Lewis 1977; Gunn and Minch 1988; Minch, Linden and Johnson 1987). Attrition is the selective process of dismissing reported cases, and it occurs at varying different stages in the criminal justice system. Research confirms high attrition rates for sexual assault cases in the U.S. (Chandler and Torney 1981; Galvin and Polk 1983; LaFree 1980; Myers and LaFree 1982; Polk 1985). The decision to investigate or prosecute a case is determined by key members of the criminal justice system. Both police and prosecutors guard the 'gateway' to justice (Kerstetter 1990; Spohn, Beichner and Davis-Frenzel 2001; Soulliere 2005) and are responsible for case attrition. Police, however, are more likely to filter out sexual assault cases than any other officials (LaFree 1981).

The goal of this research is to examine both sexual assault attrition as well as official Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR). When a victim reports a sexual assault, the police officer who takes the report creates a narrative that is used to help determine whether or not the assault is legitimate, or founded. Additionally, the report narrative is also given to the police department's crime analysts, who label the crime with an official UCR statute. By examining the literature on how police determine whether or not a claim is founded or if a claim fits the UCR definition of sexual assault, I will construct a case for both the formal rationality and bounded rationality perspectives. The following paper offers a theoretical explanation for attrition in sexual assault claims due to police discretion. I posit that justice in these cases is constrained by bounded rationality, and that variables associated with rape myths and victim credibility influence police and analyst discretion in sexual assault claims and cases. In consequence, police do not pursue rape cases as aggressively as they would other, less social-constructively 'tainted' crimes; as a result, the official sexual assault data, which is used to analyze crime trends and create policy, is under reported.

To test hypotheses generated from this theory, I use quantitative data analysis to determine whether police are influenced by bounded rationality. First, I examine the extent to which factors associated with rape myths influence police decisions to determine the extent to which reported sexual assault claims are founded. Next, I examine the extent to which the same factors influence whether or not the sexual assault claim is listed as a sexual assault in the crime report sent to the UCR. Finally, I compare the two models to gain a better understanding of the factors that influence police discretion. Before discussing my methodology in detail, I review the prevalence of sexual

assault; the types, or categorizations, most used for sexual assault; incident characteristics; and typologies of offenders and victims.

PREVALENCE OF SEXUAL ASSAULT

According to the World Health Organization, between 12 and 25 percent of women around the world are victims of sexual assault (2000). Research funded by The National Institute of Justice and Centers for Disease Control and Prevention found that 1 out of every 6 American women is the victim of a completed (14.8 percent) or attempted (2.8 percent) rape in her lifetime, equating to 17.7 million American women (Tjaden and Thoennes 1998). Often overlooked, men constitute 10 percent of the total population of sexual assault victims, equaling 2.78 million men (Rand and Catalano 2007). The U.S. Department of Justice estimates that 7 percent of rapists are related to their victims, 28 percent are in intimate relationships, and 38 percent are friends or acquaintances (Rand and Catalano 2007). Thus, 73 percent (two-thirds) of sexual assaults are committed by someone known to the victim.

Data shows that sexual assault is more likely to occur at certain times of the day, week, and year. For example, sexual assault occurs most frequently during the summer months of July and August and is regionally most common in the South (Greenfield 1997). The 1998 National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) found that sexual assault is more likely to occur on weekends than on weekdays. Furthermore, one-third of sexual assaults occur between the hours of 6:00 AM and 12:00 AM (Tjaden and Thoennes 1998). Almost 50 percent of sexual assaults occur at or near the victim's home, 20 percent occur in commercial buildings or on school property, and 10 percent occur in public spaces like parks, alleys, and parking lots. Rape by a stranger is more likely to

occur in public areas than rape by an acquaintance, and it occurs more often in neighborhoods with high unemployment and low family income (Miethe and Meier 1994).

Sources of Sexual Assault Data

The definition used to describe sexual assault directly influences how many women label their experience as rape. Because there are no standardized definitions of sexual assault used in research, and because each study relies on different samples, the actual prevalence rates of sexual assault vary. In fact, these estimates vary from 15 to 51 percent in community samples (Masho, Odor, and Adera 2005; Ullman and Siegel 1993; Elliott, Mok, and Briere 2004; Randall and Haskell 1995) and from 21 to 42 percent in studies that sample college students (Combs-Lane and Smith 2002; Easton et al. 1997; Fisher, Cullen, and Turner 2000; Gross et al. 2006; Kalof 2000; Nasta et al. 2005; Synovitz and Byrne 1998; Krebs et al. 2007). The implication of this inconsistency in sexual assault rates is that scholars can only estimate the true prevalence of sexual assault.

Estimates of sexual assault prevalence come from three sources: official reports (police), surveys of national probability samples, and surveys specific to populations (like college students). Because much of the empirical research on sexual assault is conducted on/with college students and not with the officially recognized sexual assault data sources, these findings may not be generalized to the population. In addition, the policies and programs that are created and implemented on the basis of research with college students may not be as effective when applied to the general population.

Since this discussion will refer to a number of different victimization studies as well as official data, the following list of survey data sources and their associated acronyms and features may be useful throughout the rest of this paper:

- Uniform Crime Reports (UCR)
 - Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), annual 1930 to present
 - National Incident Based Reporting System (NIBRS)
 - Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), annual 1989 to present
 - National Crime Survey (NCS)
 - Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), annual 1972 to 1992
 - National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS)
 - Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), annual 1992 to present
 - Sexual Experiences Survey (SES) [sometimes called the *Ms. Study*]
 - National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), Koss 1988
 - National Women's Survey (NWS) and Replication (NWS-R)
 - National Victim Center et al. 1992; National Institute of Justice (NIJ), Kilpatrick, and McCauley 2009
 - National Health and Social Life Survey (NHSLs)
 - National Institute for Child Health and Human Development (NICHD) et al. 1994
 - National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS)
 - Centers for Disease Control (CDC), Tjaden, and Thoennes 1998
 - National College Women Sexual Victimization Survey (SCWSV)
 - National Institute of Justice (NIJ) et al. 1998; Fisher et al. 2003
- Uniform Crime Report (UCR)*

Of all the sexual assault data sources, the UCR is the most listed. The UCR is a national list of all the reported crimes in the United States. It is managed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). However, not all reported sexual assaults are included in the UCR; the report only lists the top offense in each criminal report. Cases in which rape leads to murder are not listed in the UCR data, and sometimes kidnapping and/or robbery are listed before sexual assault; thus, the sexual assault is omitted. In addition, the UCR only counts sexual assault on females; assaults against males are not recorded (Barnett-Ryan 2007). In 2004, the UCR listed that there were 94,635 female rapes and attempted rapes. In 2008, the number of reported rapes and attempted plummeted to 89,000 (FBI 2004; 2008).

National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS)

The NCVS is designed by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS). This survey uses a national probability sample and asks respondents to self-report criminal victimization. Unlike the UCR, the NCVS includes male victims of sexual assault; however, the NCVS does not record victimization of individuals 12 years of age or younger (Bachman 2000). The methodological differences between the UCR and NCVS render comparisons of sexual assault data problematic. In 2004, the NCVS found that 200,780 individuals were victims of rape, attempted rape, and other forms of sexual assault victimization. Rape and attempted rape accounted for 115,570 cases (Catalano 2005). Of these cases, 90 percent of the victims were women. In 2006, only 41 percent of those who reported rape or sexual assault in the NCVS said they had reported the crime to the police.

If the 41 percent of victims did actually report their sexual victimization to the police, that would suggest that about 68,000 rape and attempted rape cases would have been

reported; however, this number (68,000) is far less than the UCR's finding of over 90,000 rapes and attempted rapes. Thus, a clear divergence between official reports and what victims indicate that they report exists, with official reporting exceeding self-report victimization studies (Addington 2007). Blumstein, Cohen, and Resenfeld (1991) note that discrepancy when comparing official data and self-report studies for other crimes is a common occurrence. One cause for this divergence is the different ways the UCR and NCVS label victims (UCR only identifies women, while the NCVS includes men and women over the age of 12). Even this difference in measurement, however, cannot account for all of the divergence (Catalano 2007).

Data from either the UCR or NCVS estimate that the annual likelihood of rape for women in the U.S. is below 1 percent. However, this estimate sharply contradicts other national and subpopulation data. For example, Russell (1982) found that in a sample of 1,000 women in San Francisco, the one-year victimization rate was more than 3 percent, and the lifetime prevalence totaled more than 30 percent. The following section will discuss other data sources that are often cited in sexual assault research and why these sources offer very different numbers for sexual assault prevalence.

Other Sources of Sexual Assault Data (SES)

The SES, sometimes called the *Ms. Study*, is an examination of sexual victimization among college women, sponsored by the National Institute of Mental Health. Surveying 3,187 females across 30 institutions, the *Ms. Study* estimated a much higher prevalence of sexual assault victimization. The SES initially reported a one-in-four lifetime victimization rate for rape and attempted rape among college women (Warshaw 1988).

After publication, the SES became clouded in controversy. The indicators used to measure sexual assault victimization were disputed by the academic community (Gylys and McNamara 1996). The *Ms.* Study measured sexual victimization by presenting several different questions. Question 4 asked, “Have you had a man attempt sexual intercourse (get on top of you, attempt to insert his penis) when you didn’t want to by threatening or using some degree of force (twisting your arm, holding you down, etc.), but intercourse did not occur?” Question 5 read, “Have you had a man attempt sexual intercourse (get on top of you, attempt to insert his penis) when you didn’t want to by giving you alcohol or drugs, but intercourse did not occur?” (Koss, Gidycz and Wisniewski 1987:167). Both questions were repeated with the change “but intercourse did occur” in Questions 7 and 8. Questions 5 and 8 (which measured attempted and completed sexual assault when given alcohol or drugs), were argued to be invalid (Gilbert 1991; Shoenberg and Roe 1993). Though Questions 5 and 8 met the legal definition of rape and attempted rape, some scholars believed the questions were misleading and did not measure ‘real’ sexual assault (Shoenberg and Roe 1993). Koss (2005) released a new lifetime victimization rate based off the survey data. After removing Questions 5 and 8, Koss (2005) found a lifetime completed sexual assault victimization rate of one in nine and an attempted rate of one in five.

The National Health and Social Life Survey (NHSLs) conducted a nationally representative sample of adults aged from 18 to 59. The final sample included 3,432 respondents with an 80 percent response rate. Asking women, “Have you ever been forced by a man to do anything sexually that you did not want to do?” the NHSLs found that 32.8 percent of their sample answered, “Yes” (Laumann et al. 1994).

In 1992, the National Women's Survey (NWS) conducted a national probability sample using random digit dialing (RDD). The final sample included 4,008 women. Of this sample, the NWS estimates an annual victimization rate for women of 6.9 per 1,000 and a lifetime victimization rate of 13 percent (Kilpatrick, Demunds, and Seymour 1992). In 2006, the NWS repeated this study (NWS-R) and found a 5.2-per-1,000 women annual victimization rate. The lifetime victimization rate was calculated as 14.6 percent, representing one in seven women (Kilpatrick et al. 2007).

The National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS) surveyed 8,000 women in a national probability sample using RDD. The annual rate for the NVAWS was estimated to be less than 1 percent. The lifetime rate for women totaled 17 percent, or one out of six (Tjaden and Thoennes 2006). While less than the Russell's San Francisco study and the *Ms. Study*, the NHLS, NWS, and NVAWS still report higher levels of sexual assault than the NCVS or UCR.

Data Divergence

The differences between each of these studies can be partially explained by the methods used to collect the data. First, the population used to collect the data influences prevalence rates. Subpopulations of college students show higher rates of sexual victimization than national samples (Koss, Gidycz, and Wisniewski 1987; Muehlenhard and Linton 1987; DeKeserdy and Kelly 1993; Fisher et al. 2000).

The operational definition of rape used in each study also influences prevalence rates. For example, the NCWSV uses 12 different categories to measure sexual assault: completed rape, attempted rape, completed sexual coercion, attempted sexual coercion, completed sexual contact with force or threat of force, completed sexual contact without

force or threat of force, attempted sexual contact with force or threat of force, attempted sexual contact without force or threat of force, threat of rape, threat of contact with force or threat of force, threat of penetration without force, and threat of contact without force (Fischer et al. 2000).

Meanwhile, the operational definition of rape for the UCR is “the carnal knowledge of a female forcibly and against her will” (FBI 2006:27). The NHSLS asks if the respondent has ever been forced to do something sexual against their will (Laumann et al. 1994). Finally, the NCVS asks the respondents if they were forced or coerced to engage in unwanted sexual assault. The NCVS follows this question with a list of incident questions that measure rape, attempted rape, and sexual assault (Catalano 2005).

An additional reason for the official and self-report sexual victimization divergence is acknowledgment of sexual victimization. Some victims’ experiences meet the legal definition of sexual victimization (or the operational definition set forth by the study), yet these fail to identify themselves as victims (Botta and Pingree 1997; Bondurant 2001; Fisher et al. 2003). For example, the *Ms. Study* found that only 27 percent of women who responded affirmatively to the rape and attempted rape questions acknowledged or labeled their experience as rape or attempted rape (Guttman 1991; Roiphe 1993). The fact that many women who are sexually assaulted do not label their experience as such may be a product of our culture and society’s internalization of rape myths.

The next section of this chapter will review the literature on sexual assault. Specifically, I will discuss the types of sexual assault and characteristics of sexual assaults, victims, and offenders.

TYPES OF SEXUAL ASSAULT

Scholars have outlined seven types of sexual assault: statutory rape, rape by fraud, stranger rape, intimate/date rape, spousal rape, gang/group rape, and drug-facilitated sexual assault. It is important to note that the distinctions made between these types of sexual assault are made mostly by scholars and not necessarily the criminal justice system.

Drug-Facilitated Sexual Assault (DFSA)

Drug-facilitated sexual assault occurs when a person is raped while their cognitive or motor skills are impaired due to a substance given to them by the offender (Negrusz, Juhascik, and Gaensslen 2005). The drugs, often called “date rape drugs,” include ketamine, gamma-hydroxybutyrate (GHB), and rohypnol. These drugs cause unconsciousness, memory loss, and poor decision-making (Negrusz et al. 2005). Research has shown that only 2 percent of reported DFSAs are, in fact, DFSAs (Benyon et al. 2008). This data, however, is limited because date rape drugs do not stay in one’s system for longer than eight hours. Furthermore, victims of DFSA may not report the crime due to memory loss and self-blame.

According to Girard and Senn (2008), alcohol is the most commonly used substance to facilitate sexual assault. They estimate that 40 percent of sexual assault victims have alcohol in their systems. Hanser (2009) notes that because alcohol is often voluntarily consumed by the victim, the crime is not reported as a DFSA, the victim experiences higher levels of guilt, and society is more likely to hold the victim responsible.

The findings from research examining links between sexual assault and alcohol are inconsistent. Brecklin and Ullman (2002) found that the likelihood of committing a sexual assault increased with alcohol consumption. Other research suggests that

completed sexual assault (with intercourse) was less likely to occur if the perpetrator was intoxicated (Martin and Bachman 1998; Testa, VanZile-Tamsen, and Livingston 2004). In Abbey et al.'s (2004) review of the literature on sexual assault and alcohol, the authors argue that the relationship between these variables may be caused by a spurious variable. Specifically, men who witness parental violence or who have narcissist tendencies are more likely to both drink alcohol and commit sexual assault. Thus, life experience and personality characteristics may a more accurate predictor of sexual assault than alcohol use.

Studies that examine victims of sexual assault and alcohol also have mixed results. Scholars have demonstrated a correlation between alcohol consumption and passive response to sexual advances (Davis, George, and Norris 2004; Harrington and Leitenberg 1994; Loiselle and Fuqua 2007). Harrington and Leitenberg (1994) found that women who defined their state during victimization as “intoxicated” reported higher levels of consensual sexual activity before the assault. Furthermore, they also reported lower levels of resistance. In a two-year longitudinal study using data obtained from the National Women’s Study, Kilpatrick et al. (1997) found that increased substance abuse (not alcohol) before the study began amplified the odds of sexual assault during the study. These findings are easily linked to the previously discussed environmental theories. The physical spaces where perpetrators of sexual assaults and potential victims interact tend to be places where people have a higher likelihood of consuming alcohol or other drugs.

Rape by Fraud

According to Hanser (2009), rape by fraud “occurs when the perpetrator employs actual deliberate misrepresentation or concealment to gain access to sexual activity with

the victim” (36). Examples include a man falsely presenting himself as the husband of the victim or tricking the victim into thinking they are legally married in order to consummate the false marriage. Rape by fraud also occurs when a clergy member has intercourse with someone under the guise of spiritual enlightenment. The final example of rape by fraud occurs in areas with legal or decriminalized prostitution. In these areas, rape by fraud occurs when a prostitute has intercourse with a customer who refuses to pay afterward. In each of these examples, consent is given; however, “it is not ‘informed’ consent in the true sense of the word” (Hanser 2009:36).

Statutory Rape

MacDonald and Michaud (1995) define statutory rape as sexual intercourse between consenting individuals where one person is under the legal age to give consent. The age of consent varies from state to state. In Nevada, the legal age is 16 for heterosexual acts and 18 for homosexual acts. Statutory rape is unlike other forms of rape because consent is given; however, it is still a crime (Boumil, Hicks, and Friedman 1992). Furthermore, not knowing the age of the consenting minor is not an acceptable excuse. In these situations, the legal-aged participant is still guilty of statutory rape. Boumil et al. (1992) note that the adult can be charged with child abuse or child molestation and statutory rape if the child is under the legal age and does not give consent.

Group/Gang Rape

Where the previously discussed forms of sexual assault are categorized by the victim/offender relationship and incident characteristics, group/gang rape is determined by the number of perpetrators (Hanser 2009). Group/gang rape occurs if two or more perpetrators assault a victim (Hanser 2009). In group sexual assault, the act of rape

becomes a bonding tool that reinforces a masculine social connection among the offenders (Brownmiller 1975). Public perception holds that this type of sexual assault is most often conducted by gang members. MacDonald (1995) and Schwartz and Dekeseredy (1997) note that though gang rape does occur, group rape at the college level, perpetrated by fraternities and sports team, is much more abundant.

Stranger Rape

When people hear the word “rape,” stranger rape is usually what they think of (Friedman, Boumil, and Taylor 1992). Hanser (2009) defines stranger rape as “nonconsensual, forced sex, on a person who does not know their attacker” (37). Both common law and the later adapted definitions for sexual assault refer to stranger rape. It is recognized by most people as rape, sometimes even called ‘real’ rape, and the victims of stranger rape often receive more empathy than those who have suffered other forms of rape (Hanser 2009). Stranger rape is usually presented as occurring in a dark alley at night, but as Friedman et al. (1992) note, it can occur anywhere, including the victim’s home or car, at any time of day. According to the 1997 Uniform Crime Report, young women and African Americans are more likely to be victims of stranger rape. Amir (1971) found that those with low socio-economic status and the unemployed are also more likely to be victims of stranger rape.

Spousal/Intimate Partner Rape

Throughout history, rape has been considered a crime against the father or husband of the person/woman raped (Brownmiller 1975; Wiehe and Richards 1995). Historically, it was considered an economic crime because women were viewed the property of their fathers until marriage, at which time they became the property of their husbands (Yalom

2002). Because women were considered to be property, owned by their husbands, rape could not possibly occur within the realm of marriage (Bowker 1983). It was believed that the act of marriage contracted the woman to perform all marital duties, including sex. Thus, married women could not legally refuse their husbands sexual intercourse; in fact, such refusal on any grounds was considered improper, and husbands had the right to force themselves on their wives (Hanser 2009). According to Wiehe and Richards (1995), spousal rape occurs when one is sexual assaulted through vaginal, anal, or oral penetration by their legally married partner. Since the women's movement in the 1970s, spousal rape has moved to the forefront of the political system (Bevacqua 2000). Currently, men can be found guilty for spousal rape in all 50 states (Hanser 2009).

Finkelhor and Yllo (1985) created a classification system for marital sexual assault. Force-only sexual assault refers to offenders who force their partners into sexual intercourse if refused sex. Victims of force-only sexual assault often do not label their experience as rape (Laufersweiler-Dwyer and Dwyer 2009). Battering offenders commit sexual assault as an extension of their battering. The assault either occurs as part of the initial battering or after the battering as a way to make up or shows their love. Sadistic/obsessive offenders enjoy physical violence and torturing their partner. In 1998, Langhinrichsen-Rohling and Monson added to Finkelhor and Yllo's classification system, noting an additional category for the sexually obsessive batterer. This batterer is similar to the battering offender but does not commit other types of physical assault (Langhinrichsen-Rohling and Monson 1998).

Bowker (1983) found that marital rapists often have a history of family violence, marital dysfunction, jealousy toward their partner, and substance abuse issues. Russell

(1990) noted that African American women are more likely to be victimized by marital rape than Caucasian women and that the younger the woman is when she enters the relationship, the more likely she is to experience marital sexual assault. Other findings indicate that spousal rape can occur at all socio-economic levels and is not influenced by the length of the marriage (Laufersweiler-Dwyer and Dwyer 2009).

Acquaintance and Date Rape

Acquaintance and date rape are the most common forms of sexual assault (Hanser 2009). Though acquaintance rape and date rape are used interchangeably in much of the literature, they actually have different meanings. Parrot and Bechofer (1991) define acquaintance rape as nonconsensual or forced sex between those of a legal age who know each other, while Hanser (2009) defines date rape as nonconsensual intercourse between people who are on a date or are dating. Thus, date rape is a form of acquaintance rape. Parrot and Bechofer (1991) found that no weapons are used in most acquaintance and date rapes. Furthermore, the victim has usually talked to the offender, voluntarily, before the crime occurred. This leaves police with the difficult task of determining consent and coercion (Parrot and Bechofer 1991).

Academics have found several personality characteristics specific to date rapists. These rapists are aggressive and have hostile attitudes toward women. They tend to condone rape and violence and support traditional gender roles. Finally, date rapists tend to have large collections of pornography and are more likely to use alcohol (Rapaport and Burkhart 1984; Johnson and Sigler 1997). Shotland (1992) created categories for date rape based off victim/offender previous sexual activity and length of relationship: beginning date rape, early date rape, relational date rape (in a relationship but not

sexually active), rape between sexually active couples, and rape between sexually active couples who have previously dated (Shotland 1992).

Incident Characteristics

Data shows that sexual assault is more likely to occur at certain times of the day, week, and year. The Uniform Crime Report showed that sexual assault is most frequent during the summer, specifically the months of July and August, and regionally, it is most common in the South (FBI 1997). Some scholars use these findings as evidence for the ‘Subculture of Violence’ and Hyper-masculinity Theories (Lauferweiler-Dwyer and Dwyer 2009). The 1998 National Crime Victimization survey found that sexual assault is more likely to occur on the weekend than on weekdays. Furthermore, one-third of sexual assaults occur between the hours of 6:00 PM and 12:00 AM (NCVS 1998). Almost 50 percent of sexual assaults occur at or near the victim’s home, 20 percent occur in commercial buildings or on school property, and 10 percent occur in public spaces like parks, alleys, and parking lots. Stranger rape is more likely to occur in public areas than acquaintance rape, and its rate of occurrence is also higher in neighborhoods with high unemployment and low family income (Miethe and Meier 1994).

Victims

Though anyone can become a victim of sexual assault, certain characteristics make victimization more likely. Karmen (2009) found that women who are young, unemployed, unmarried, and living in a large city are at the highest risk. Garland (2009) notes a lack of relationship between race and overall sexual assault likelihood; however, African Americans are more likely to be victims of stranger rape (Russell 1984), while Caucasians are more likely to be victims of acquaintance rape (Belknap 2001).

The effects of sexual assault on victims include physical, emotional, and mental harm. This emotional and mental harm, including symptoms such as anxiety, depression, and/or drug and alcohol abuse, often extends long after the initial incident (Marx and Soler-Baillo 2005). Additionally, sexual assault victims report a feeling of stigmatization from family, friends, and society as a whole (Nagel et al 2005). Post et al. (2002) estimate that when considering the medical expenses, loss of economic productivity, criminal justice expenses, and psychological toll of victimization, the total cost of one sexual assault is over \$94,000. Clearly, sexual assault has both tangible and intangible consequences.

Offenders

The available information on sexual assault offenders is limited because the data is only gathered from those who are arrested and/or convicted. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics (2006), half of those arrested for sexual assault are never convicted. The 1995 NCVS found that only 32 percent of rapes listed in the survey were reported to the police (Lauferweiler-Dwyer and Dwyer 2009); thus, statistics compiled from convicted offenders are not fully reliable, due to the fact that many offenders are never convicted; the offenders who are convicted do not reflect the majority of offenders.

According to Greenfield (1997), 99 percent of sexual assault offenders are male, and most are under the age of 25. Although 60 percent of sexual assault offenders are Caucasian, African Americans are more likely to be arrested and convicted for sexual assault. Caucasian men who commit sexual assault are less likely to be charged because they rape they commit is usually acquaintance rape (Belknap 2001). Social class may also play a role in the relationship between committing sexual assault and being criminally

charged with the crime. For example, Bartol (1998) found that as social class improves, the offender's likelihood of conviction decreases.

Using data from the 1994 National Incident Based Reporting System (NIBRS), Greenfield (1997) found that in 35.8 percent of reported sexual assaults, the victim did not know the offender. Furthermore, of the 64.2 percent of reported sexual assaults in which the victim did know the offender, 33.1 percent of offenders said they knew the victim very well. Most rapists do not plan their attacks, especially in the case of acquaintance rape (Miethe and McCorkle 1998), and most convicted sexual assault offenders do not have previous records for nonviolent sex crimes (Laufersweiler-Dwyer and Dwyer 2009).

Chapter 2

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON DEVIANCE AND SEXUAL ASSAULT

Understanding crime and deviance has been an aspect of philosophy for centuries. It was not until the mid-eighteenth century that philosophers started to create theories that specifically applied to reducing crime. It took more than another two centuries for theorists to focus on explaining and reducing violent crimes against women. The following discusses a brief history of criminology, the major theories in modern criminology, and theoretical perspectives pertinent to the study of sexual assault, as well as theoretical perspectives explaining police discretion.

CLASSICAL SCHOOL OF CRIMINOLOGY

Historically, the field of criminology was dominated by two perspectives, classical and positivist. The first perspective, classical criminology, was a product of the Enlightenment. Thomas Hobbes ushered in the Enlightenment with his book, Leviathan (1651). He set forth a view of man as a selfish, individualistic creature who is constantly at war with other men. John Locke (1847) extended Hobbes's philosophical ideas by suggesting that all men are in pursuit of self-interest but engage in a social contract which allows society to function. The notions of free will, rationality, and manipulability were also significant aspects of the Enlightenment. Because all individuals are motivated first by self-interest, behavior was viewed as both predictable and controllable. Classical philosophers used these ideas to help them understand criminal behavior, and crime began to be viewed as a rational choice made by individuals (Kubrin, Stucky, and Krohn 2008; Akers and Sellers 2009).

The most influential classical criminologist was Cesare Beccaria. In his book, On Crimes and Punishments (1764), Beccaria notes that crime is a rational choice individuals make, and the only way to deter it is by reforming the laws and punishments. Beccaria suggested a threefold solution to stopping crime, a solution based on Enlightenment principles: celerity, certainty, and severity. It was Beccaria's contention that reforming the criminal justice system to make crime an unattractive choice was the best way to deter crime in general. It was this focus on the criminal justice system, and not on the individual, that was the foundation of the classical school of criminology (Kubrin et al. 2008; Akers and Sellers 2009).

POSITIVIST SCHOOL OF CRIMINOLOGY

The positivist school of criminology differed from the classical school in that it focused on the individual. Positivist criminologists disagree with the notion that all individuals have the capability to be criminals. Instead, they looked for elements that all criminals have in common, believing that crime is caused, not a choice (Lilly, Cullen, and Ball 2007). Auguste Comte, a founder of the positivist school of thought (Kubrin et al. 2008), argued that all understanding should come from the scientific method, not reason and contemplation (Comte 1868).

Positivist criminology was led by the Italian physician Lombroso. Lombroso suggested that criminals are not 'biologically' evolved; rather, that they are genetically different from non-criminals (Lombroso 1868). The Lombrosoian tradition asks: "What makes some individuals criminals?" This perspective dominated the field of criminology through the early twentieth century. Positivist criminologists studied heterogeneity, biological, and/or psychological defects to which they attributed criminality. This

approach to criminology, looking for the ‘criminal man,’ fell out of fashion with the rise of American criminology (Kubrin et al. 2008; Lilly et al. 2007).

AMERICAN CRIMINOLOGY

To understand American criminology, we must first describe the rise of the Chicago School of Sociology. The Chicago School of Sociology, the birth of Symbolic Interactionism, began at the University of Chicago in the dawn of the twentieth century. Before this time, social policy was based on philosophical ideas that did not transcend to the public needs. Several sociologists at the University of Chicago during that time began to shift the sociological paradigm to include a rigorous qualitative methodology, a focus on group interaction (and how it shapes the self), and centered the research on important issues like deviance, ethnicity, and the family within the city of Chicago. The major Chicago School theorists were Albion Small, William Thomas, Robert Park, Ernest Burgess, and George Herbert Mead, and it is from the Chicago School that American criminology emerged.

American criminology began with the Chicago School, put forth by Shaw and McKay (Kubrin et al. 2008; Akers and Sellers 2008). Shaw and McKay posited a criminal theory based on social factors, specifically social disorganization. They argued that informal social controls disappear in disorganized communities (Shaw and McKay 1969). This lack of ‘collective efficacy’ allows a criminal culture to emerge. Shaw and McKay’s attention to social factors laid the groundwork for modern criminological theories like Differential Association/Social Learning Theory and Control Theory (Kubrin et al. 2008).

Sutherland and Cressey (1947) built off the Chicago School of thought with their theory of Differential Association. Differential Association, also called Social Learning

Theory, posits that individuals who learn definitions favorable to crime are more likely to commit that crime. These definitions are learned from peers and/or criminal subcultures. Furthermore, if criminal actions are positively reinforced, those actions may be repeated (Sutherland and Cressey 1947).

Where Differential Association focuses on why people commit crime, Control Theory asks: “Why don’t people commit crime?” (Kubrin et al. 2008). According to Reckless’s (1961) Containment Theory, everyone experiences pushes and pulls toward crime; however, some individuals have social controls, or containments, that help block these pushes and pulls. Similarly, Hirschi (1969) argues that all individuals are selfish and therefore criminally prone, but relationships, bonds with others, keep many people from being deviant. Hirschi expanded this idea with Gottfredson (1990) and noted that along with the outer controls, individuals also develop different levels of self-control that keep them away from crime.

The third type of criminological theory that has dominated the modern tradition is Strain Theory. Merton’s Strain Theory (1938) posits that deviance occurs as an outcome from contradicting societal goals and opportunities. Individuals who are blocked from reaching societal goals, like financial stability or success, feel strain and are more likely to commit crime. Cloward and Ohlin (1960) built off of Merton’s idea by suggesting that deviance is the result of strain from status frustration. Agnew’s (1997) General Strain Theory differs from Merton, Cloward, and Ohlin’s in that it recognizes that strain can come from multiple sources. Strain can occur from having blocked goals, but it can also occur from noxious stimuli or losing something of value. These alternative forms of strain can also lead someone into deviant behavior (Agnew 1997).

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES OF SEXUAL ASSAULT

Strain, Control, and Differential Association/Social Learning Theories have dominated modern criminology. In the study of sexual assault, scholars have drawn from these traditional criminological theories, as well as from alternative theories. The following section will discuss some of the theories used in sexual assault research, specifically Environmental, Sociobiology, Labeling, Social Learning, and Feminist theories. Please note, however, that the following is only a discussion of theoretical ideas. Empirical support of each theory will be addressed later in this paper.

Environmental

The history of Environmental Theories stem from the Classical School of Criminology. The Classical School believed that all people are selfish and are therefore compelled to deviance and that committing a crime is a rational choice. Environmental Theories are based off of these ideas and look at how space and the routines of everyday life convert criminal proclivity into accomplishment (Kubrin et al. 2009).

Environmental Theories differ from the previously discussed theories in that they focus on crime, not criminals. Environmental Theories do not try to explain an individual's motivation to commit crime. Instead, these theories focus on the environment in which the crime takes place. Environment Theories note that for a crime to occur, there must be both an offender and an opportunity to offend. The opportunity to offend shapes when, where, and what type of crime occurs. Routine Activity Theory, a type of Environmental Theory created by Cohen and Felson (1979), notes that for a crime to take place, there must be an offender, target, and a lack of capable guardians. Capable guardians are individuals (, or sometimes objects like video-cameras, that can stop an

offender from committing a crime. Environmental Theories focus on changing the environment in the hopes of deterring crime.

In sexual assault research, Environmental Theories can be practically applied to help police officers with sexual assault prevention. Environmental Theories are also used to describe macro-trends in sexual assault (Fisher et al. 1998; Messner and Blau 1987). On the basis of Environmental Theories, it may seem that a good way to reduce sexual assault is to keep women out of places where sexual assault is 'likely' to occur (Schwartz et al. 2001). This train of thought, however, can lead to victim-blaming and overlooks the underlying issues regarding why sexual assault occurs.

Sociobiology

Sociobiology draws its influence from the Positivist School of Criminology, which looked at biological traits that explained the criminal man. The premise of Sociobiology is that behavior adapts to successfully propagate the species. Wilson (1975) suggests that some behaviors are partially inherited and are therefore affected by natural selection. According to Sociobiologists, female mammals have inherited traits that make them more likely to nurture their young, while male mammals have inherited traits that make them more likely to pursue many sexual partners to ensure the continuation of their lineage (Quinsey and Lalumière 1995). As Ellis (1989) notes, theories based on evolution suggest that "males have a stronger tendency for evolving traits (behavioral and otherwise) that increase their chances of inseminating large numbers of females, rather than fastidiously taking care of a few offspring" (p. 15). In this context, rape is viewed as an extreme response to the process of natural selection (Travis 2003).

Sociobiologists maintain that all humans are motivated to produce offspring and that rape is conducive to this motivation in certain circumstances (Allison and Wrightsman 1993). For men who lack the social status and/or social skills that are helpful in creating, building, and/or maintaining social relationships, rape becomes a last resort (Symons 1979). Spivak (2011) notes that the ultimate goal of rape from this perspective is procreation, and therefore 'sex' is considered the prominent motivation for sexual assault within Sociobiology.

Sociobiology has received harsh criticism, especially from Feminist Theorists, and it lacks the support of strong empirical evidence. From a Sociobiological perspective, researchers would expect rapists to be poor and without sexual partners, and rape victims would not be males or females who are unable to become pregnant (the too old or too young) (Thornhill, Thornhill, and Dizinno 1986). Research shows that sexual assault is not gender or age specific.

Labeling

Labeling Theory derives from the symbolic interactionist tradition created by Cooley, Thomas, Mead, and Blumer at the University of Chicago (Becker 1974). On the most basic level, Labeling Theory is a symbolic interactionist theory of power that examines how someone becomes identified as a deviant and the consequences of that label (Aker 1999). Labeling Theory focuses on the social construction of deviance (Kubrin et al. 2008). Becker argues that an act is not considered deviant unless someone labels it as such and others accept that label (Fine 1993). Labeling Theory, also called Societal Reaction Theory, concentrates on the behaviors of those who label, react to, and seek to control offenders. As Tannenbaum (1938) notes:

The process of making the criminal...is a process of tagging, identifying, segregating, describing, emphasizing, making conscious and self-conscious; it becomes a way of stimulating, suggesting, emphasizing, and evoking the very traits that are complained of...The person becomes the thing he is described as being. (p. 19).

Because these labels are social constructions, they often change through time (Akers and Sellers 2009). For example, not that long ago, a rapist was someone who forced sexual intercourse upon a stranger. Today, rape is no longer determined by the victim/offender relationship but by the use of coercion (Estrich 1987). Therefore, husbands who forced sex on their wives thirty years ago were not considered rapists, while they would be considered rapists in most modern societies.

Social Learning

Like Labeling Theory, Social Learning Theories also developed from the Chicago School of Sociology, and thus American criminology. Sutherland and Cressey's Differential Association (1947), or Social Learning Theory, offers an interesting lens for viewing sexual assault. Social Learning Theory draws from Shay and McKay's American School of Criminology. The premise of Social Learning Theory is that individuals learn how to be deviant from others. It basically suggests that individuals learn attitudes that either support following the law or support breaking the law. Deviance is learned in groups through interaction in a process of communication. Individuals learn the techniques of committing the crime (which may be simple or complex), as well as the motives, rationalizations, and attitudes that reconstruct the deviant act as either 'not' deviant or deviant but acceptable in the current situation (Sutherland and Cressey 1947).

Social Learning Theorists posit that social and cultural learnings, favorable to male sexual aggression and domination of females cause rape. As Ellis (1989) notes,

“Aggression is learned primarily through imitation (modeling) and thereafter sustained largely through various forms of intermittent reinforcement” (p. 12). In the context of sexual aggression, rape is learned through the observation of sexually aggressive behavior in both the media and real-life situations (Allison and Wrightsman 1993).

By linking physical aggression, sexuality, and masculinity together through the construction of sex role scripts, society teaches individuals attitudes favorable to sexual violence. Thus, the process of gender socialization teaches men that acts of sexual dominance over women are part of being a man (Simon and Gagnon 1986).

It is society’s teachings of attitudes favorable to sexual domination that causes rape. Rape itself is an exaggeration of the traditional male gender role. Scully (1994) found that many rapists view the act of forcing sex as legitimate and normal behavior. Furthermore, they believed their victim brought the sexual assault upon herself. These findings lend some empirical support for Social Learning Theory, in that they demonstrate how rapists have internalized the act of rape as normal behavior and have learned attitudes that support victim-blaming.

Labeling Theory set the groundwork for critical criminology (Sykes 1974). Though not used much today, critical criminology is similar to Labeling Theory in that it looks at who is labeled a deviant by whom. However, critical criminology attempts to move beyond the micro-sociological lens used by Labeling Theorists, and examine the macro-sociological influences, specifically how social institutions as a whole, as well as in correspondence with each other, maintain power and influence the construction of deviance (Melossi 1985). Thus, for critical criminologists, crime is not an object to study; rather, it is a byproduct of structural forces (Hulsman 1986). Critical criminology in

America is often overlooked as significant, and scholars have suggested that it represents a return back to the interactionist roots (Melossi 1985; Hulsman 1986). Perhaps the critical perspective's largest contribution to American criminology is that it set the foundation for a feminist perspective on criminology.

On a basic level, the application of Social Learning Theory to sexual assault seems very similar to Feminist Theories explaining sexual assault. However, it is important to note that these two theories differ in their view of sexual assault motivation. Allison and Wrightsman (1993) note that Social Learning Theorists see the motivation for sexual assault to be based on learned ideas about power, dominance, and the need to humiliate their victim, which is similar to feminist perspectives; however, Social Learning Theorists also recognize the sexual element to sexual assault, that the pursuit of sexual pleasure by the offender is also a motivation. Meanwhile, Feminist Theories stress the importance of the political and economic systems, which they purport keep women at a disadvantage. Feminist Theories agree that gender inequality is learned, but they move beyond that understanding by examining how patriarchy is embedded in the American social structure.

Feminist

Feminist Theory is an extension of the critical paradigm set forth by Marx that resurfaced in the 1960s. As noted above, feminist criminology evolved from critical criminology, which developed as a critique of the interactionist/labeling perspective. Thus, feminist criminology examines the influence of social structures and how these structures distribute power, often focusing on the role of women in the political and economic system (Donovan 1992). Traditionally, women have maintained no power,

which led them to become dependent and subservient to men (Brownmiller 1975). Their dependency on men led women to be viewed as property (Yalom 2002), a role that women accepted because it ensured a certain level of protection from other men (Brownmiller 1975). In today's society, women are no longer viewed as property in the traditional sense; nevertheless, females are continuously objectified, and their bodies and sexuality are treated as commodities (Stratton 1996). Thus, in some ways, women are still viewed as property, as they are treated as objects intended for male sexual pleasure.

Feminist Theory focuses on gender inequality and suggests that rape is an instrument of social control in patriarchal societies (Edwards 1987). Brownmiller (1975) describes rape as “nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear” (p. 5). This theory links rape and fear of rape with gender stratification and the development of traditional masculine traits of aggression and dominance that are prevalent in male gender-role identities (Burt 1980; Check and Malamuth 1983) and are similar to the ideas present in Social Learning Theory. Though not all feminist theorists agree on the motivations behind sexual assault, feminist theory is often credited with the ‘no sex’ perspective. The ‘no sex’ perspective of rape maintains that the motivation for all rape is patriarchal violence, humiliation, and domination of women by men—not for sex pleasure (Spivak 2011).

Feminists also examine the political construct that allows for the prevalence of sexual assault. Morgan (1977) writes that rape is “the perfected act of male sexuality in a patriarchal culture—it is the ultimate metaphor for domination, violence, subjugation, and possession” (p. 163-164). Ellis (1989) extended on this idea by noting that rape is the “use of sexuality to establish or maintain dominance and control of women by men” (p.

11). Thus, for feminist researchers, rape is not only an act of sexual violence, but it also has political roots and implications (Edwards 1987).

Rape is viewed as political in three ways. First, due the prevalence of sexual assault, women always need protection. Women cannot progress socially or politically without a male shepherd due the pragmatic reality of sexual assault (Brownmiller 1975). From this perspective, rape is not individualistic. Feminists note that when a rape occurs, it is a rape against an entire social class (women) and not just against an individual. The act of rape proves man's physical dominance and that women are unable to protect themselves and are therefore subject to both man's power and protection. Thus, the pervasiveness of rape keeps women from gaining true equality in society (Cahill 2001).

The second way in which rape is used as a political tool is to show power and dominance to others. Traditionally, rape is conducted in times of war (Stiglmayer 1994; Yalom 2002). When this occurs, women are used as objects to prove a point to other men. Women become material goods, similar to land or cattle. In these cases, women's bodies are used as an outlet for men to show hate toward and dominance over each other (Cahill 2001).

Finally, Jagger (1987) notes that violence can occur in multiple ways (physical, emotional, sexual, etc.), and it is through our political system that violence becomes sexual violence. The political system focuses on the importance of genitals and how genitals create an ascribed status full of expected gender roles; this leads to gendered sexual violence. Thus, men do not rape because they have penises; rather, they rape because our political system values the penis.

Feminist scholars argue that sexual assault is also promoted through many of society's institutions (Brownmiller 1975; Cahill 2001; Valenti 2009). Specifically, cultural institutions glorify male aggression and female subservience through the media (Stratton 1996). Patriarchal social institutions encourage female dependency on males (Donovan 1992), which leads to violence. The criminal justice system minimizes the appearance of violence against women (Valenti 2009). Finally, the legal system is resistant to policy changes that offer more protection for women (Cahill 2001).

Some Feminist Theories link rape to pornography. According to Morgan (1980), pornography offers a theory and outline for rape. This theory is based on the assumptions that pornography dehumanizes women by eroticizing their fragmented body parts. Sexism and male dominance are celebrated in pornography, and female sexual coercion is prevalent (Dworkin 1985; MacKinnon 1984; Morgan 1980). Currently, no scientific evidence supports a connection between rape and nonviolent pornography (Zillman and Bryant 1989), but the relationship between sexual assault and violent pornography is still unknown (Jensen 2007).

Feminist scholars have also discussed how identity politics shape the understanding of sexual assault, specifically, the focus on intersectional identity and the consequence for minorities when it is ignored. Crenshaw (1991) argued the need for an intersectionality approach to examine the experiences of sexual assaults among black women. The author states that other discourses tend to focus on one or the other, either the experiences of women or the experiences of color, which marginalizes the experiences of women of color. Thus, it is important for sexual assault literature to be aware of identity politics and account for the ways that race and gender intersect in the representations of violence

against women of color. Though not all Feminist Theorists are in agreement on the causes of sexual assault, the feminist movement itself is responsible for both bringing sexual assault to the attention of the public and criminal justice system over 40 years ago, as well as keeping the sexual assault on the political agenda. One of the current feminist agendas on sexual assault is to deconstruct the notion of victimhood by highlighting society's reliance on rape myths when determining the legitimacy of sexual assault claims.

Theoretical Empirical Evidence

Empirical research on the etiology of sexual assault tends to come from the psychopathology and most often examines attitudes and personality characteristics. I will first discuss these empirical findings and link some of them to sociological theories on sexual assault. I will then discuss Baron and Strauss's groundbreaking sociological text, Four Theories of Rape in American Society (1989).

In 1980, Burt created the Rape Myth Acceptance (RMA) scale. Though other scholars have modified his scale, arguing that it measures hostility toward women more than Rape Myth Acceptance (Suarez and Gadalla 2010), Burt's original scale continues to be the most used. Burt's scale is a 19-item, 7-point Likert scale that asks respondents the extent to which they agree or disagree with particular rape myths. For example, the RMA asks if respondents believe that women make false rape reports to gain attention, if women have a secret desire to be raped, and if rape victims bring the assault on themselves through their actions (Burt 1980). Several studies have examined the relationship between Rape Myth Acceptance and factors associated with sexual assault. Suarez and Gadalla (2010) completed a meta-analysis that examined 37 studies on RMA, 28 of which used Burt's

scale. In almost all of the studies, they found that men were more likely to accept rape myths than women and that the RMA is correlated with sexual aggression, hostile attitudes and/or aggressive behavior toward women, as well as sexism, racism, classism, and religious intolerance. The effect of rape myths on police decisions in sexual assault cases is discussed in more detail later in this paper.

Scholars have found that certain attitudes are linked to rape proclivity. For instance, male community and college samples show higher levels of rape myth acceptance and believe that victims bring sexual assault upon themselves; this is related to rape proclivity (Sundberg, Babaree, and Marshall 1991). These studies rely on Burt's (1980) Rape Myth Acceptance scale, a likelihood-to-rape (LR) scale (a one- or two-question scale that measures one's likelihood to rape if they would not be caught), Malamuth's (1989) Attraction to Sexual Aggression scale (which is similar to the LR, but contains 14 items), or Koss and Oros's (1982) Sexual Experience scale (a ten-item scale measuring different levels of sexual aggression from forced kissing to completed rape). Rape Myth Acceptance is correlated with most likelihood-to-rape scales, the Attraction to Sexual Aggression scale, and the Sexual Experience scale (Muehlenhard and Falcon 1990; Walker, Rowe, and Quinsey 1993; Malamuth 1986; Greendlinger and Byrne 1987; Malamuth 1989). In addition, Pollard's (1994) review discusses 10 other studies that link Burt's (1980) Rape Myth Acceptance scale with self-reported rape proclivity through the above-mentioned scales.

Maintaining a macho attitude is also linked to rape proclivity, an attitude defined as viewing masculinity as power, toughness, aggression, and competitiveness. Macho Attitude scales often consist of three smaller scales that measure calloused sexual

attitudes, violence as manly, and danger as exciting. In a study of male college students, Mosher and Anderson (1986) found that macho attitudes predicted self-report use of force during sexual encounters. However, the same macho attitude did not predict sexual arousal while listening to sexual assault scenarios.

Similar to the Macho Attitude scale is the Altemeyer (1988) Right Wing Authoritarianism scale. This scale measures aggressiveness to outsiders (refugees, handicapped, homosexuals, etc.), conventionalism, and attitudes toward submission to authority. Walker, Rowe, and Quinsey (1993) found that Right Wing Authoritarianism predicted self-reported sexual assault in male community and college samples. Malamuth, Sockloskie, Koss, and Tanaka's (1991) confluence model of sexual assault uses a multivariate model for sexual and nonsexual coerciveness against women. In regard to rape proclivity, this model examines two paths. The first, hostile masculinity, measures hostility toward women, macho attitude, and other cognitive and attitudinal variables. The second path, sexual promiscuity, suggests that a violent home life in one's youth leads to delinquency; this, in turn, leads to sexual promiscuity. Malamuth et al. (1991) found that men with higher levels of sexual promiscuity and hostile masculinity are more prone to commit sexual assault.

Studies conducted on convicted offenders do not show little variation among convicted rapists, nonviolent criminals, and the general community. Feild (1978) compared rapists' attitudes with police, citizens, and rape counselors. Only counselors showed a strong difference across all categories. Rapists, police, and citizens all held generally similar attitudes, except for the fact that the rapists believed the crime should be punished less and that women should not resist. Segal and Stermac (1984) found rapists,

nonviolent criminals, and citizens of the same economic class to hold similar attitudes toward women. While comparing the Rape Myth Acceptance scale with the Sex-Role Stereotyping scale, Overholser and Beck (1986) found no difference among rapists, other offenders, citizens on the low socio-economic level, and men who reported a low frequency of dating. However, Hall, Howard, and Boezio (1986) found that rapists, other violent criminals, and nonviolent criminals hold more rape-supportive attitudes than men in the general community. Rape-supportive attitudes among rapists is also found in Scully and Marolla's (1984, 1985) work. Scully and Marolla conducted interviews with 114 convicted rapists. They cite several examples of rape-supportive attitudes from the transcripts (1984). However, they found no statistical difference between the interviewed rapists and other offenders when testing Burt's (1980) Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence scale (Scully and Marolla 1985).

Perceptions of social interaction are also linked to rape proclivity. Studies conducted with rapists and general citizens demonstrate a relationship between rape proclivity and the misinterpretation of women's behavior (Murphy, Coleman and Haynes 1986; Koss and Oros 1982; Lipton, McDonel and McFall 1987; McDonel and McFall 1991). Malamuth and Brown (1994) found that among convicted rapists and non-convicted men who self-reported an incidence of sexual assault friendliness is mistakenly constructed as seductive and assertiveness is believed to be hostile. All of the above mentioned findings can be used as evidence for social learning theories. Thus, men who learn and internalize supportive definitions for sexual assault and/or particular constructions of masculinity are more likely to commit sexual assault or view it as the victims fault.

As noted above, feminists argue that rape is about patriarchy, power, and controlling women. There is not much empirical support linking sexual assault to power and the control of women. However, I will discuss a possible link between patriarchy and sexual assault later. During interviews with convicted rapists Groth and Birnbaum (1979) found that to dominate the victim was a reoccurring theme. Pryor and Stoller (1994) found that power and sex are more closely associated among men who commit sexual harassment than among men who do not. Thus, it is argued that, similarly, the conceptualization of power and sex may also be used by men who commit sexual assault (Drieschner and Lange 1999). This idea also shadows social learning theories. Bargh et al. (1995) conducted two experiments with student samples and found a power/sex association among men who were high in rape proclivity. Furthermore, they found that sexual attraction to a woman was dependent on power-related concepts among men who had high levels of rape proclivity in a self-report survey. These findings show some support for the feminist perspective on sexual assault.

To understand sexual assault, cultural theorists examine the meaning, making, and interpretations of texts, media, and messages on sexual assault. This perspective draws from the Chicago School of Symbolic Interactionism, Feminism, and Critical theory. Theorists who use this approach may study how sexual assault is represented in the media or how victims make meaning of their own sexual assault experience (in this way, it is similar to labeling theory). To better understand how women who experienced sexual assault labeled their experience (victims or survivors), Wood and Rennie (1994) conducted interviews. Studies on the media suggest that among women, repeated exposure to sexually explicit materials and violence causes emotional desensitization and

lower levels of concern for sexual assault victims (Krafka et al. 1997). Kahlor and Morrison (2007) found that among female college students, more television viewing is linked to more accepting attitudes toward rape myths.

Environmental theories, specifically Routines Activity Theory, are often used by scholars who study victimization (Boetig 2006). Felson (1998) noted that college females are more likely to be victims of sexual assault because they participate in higher-risk behaviors such as drinking, drug use, and partying. Thus, a way to lower the rate of victimization among this group using a routines activity approach would be to suggest not participating in high-risk activities or to have more capable guardians in the areas where these events occur (Tewksbury, Mustain, and Stegel 2008). An additional study suggested that telling women specifically where sexual assaults occur may reduce victimization. For example, instead of releasing a press statement that sexual assault has occurred on a given campus, provide the specific location on that campus where the incident occurred (i.e. in the parking garage by the library) (Tewksbury et al. 2008). This will decrease the likelihood of some women to venture into that area, but it also increases the level of fear of sexual assault.

The fact that younger women are more likely to be victims of sexual assault is used by theorists in different ways. Evolutionary theorists argue that this is because young women are more fertile. However, other scholars have pointed out that fertility is not a factor when perpetrators look for victims, because victims who are unable to have children (the old and young) are still sexually assaulted. Brownmiller (1975) suggests that younger women have higher victimization rates because they are more likely to be in the same physical spaces as rapists. Brownmiller's assertion that young women are more

likely to be raped because they are close in age to the young men who are more likely to commit rape is part of Routines Activity Theory. Though not discussed in this paper, the fact that young men are more likely to commit sexual assault than older men is a reflection of Life Course Theory and the general crime curve.

Using data from the National Crime Survey, South and Felson (1990) found that rape is more likely to be intra-racial, meaning rapists tend to assault someone of the same race. However, interracial rape does occur. In these instances, interracial rape tends to be a product of opportunity theory. Thus, the more opportunity for social interaction between men and women of different races within the community, the higher the likelihood of interracial sexual assault (South and Felson 1990).

In 1989, Baron and Straus published *Four Theories of Rape in American Society*. Using UCR data on rape and each state as the unit of analysis, Baron and Straus tested four theories. The first two theories stemmed from the feminist paradigm. The authors examined the influence of gender inequality and porn circulation on reported sexual assault rates. They also tested social disorganization theory, a theory of anomie that was introduced by the Chicago School. The final theory they tested was cultural legitimacy of violence, a social learning theory. The authors found that UCR reported higher rates of rape in states with more gender inequality, social disorganization, and higher circulation of pornography. Baron and Straus (1989) also constructed a path-model that suggested rape to be directly influenced by pornography and social disorganization and indirectly influenced by legitimate violence and social disorganization through their effects on gender inequality.

The authors found that 83 percent of variance in state rape rates is reflected by this path-model. However, this is only one interpretation of the data. Though gender inequality appears to be a significant predictor of rape rates, and the authors conclude that “gender inequality contributes to a social climate that is conducive to violence against women” (185), gender inequality was not related to rape in a simple bivariate model. Gender inequality only became significant when including additional variables. Furthermore, in the path-model, social disorganization and legitimate violence affects gender inequality and influences rape rates, but gender inequality could actually be an antecedent of social disorganization and legitimate violence. Finally, because Baron and Straus did not control for other types of violent crime, it is unknown if their findings show actual support for gender-motivated crimes or violent crime in general.

RAPE MYTHS AND THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF VICTIMIZATION

Rape myths are commonly held beliefs about sexual assault that naturalize male sexual aggression toward women (Lonsway and Fitzgerald 1994). According to Burt (1980), rape myths are “prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, rape victims, and rapists” (p. 217), based on culturally held stereotypes of appropriate masculine, feminine, and heterosexual roles (Brownmiller 1975). Furthermore, these myths create a ‘rape-supportive’ culture that constructs only some women as victims (usually those assaulted through stranger rape) and considers other women responsible for their sexual assault (those assaulted through acquaintance and date rape) (Russell 1982).

Though many rape myths exist, Doherty and Anderson narrowed down the five most common (1998):

“(1) Women precipitate rape by their behavior or appearance; (2) rape is not damaging because, after all, it is only sex; (3) real rape victims have signs of injury to prove it because you can’t be raped against your will; (4) women often lie about rape because they are malicious and deceitful; and (5) real rapists are psychopathic individuals.” (p. 583).

Rape myths are used to construct real victims of sexual assault from non-victims.

Society’s internalization of rape myths becomes apparent when one “hear (s) people blaming victims, questioning their credibility, implying they deserved to be raped, say they enjoyed it, or when they trivialize someone’s rape experience” (Anderson 2007:2).

Rape myths are central to the application of power and control over women and promote sexual violence and male sexual aggression. Accepting rape myths as truths has serious consequences, as Anderson (2007) notes: “It allows perpetrators to deny and excuse their violence, it grants permission to not be held accountable, it allows for a system of social and economic control, it fosters opportunities to dehumanize whole groups of people, and it ultimately produces an environment where witnesses and bystanders get to remain neutral and disengaged” (p. 2).

Learning Rape Myths

Scholars have argued that rape myths become internalized through American media culture, arguing that America is, in fact, a ‘rape culture.’ The concept of rape culture derives from Brownmiller’s (1975) book, Against Our Will. In that book, Brownmiller uses numerous media examples to illustrate how sexual violence is part of American culture. Some scholars argue that ‘rape culture’ is an exaggeration. Sanday (2003) distinguishes between rape-prone and rape-free cultures (noting how the same culture can have some institutions that are rape prone and others that are rape free). This distinction aside, both Social Learning and Feminist Theorists have demonstrated that culture

influences the prevalence of sexual assault. Though there is currently no statistical evidence maintaining that America is, in fact, a rape culture, many theoretical essays cite the representation of sexual assault in the media as evidence of rape culture. The following section discusses the depiction of rape in American culture.

One way America creates a culture prone to rape is by offering inaccurate images of sexual assault in the media (Freidman and Valenti 2008; Valenti 2009). For example, rapists are not a few 'sick' individuals that hide in the bushes waiting to pounce on unsuspecting women (Gilbert 1992). Constructing rapists this way allows individuals to distance themselves from the act; men do not identify with this rapist. In addition, the media portrayal of rape victims as unescorted women out late at night, often promiscuous, allows for women to distance themselves from rape victims; it becomes that victim's fault for her attack (Buchwald, Fletcher, and Roth 1995). Rapists are "the product of a culture that glorifies and sexualizes male power/dominance and at the same time glorifies and sexualizes female subservience and submission" (Katz 2006:150). The consequence of linking masculinity to aggression and femininity to sexuality is that any man can become a rapist and any woman can become a victim because rape represents the extreme end of the masculine/feminine continuum (Herman 1984). Baker (1997) suggests that rape is not culturally deviant, but instead culturally dictated. The failure to reflect on how society constructs what is and is not 'real rape' perpetuates sexual assault (Estrich 1987).

One way to demonstrate how American culture influences sexual assault is through the cultural studies approach to the understanding of identity (Who am I?) and ideology (How do I fit into the world?). As Hall (2006) notes, we know ourselves when we see

ourselves represented. In today's society, we are most likely to see ourselves represented in the media, which teaches and transmits our cultural values (Katz 2006). Through the media, people both shape and comprehend their identities. The normalization of sexual violence by media culture occurs by linking femininity with sexuality and masculinity to power and entitlement (Wolf 1991; Benedict 1993).

The connection between femininity and sexuality is constructed by the media and shown to be inherent, but the connection is only a social construction (Seidman 2003). By associating the female gender role with sexuality, society creates a sexual dichotomy of pure and promiscuous (Simon and Gagnon 1986; Gagnon and Simon 2005), or virgins and whores (Benedict 1993; Valenti 2009). Girls learn early on that their only value is in their sexuality; therefore, they must be sexy and desired by boys. From this perspective, a girl's self-worth comes from a boy's response to her body (Wolf 1991). Meanwhile, because sex is their only value, girls need to be careful about showing or giving away too much (Valenti 2009). They need to be sexy but not too sexy, and what it means to be a woman, one's femininity, becomes indistinguishable from a man's use of their body (Katz 2006).

American culture normalizes sexual violence also by linking masculinity to power and entitlement, especially over women's bodies (Katz 2006). The sexually aggressive and often violent male is portrayed as a cultural norm, even desirable. The media representation of sexiness often blurs with mistreatment (Jensen 2007). In turn, boys grow up learning that mistreatment of women is sexy, and girls learn that allowing such mistreatment is sexy. Messerschmidt (1995) notes that the model of masculinity that boys learn is a hegemonic masculinity, a masculinity that views females as subordinate; thus,

manliness involves aggression, authority, control of others, heterosexism, capacity for violence, and uncontrollable sexuality. These representations of femininity and masculinity exist not only in the media (TV, movies, music, radio, talk shows, and Internet) but also in real life (sexual assault cases like that of Kobe Bryant or Roman Polanski); thus, a society's construction of masculinity and femininity shapes the understanding of identity and ideology of its people (Benedict 1993).

Constructing Victims

Though Labeling Theory is most often used in conjunction with criminality, LaFree (1989) notes that it can also be used to understand victimhood. The notion of being a victim is socially constructed by the victim, their friends and family, the police, lawyers, and the entire criminal justice system (Feldman-Summers and Palmer 1980). The fact that victim credibility is often an issue concerning sexual assault cases suggests that the construction of victimhood is as equally important as the construction of a rapist in these cases (LaFree 1989); thus, Labeling Theory can be used to help us understand how victimhood is constructed, shaped, and defined by outside forces. When determining whether or not a sexual assault claim is founded, it is the job of the police to decide if the accusing party is actually a victim.

Guarding the Gateway: Police Decisions

Police are faced with the difficult task of labeling which sexual assault claims are true and which are false. False allegations are usually made for three reasons: alibi, sympathy, and revenge. Most often, the accuser uses rape as an alibi (for example, a pregnant woman may claim rape instead of admitting she has been sexually active). Another reason for false rape claims is the desire for sympathy and revenge. For example, a

revenge accusation may occur when a prostitute is not paid for her services (Kreisel 2009). Researchers found that police estimate 60 percent of sexual assault claims to be false (Feldman-Summers and Palmer 1980), but in actuality, false reports make up only 3 percent of sexual assault claims (Hursh 1977).

In sexual assault cases, the police have three initial tasks: protect the victim, interview the victim, and finally support the victim (Wood 2001). Many police officers, however, find it difficult to support the victim while maintaining objectiveness (Burgess and Holmstrom 1978). Typically, police initially become involved in a sexual assault case when it is first reported, often by the victim (Kreisel 2009). The most readily available patrol officer is typically the one who handles the case (Battelle Law and Justice Study Center 1978). Kreisel (2009) notes that behavioral-oriented interviews are most often used by police to gather information from a victim of sexual assault. The goal of the behavioral-oriented interview is to collect evidence and attempt to identify the type of rapist who committed the crime (Merrill 1995). In behavioral-oriented interviews, police ask questions about force, control, and resistance in order to gain an understanding of what type of rapist committed the assault (Hazelwood and Burgess 1987). Studies show that the more detailed the police interview is, the more likely the success of the prosecution (Bryden and Lengnick 1997).

After the initial interview, the responding officer must decide if the sexual assault claim is founded (LaFree 1989; Kreisel 2009). Ideally, for a claim to be founded, the police look for proof of penetration and proof of force. Proof of force includes physical markings on the victim and/or a statement from the victim that force did occur (Battelle

Law and Justice Study Center 1978). Further discussion of founding of sexual assault claims will be provided in the next section.

Several studies have been conducted on the reasons that police may consider a case unfounded. Using participant observation and interviews in Chicago, Kerstetter (1990) examined these reasons. LaFree (1989) also used a qualitative approach (interviews and participant observation) in Indianapolis to understand why some cases are determined founded versus unfounded (1989). Both of these studies found that willingness to prosecute, presence of a weapon, level of resistance, and age of complainant all played a role in determining the founding of a case. The research shows that these decisions are often subjective in nature. Common reasons for determining a case to be unfounded are:

1. The victim was drinking or doing drugs.
2. The victim is/was a sex worker or prostitute.
3. The victim is believed to be promiscuous.
4. Inconsistencies exist in the victim's story.
5. No visible injuries appear on the victim's sex organs.
6. The victim is a runaway.
7. The victim has a prior criminal record.
8. The victim failed a polygraph test.
9. The victim did not report the crime immediately.
10. The victim is deemed unattractive.
11. The victim knew the offender.
12. The victim had a previous sexual relationship with the offender.
13. The victim is married to the offender.

14. The victim has a history of mental illness.
15. The victim does not appear upset at the initial interview.
16. The victim voluntarily accompanied the offender to the place of attack.
17. The victim voluntarily participated in some sexual contact before the assault.
18. The victim does not want to press charges, is uncooperative, or cannot be located.
19. The victim and offender are close in age.
20. The offender has no previous record.
21. The police do not want to influence department statistics.
22. The police want to close the case because it seems too difficult.
23. The offender cannot be identified. (Kerstetter 1990; LaFree 1989; Kingsnorth, MacIntosh, and Wentworth 1999; Spohn and Holleran 2001; Spohn and Spears 1996; McCahill, Meyer, and Fischman, 1979; LaFree 1981; Feild and Bienen 1980; Feldman-Summers and Lindner 1976; Reskin and Visher 1986).

After a sexual assault claim is labeled as founded, investigation into that case begins; that investigation typically lasts one day or less. The investigation length for sexual assault is similar to the length of investigation for other violent crimes (Greenwood, Chaiken, and Petersilia 1975). An investigation is more likely to end in an arrest if the victim can identify the offender, the victim is willing to prosecute, and proof of penetration or physical force exists (LaFree 1981; Bryden and Lengnick 1997; Battelle Law and Justice Study Center 1978).

Police and Rape Myths

Acceptance of rape myths can also influence the founding of a sexual assault claim and the arrest of an offender. Carrington and Watson (1996) note that some police officers have negative attitudes toward rape victims and participate in victim-blaming due to the internalization of rape myths. A national study conducted by LeDoux and Hazelwood (1985) found that police tend to show lack of concern and suspicion toward rape victims. Other studies show that police think women either provoke sexual assault or lie about the incident (Campbell and Johnson 1997; Campbell et al. 2001). Female victims of sexual assault have reported uneasiness in their encounters with the police and fear they are not believed, which becomes a form of secondary victimization (Carrington and Watson 1996). Secondary victimization also occurs when police do not follow up on a case or rule a legitimate claim unfounded; this tells victims that either they are not believed or that their assault is not important enough to warrant police involvement or further investigation.

As seen above, there are many factors that can influence police officers' decision to determine a claim unfounded. Most of the listed reasons, however, focus on victim characteristics/credibility. Though credibility seems like a legally relevant factor, other variables that should be deemed irrelevant often determine victim credibility. For example, if a victim knew the suspect or had a prior relationship with that suspect, they appear to be less credible; this is associated with the previously discussed rape myths. A prior criminal record on the part of the victim may also encourage police to determine the claim as unfounded due to credibility. The idea that women with criminal records are untrustworthy and may lie about sexual assault is also linked to both rape myths and victim credibility. Even though credibility of the witness is a relevant variable, it is

possible that police use ideas about what constitutes ‘real rape’ and ‘real victims,’ (Estrich 1987) when determining the credibility of a victim. Sexual assaults that are consistent with rape myths, in which police and analysts do not have a reason to question victim credibility, constitute real rape. On the contrary, victims whose sexual assault fits the legal definition of rape, but is consistent with factors associated with rape myths (like victims who knew or had past relationships with the offender) are considered not ‘real’ victims.

UCR Reporting

As discussed previously, the UCR is a national system of police records (Brownstein 2000). Though the UCR itself is standardized (Block and Block 1980), the process in which police jurisdictions send crime statistics to the UCR is not. Though many states have mandatory UCR reporting laws, Lynch and Jarvis (2008) note that “the quality of participation is voluntary and there is no evidence that failure to report in states with mandatory reporting laws has ever resulted in sanctions” (p.71). The lack of State and National sanctions in UCR reporting creates uncertainty about the validity and reliability of the official data and causes the prevalence of missing data to often go unnoticed (Gove, Hughes, and Geerken 1985).

When determining which cases to report to the UCR, crime analysts are expected to compare the official police report with the UCR guidelines. As Brownstein (2000) notes, “the analysis of official crime statistics then becomes a conceptual problem about the constructed nature of the meaning and measure of crime” (p. 76). Thus, crime analysts must interpret police narratives and match each crime with a UCR statute. Crimes that do not match a UCR statute are omitted and become missing data. Though little research has

been dedicated to the process by which police reports become official statistics, scholars have noted the importance of local crime analysts, local politics, national and state level politics, and police perception in determining whether or not a case is filed to the UCR (Block and Block 1982; Grove et al. 1985; Brownstein 2000; Lynch and Jarvis 2008).

The foundation of the American criminal justice system is grounded in the principle of formal rationality. Formal rationality assumes that only legally relevant variables influence criminal case processing, and therefore variables like race, gender, and social class, as well as characteristics associated with rape myths, should not influence whether or not a sexual assault claim is founded by the police or reported to the UCR. The following section discusses the notion of formal rationality, and how it applies to the American criminal justice system.

FORMAL RATIONALITY

The criminological literature offers two basic theoretical perspectives that explain disposition outcomes in criminal cases: formal and bounded rationality. The formal rationality perspective maintains that case outcomes in the criminal justice system are determined by only the legally relevant factors in each case. Formal rationality extends from Weber's (1994) work on rationalization and bureaucracy. The criminal justice system is an example of rational-legal authority (Ritzer 2004). Authority is held by legally recognized impersonal orders and is granted to people only by virtue of the offices they hold. The bureaucratic nature of the criminal justice system is founded on the principles of rationality outlined by Weber, principles such as calculability, predictability, efficiency, control over uncertainties, and an increasing reliance on nonhuman technology.

The process of rationalization is constituted in all aspects of the criminal justice system, from the political elections of court officials, to the interworking of a police station, to sentencing and prosecution decisions. However, because people (police, prosecutors, and jurors) determine the legitimacy of cases, what is legally ‘relevant’ is often subjective; thus, the criminal justice system may be based on rational-legal principles. That said, currently the extent of rationalization in the criminal justice system may not be fully realized.

The phrase “justice is blind” bears testimony to the believed formal rationality of the criminal justice system. The formal rationality perspective argues that sentencing outcomes in criminal cases are determined by legal rules that are universally applied to everyone. It is presumed that formal rationality is applied throughout the criminal justice process, not merely in sentencing. Police and prosecutors are expected to make decisions based on universally applied, legally relevant rules. Therefore, race, class, and gender should not play a significant role in decisions (Dixon 1995). Empirical support exists for the formal rationality perspective in criminal court decisions (Clarke and Koch 1977; Chiricos and Waldo 1975); however, scholars also note the prevalence of bounded rationality.

BOUNDED RATIONALITY

The bounded rationality perspective maintains that sentencing outcomes are determined by the interplay between both legally relevant and legally irrelevant factors. Several theories are grouped under the bounded rationality perspective; these include the Substantive Political Theory, Attribution Theories, and the Organization Maintenance Theory. Substantive Political Theory argues that legally relevant and social status

variables like gender, race, age, and class determine sentencing outcomes (Garfinkel 1949; Spohn, Gruhl, and Welch 1982; Thomson and Zingraff 1981). Albonetti (1987) notes that court officials are required to make rational judgments with incomplete knowledge. In order to make these judgments, officials need to rely on stereotypes to help aid their decisions. Like all stereotypes, these ideologies can be formed from past experiences and/or the media (Perkins 1979). Attribution Theories, which stem from the bounded rationality perspective, suggest that judgments about one's attitude and motivation are considered when determining sentences (Bridges and Steen 1998); whereas Organizational Maintenance Theory suggests that legal factors and processing procedures for reducing sentences (like plea bargains) determine sentence length (Brereton and Casper 1982; Nardulli 1979; Bernstein, Kelly, and Doyle 1977). Though each theory within the bounded rationality perspective offers a different account of why criminal justice inequality exists, these theories share the belief that both legally relevant and legally irrelevant factors influence sentencing outcomes.

The theoretical purpose of this research is to offer a new theory of bounded rationality that applies to cases of sexual assault. Instead of examining court verdicts, I will focus on the police narratives created when the victim first files the report. These narratives follow two different paths in the criminal justice system. First, the initial police narrative is used to help detectives determine the legitimacy of a case, whether or not it is founded or unfounded. After the report is made, the narrative is given to the police department crime analysts, who read the report and label it with an official UCR statute.

Interestingly, the UCR statute is not influenced by the criminal investigation; rather, it is based solely on the narrative constructed by the police officer that took in the initial

report. Whereas officers taking the initial report have contextual factors from their interaction with the victim that may influence their opinion on the legitimacy of a sexual assault claim, the crime analysts for the police department are not influenced by the same factors. Crime analysts must discern from the police report whether or not the crime fits the UCR statute for rape or attempted rape. For this research, I examine the extent to which police officers and crime analysts are guided by formal rationality. Furthermore, I attempt to gauge the extent to which socially constructed stereotypes on what constitutes a real rape victim influence whether or not a case is determined to be founded by the police or if the case is labeled as a rape or attempted rape in the report sent to the UCR. Generally, I postulate that police discretion in determining the legitimacy of a sexual assault claim will be influenced by the principles of bounded rationality—more specifically, attributes related to rape myths and victim credibility. In addition, I hypothesize that a relationship exists between the factors associated with rape myths/victim credibility and the likelihood of a case to be labeled a rape or attempted rape to the UCR. In theory, crime analysts are objective members of the criminal justice system that are not influenced from victim testimony, prosecutors, or potential jury members. However, crime analysts are equally influenced by the stereotypes regarding ‘real’ rape as the rest of society, and the narratives that analysts use to determine whether or not a sexual assault occurred may already include a bias against the victim. Thus, I expect factors associated with rape myths and victim credibility to influence whether or not a case is reported to the UCR. I hypothesize that factors associated with rape myths and victim credibility are used to establish whether or not a sexual assault is founded by the police and reported to the UCR as a rape or attempted rape.

HYPOTHESES

1. Victim age and race, as well as suspect race, and the victim/offender relationship will influence the likelihood of a case to be determined founded by the police.
2. The location of the sexual assault will influence the likelihood of a case to be determined founded by the police.
3. Event characteristics that demonstrate overt force will influence the likelihood of a case to be determined founded by the police. The likelihood of a case to be determined founded increases when overt force is present in the assault.
4. Victim behavior before and after the assault will influence the likelihood of a case to be determined founded by the police. Specifically, claims made by victims whose behaviors are associated with rape myths, or who are viewed as non-credible due to their actions before or after the assault, will be less likely to be determined founded.
5. Victim history with police will influence the likelihood of a case to be determined founded by the police. Specifically, claims made by victims who have had past experience with the police such as a prior criminal record, reported previous sexual assaults, or is/was a runaway will be less likely to be determined founded.
6. Victim age and race, as well as suspect race, and the victim/offender relationship will influence the likelihood of a case to be officially reported to the UCR as a rape or attempted rape.
7. The location of the sexual assault will influence the likelihood of a case to be officially reported to the UCR as a rape or attempted rape.

8. Event characteristics that demonstrate overt force will influence the likelihood of a case to be officially reported to the UCR as a rape or attempted rape. The likelihood of a case being reported to the UCR as a rape or attempted rape increases when overt force is present in the assault
9. Victim behavior before and after the assault will influence the likelihood of a case to be officially reported to the UCR as a rape or attempted rape. Specifically, claims made by victims whose behaviors are associated with rape myths, or who are viewed as non-credible due to their actions before or after the arrest, will be less likely to have their case reported to the UCR as a rape or attempted rape.
10. Victim history with police will influence the likelihood of a case to be officially reported to the UCR as a rape or attempted rape. Specifically, a case with a victim who has had past experiences with the police such as a prior criminal record, reported previous sexual assaults, or is/was a runaway will be less likely to be reported to the UCR as rape or attempted rape.
11. After controlling for victim age and race, as well as suspect race, and the victim/offender relationship, whether or not a claim was determined founded by the police will influence the likelihood of a case to be officially reported to the UCR as rape or attempted rape.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

In order to test these hypotheses, I conducted a secondary data analysis. The data I analyzed came from the Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department (LVMPD). My unit of analysis for all hypotheses is sexual assault incidents (N=2,027). As noted above, there are many sources of data for researchers interested in examining sexual assault. The data I use is unique in that it is community-level data specific to the greater Las Vegas area, tracks the event disposition for each individual case of sexual assault, and contains quantified information about the sexual assault itself, not just whether or not it occurred. Furthermore, this data includes all the sexual assaults reported to the LVMPD during a span of just over two years. Data analysis examining sexual assault usually uses UCR, NCVS, or NIBRS data (as discussed previously), the official numbers collected though these official statistic reporting systems filter out some cases. However, the data I use is unique because it contains all of the reported cases; no cases were filtered out. My research has the unique ability to quantitatively explore the attrition process in sexual assault claims. Thus, the population in this data set is much greater than what would be expected after examining the UCR data (or other official statistics) on sexual assault in Nevada. By examining all the reported sexual assaults, not just the sexual assaults listed in the UCR, my study gain additional validity and reliability for understanding the processing outcomes in sexual assault claims.

ACCESS

I was initially brought into to this project by LVMPD Officer Steven Pace. Officer Pace expressed interest in working with researchers who were familiar with the sexual

assault literature in order to help create new police procedures to lower the prevalence of sexual assault in Las Vegas. In order to gain access to this data, I had to complete the Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department volunteer training. After becoming an official Las Vegas Metro volunteer, I was given access to the Las Vegas Sexual Assault Dataset (LVSAD). This research has also gained IRB approval.

Metro Data

Because the data from the LVMPD is unique and not part of a recognized research center or research dataset, I will briefly describe how the data was collected: A database was created for entry of information obtained by the coders from incident crime reports. The crime analyst of the Crimes Against Youth and Family Bureau of the LVMPD provided event numbers for 2,027 police narrative descriptions of reported sexual assault incidents in Las Vegas from January 2008 through March 2010. Looking at three different aspects of the event (offense, victim, and offender characteristics), this dataset contains a total of 55 variables. Coders were required to research information from the following sources surrounding the event: Local Records Management System (LRMS), Scope Background Checks, and the incident crime report.

The Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department is divided into eight area commands. The Area Command Intelligence Officer (ACIO) for each respective area command was assigned the incidents that occurred in their geographic during the time period of the study, January 2008 through March 2010. Every ACIO received training on how to research and pull the required information for each event number from LRMS. Once this was complete, all information pertinent to the database was collected and coded using a provided codebook. Any other information needed, such as criminal history, was

obtained using the SCOPE databases. All identifying information was removed after each ACIO completed their portion of the database; the files created by each ACIO was then incorporated into a master dataset for the purposes of analysis, and I was granted access to this dataset.

All individual identifiers were removed from the data by Metro Police before the data was released for research purposes; therefore, I cannot link any information from the dataset to specific individuals. Respondents for this study consist of both men and women of all ages who filed a sexual assault complaint with Las Vegas Metropolitan Police from January 2008 through March 2010 (N=2,027). Before beginning my analysis, however, I excluded all sexual assaults that occurred outside of Las Vegas, Nevada. By law, the LVMPD files reports for all sexual assaults, even those that do not occur within Las Vegas jurisdiction; therefore, I removed these cases from the data. I also removed sexual assault cases in which the victim was 12 years old or younger, as such cases often involve pedophilia, a different form of sexual assault in that it has different motivations and different event characteristics. Victims over the age of 55 were also excluded because new research suggests that this is a vulnerable population and that elderly abuse, in some ways, is more similar to child sexual abuse than adult sexual assault. Finally, the LVSAD includes male victims of sexual assault. To ensure comparability to the UCR data, I removed all the cases involving male victims.

Dependent Variables

The first dependent variable for this analysis is event disposition¹. I conceptualize event disposition as whether or not the claim was determined founded by the police. To

¹ See Table 1 for a concise breakdown of dependent and independent variable definitions and coding.

operationalize the concept ‘founded,’ I recoded the variable ‘event disposition’ in the LVSAD. The variable event disposition is a nominal variable with 25 attributes, and it measures the status of a sexual assault claim. For the purpose of my study, I have recoded the variable into two dummy variables: founded (1) and unfounded (0). Any case with the following event disposition fits the criteria of being founded: closed by arrest-adult, ongoing investigation, leads exhausted, closed by arrest-juvenile, cannot ID suspect, case denied by DA, summons/warrant issued, expired statute of limitations, victim refused to prosecute, no contact from the victim, and victim uncooperative. Each of the above-listed event dispositions assumes that the police determined the case founded (or legitimate enough to continue with *their* part in the investigation). Cases with the following event dispositions were coded as ‘unfounded:’ unfounded, insufficient evidence, wrong charge, case civil matter, not applicable or non-criminal incident, suspended, zeroed, closed by exception. Each of these dispositions assumes that the victim’s testimony of what occurred is incorrect. Under formal rationality, victim’s testimony of the event should be enough evidence to proceed with a sexual assault case. Furthermore, wrong charge, case civil matter, and not applicable or non-criminal incident assumes that the victim incorrectly labeled their experience as a sexual assault. Suspended, zeroed, dismissed, and closed by exception are cases that were not investigated, albeit for unknown reasons. Though these cases were not officially labeled ‘unfounded,’ contacts through the Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department stated that suspended, zeroed, dismissed, and closed by exception cases are considered illegitimate and synonymous with unfounded. The event disposition ‘none’ is coded as missing data.

The second dependent variable used in this analysis indicates how the sexual assault/attempted sexual assault was reported to the UCR. As discussed previously in Chapter One, the Uniform Crime Report (UCR) is maintained by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and contains all of the reported crimes in the United States. Police department crime analysts review the sexual assault report narrative constructed by the officer who received the report. Based on the report narrative, the crime analysts choose the appropriate UCR statute, or what they believe is the appropriate UCR statute. To fit the UCR criteria for rape or attempted rape, use of force or a threat of force must have been present, and the victim must be female. As noted above, I filtered out all of the male cases before beginning my analysis. The LVSAD contains the UCR reporting statutes for all reported sexual assaults in Las Vegas. Originally, the UCR statute variable contained 21 attributes. For this analysis, I collapsed the 21 attributes into the dummy variable ‘UCR Report’ (coded as 1). The ‘UCR Report’ variable includes three of the 21 statutes: forcible rape-attempts to commit forcible rape, forcible rape-ape by force, and criminal homicide-murder and non-negligent homicide². The other 18 statutes, used for the cases initially reported by victims as sexual assault, include 5 types of assault, 2 types of burglary, larceny, liquor laws, motor vehicle theft, non-UCR event, prostitution, 4 types robbery, sex offenses, and unspecified. I collapsed the 18 statutes into ‘No Report’ (coded as 0).

Independent Variables

² The UCR is designed in a way that only allows the greatest crime to be reported. Thus, cases of sexual assault with homicide are reported as criminal homicide. The LVSAD contains three such cases. Because homicide is the correct statute for these cases, I included criminal homicide as part of the ‘UCR Report’ variable.

The independent variables used in H1 and H6 measure victim race and age, suspect race, and victim/offender relationship. Victim race consists of one dummy-coded variable (Caucasian=1)³. Victim age is a nominal dummy-coded variable, including 13-18, 19-29 (reference), 30-40, and 41 and older. Suspect race is a dummy-coded variable (Caucasian=1). Conceptually, victim/offender relationship refers to how the victim and offender know each other. To operationalize victim/offender relationship, I recoded the nominal variable 'victim relationship' from the LVSAD from 77 attributes to a dummy-coded variable with acquaintance (reference), past/present intimate partners, friends and family, unknown acquaintance/stranger. Victim age and race, suspect race, and victim/offender relationship are also controlled for in each hypothesis.

H2 and H7 measure the influence of location on the dependent variables. To better measure location, I created two variables: localized premises and hypersexualized premises. My conceptualization for localized premises refers to the location where the sexual assault occurred. To operationalize this variable, I recoded the nominal variable 'general premises' in the LVSAD from 25 attributes to four nominal dummy-coded attributes residences (reference), hotels/motels/bars/nightclubs, vehicles/roadways/alleys, and other.

My conceptualization for hypersexualized premises refers to the broad location where the sexual assault occurred. Hypersexualized places refers to locations where sex is used as a commodity to increase tourism. Though Vegas is not unique in its commodification of sex (sex has become a commodity in all areas of the world), the city is unique in that the marketing of sexuality is central to tourism (Bretners and Hausbeck 2007). Las Vegas

³ The initial analysis separated victim race into four dummy-coded variables; however, race was not significant in any model when coded this way.

relies on slogans such as “What happens in Vegas stays in Vegas,” as a way to market sexual fantasies to its 38 million annual tourists (Las Vegas Convention and Visitors Authority 2006). For the purpose of this research, the main Las Vegas tourist areas will constitute the hypersexualized locations. Though Las Vegas has both casinos and strip clubs spread throughout the valley, the largest concentration of these businesses can be found on/near the Las Vegas strip and Fremont Street (downtown). Both of these areas use sex and commodified female bodies to help bring in business from local and tourists.

To operationalize hypersexualized premises, I recoded the variable ‘event jurisdiction’ in the LVSAD. In the dataset, ‘event jurisdiction’ is a nominal variable with eight attributes: Northwest Area Command (NWAC), Bolden Area Command (BAC), Northeast Area Command (NEAC), Southeast Area Command (SEAC), Enterprise Area Command (EAC), Convention Center Area Command (CCAC), South Central Area Command (SCAC), and Downtown Area Command (DTAC). I have recoded ‘event jurisdiction’ into a new nominal level variable, ‘place,’ with two attributes. For one attribute, I combined CCAC (the Las Vegas strip) and DTAC (Fremont Street Experience); this attribute represents hypersexualized place. Building this variable is imperfect because there are residences in the CCAC and DTAC and sex is used for marketing and to generate tourism in other areas of Las Vegas. For example, casinos and strip clubs are scattered throughout the Las Vegas valley. Still, the concentration of sexualized businesses on the strip and in the downtown area is much greater than in other areas of the city. By combining these two areas, I can compare the prevalence of reported sexual assault in the main tourist destination of Las Vegas with the prevalence of sexual assaults that occur in other areas of city. For the second attribute, less sexualized place, I

combined NWAS, BAC, NEAC, SEAC, EAC, and SCAC. Each attribute is dummy coded (hypersexualized place=1, less sexualized place=0).

H3 and H8 measure the extent to which the use of overt force influences the dependent variables. Overt force refers to characteristics specific to a sexual assault offense that, according to rape myths, makes the sexual assault claim appear to be more legitimate than other claims. Overt force consists of five dummy-coded nominal variables (yes=1, no=0). The variables that determine if overt force was used in a sexual assault are presence of other crimes, multiple offenders, multiple types of penetration, use of physical force and use of a weapon.

The independent variables used in H4 and H9 measure victim behavior before and after the offense. Many rape myths assume that victims are responsible for their assault due to behaviors they participated in before the assault occurred (drinking, partying, etc). Another common rape myth concerns how victims act after the assault, the assumption being that 'real' victims report sexual assaults immediately. The four dummy-coded variables (yes=1, no=0) that measure victim behavior are use of alcohol before the assault, use of drugs before the assault, victim met the offender at a nightclub, and the victim waited more than 24 hours before filing a report.

H5 and H10 measure victim's background or previous history with law enforcement. Conceptually, victim's background refers to aspects of the victim's history that, according to rape myths, would cause the victim to seem less credible than other victims. The three nominal dummy-coded (yes=1, no=0) background characteristics used to determine victim credibility are criminal priors in victims history, a history of previous sexual assault, and victim is/was listed as a runaway.

The independent variable used in H11 is the dependent variable used in H1 through H5, 'founded.' I did not make any changes in the coding of this variable. Table 1 depicts the coding and frequencies for each of the independent and dependent variables used in this analysis.

Analysis Plan

I received the Las Vegas sexual assault dataset in the form of a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. I uploaded the dataset into a quantitative software program, SAS. After cleaning, recoding, and running basic descriptives of the data, I ran Pearson correlation coefficients to ensure that no variables were too highly correlated. The descriptive statistics of all the variables used are shown in Table 2. In addition, I ran crosstabs and a chi-square for each independent variable across both dependent variables. Table 3 depicts a correlation matrix for all of the independent variables by the two dependent variables, founded and UCR reported. Finally, in order to test each hypothesis, I ran a binary logistic regression.

Table 1			
Variable Definitions & Frequencies			N = 2027
Variable Categories	Variables	Definition	n/N (%)
Independent Measures			
	Age 13-18	13-18=1, else=0	530/2027 (26.15%)
Victim Age	Age 19-29 (reference)	19-29=1, else=0	824/2027 (40.65%)
	Age 30-40	30-40=1, else=0	369/2027 (18.20%)
	Age 41+	41+=1, else=0	304/2027 (15.00%)
Victim Race	Caucasian	Caucasian=1, else=0	1132/2027 (55.85%)
Suspect Race	Caucasian	Caucasian=1, else=0	735/2027 (36.26%)
	Friend, Known to Victim (reference)	Friend=1, else=0	199/2027 (9.82%)
Victim/Offender	Partner/Family/HH	Past/Present Intimate Partner/ Family/Household Member=1, else=0	60/2027 (2.96%)
Relationship	Acquaintance, Just Met	Acquaintance=1, else=0	1741/2027 (85.89%)
	Stranger	Unknown Acquaintance/Stanger=1, else=0	27/2027 (1.33%)
Environment	Hypersexualized Premises	Yes=1, No=0	645/2027 (31.82%)
	Residences (reference)	Residences=1, else=0	1058/2027 (52.20%)
Localized Premises	Hotels/Motels/Bars/Nightclubs	Hotels/Motels/Bars/Nightclubs=1, else=0	406/2027 (20.03%)
	Vehicles/Roadways/Alleys	Vehicles/Roadways/Alleys=1, else=0	196/2027 (9.67%)
	Other	Other=1, else=0	367/2027 (18.11%)
	Additional Crimes	Yes=1, No=0	120/2027 (5.92%)
	Multiple Offenders	Yes=1, No=0	230/2027 (11.35%)
Overt Force	Multiple Penetration	Yes=1, No=0	368/2027 (18.15%)
	Physical Force	Yes=1, No=0	982/2027 (48.45%)
	Weapon	Yes=1, No=0	171/2027 (8.44%)
	Used Alcohol	Yes=1, No=0	803/2027 (39.62%)
Behavior Before/	Used Drugs	Yes=1, No=0	259/2027 (12.78%)
After Offense	Met Offender at Nightclub	Yes=1, No=0	273/2027 (13.47%)
	Waited to Report	Yes=1, No=0	798/2027 (39.37%)
	Criminal Priors	Yes=1, No=0	559/2027 (27.58%)
Victim's Background	Previous Sexual Assault	Yes=1, No=0	153/2027 (7.55%)
	Is/Was Runaway	Yes=1, No=0	376/2027 (18.55%)
Dependent Measures			
	Founded	Yes=1, No=0	1432/2027 (70.65%)
	UCR Report	Yes=1, No=0	1121/2027 (55.30%)

Chapter 4

RESULTS

Table 2 displays descriptive statistics for the 2 dependent variables and 24 independent variables. The proportions in Table 2 are also accompanied by chi-square statistics for both dependent variables, founded and UCR reported. Of the 2,027 sexual assaults reported to LVMPD from January 2008 through March 2010, 1,432 of the claims were deemed founded by the police (70.65 percent illustrated in Figure 1) and 1,121 were reported to the UCR (55.30 percent illustrated in Figure 2).

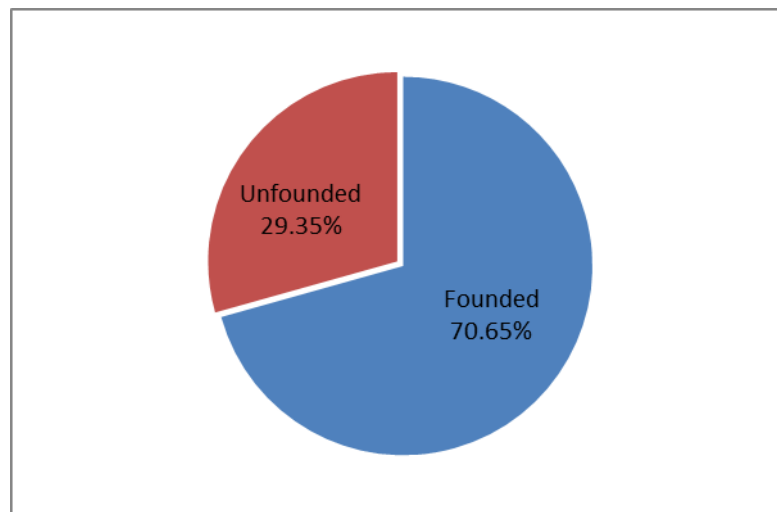


Figure 1: Distribution of Founded Sexual Assault Claims to LVMPD from January 2008 through March 2010, N=2,027.

Measures of victim age, shown in Figure 3, were unevenly distributed but consistent with the literature. As seen in Figure 1, victims aged 19-29 represented 40.65 percent of the population; 13-18 represented 26.15 percent of the population; 30-40 maintained 18.2 percent; and victims aged 41 and over held the last 15 percent. Victims aged 19-29 were significantly overrepresented (at the .01 level) as compared to the other age groups in their cases being determined founded. Additionally, victims aged 13-18

were also significantly represented in having their cases determined founded, though just barely (at the .10 level). Interestingly, victim age did not significantly influence a case to be labeled a rape to the UCR.

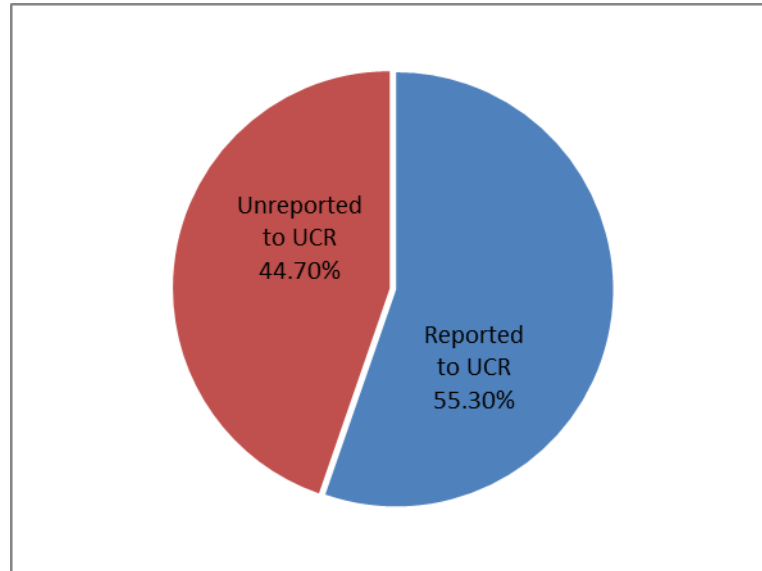


Figure 2: Distribution of Sexual Assault Cases Reported to the UCR, N=2,027.

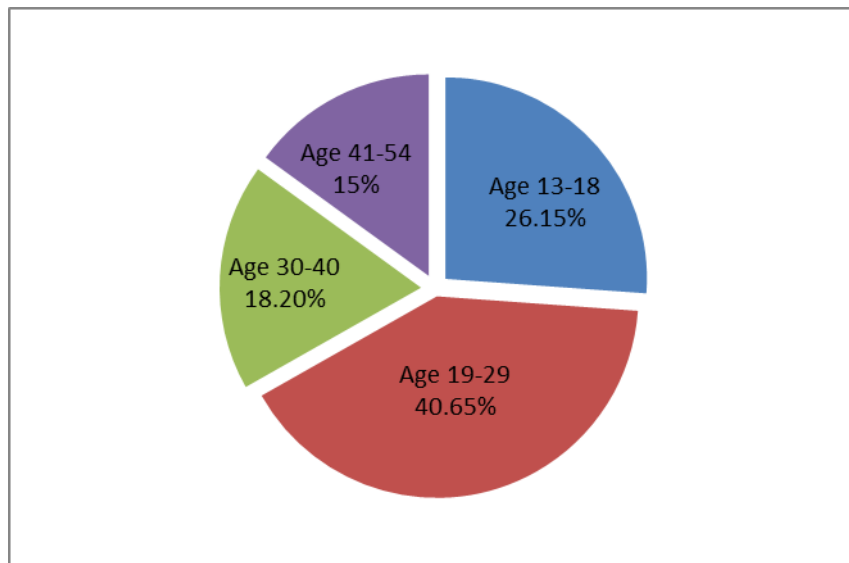


Figure 3: Distribution of Victim's Ages, N=2,027.

Victim race was almost equally distributed, with Caucasians representing 55.85 percent of the population. Victim race did not significantly influence a sexual assault to be founded by the police. Victim race significantly, though barely, influenced the labeling of a sexual assault to the UCR (at the .10 level). Interestingly, 55.85 percent of the victims identified as Caucasian, though only 36.26 percent of the suspects were Caucasian. Furthermore, suspect race did not influence the founding of a sexual assault or the UCR labeling of the assault. Both victim and suspect race race is presented in Figure 4.

Figure 5 illustrates the distribution of victim/offender relationship. In the measure of victim/offender relationship, cases where the victim just met the offender (acquaintance just met) were overrepresented with with 85.89 percent of the population. Cases where the victim knew the offender (friend) were the next highest represented group, with 9.82 percent of the population; followed by victims who knew the offender through a past or present intimate relationship; family or household member which maintained 2.96

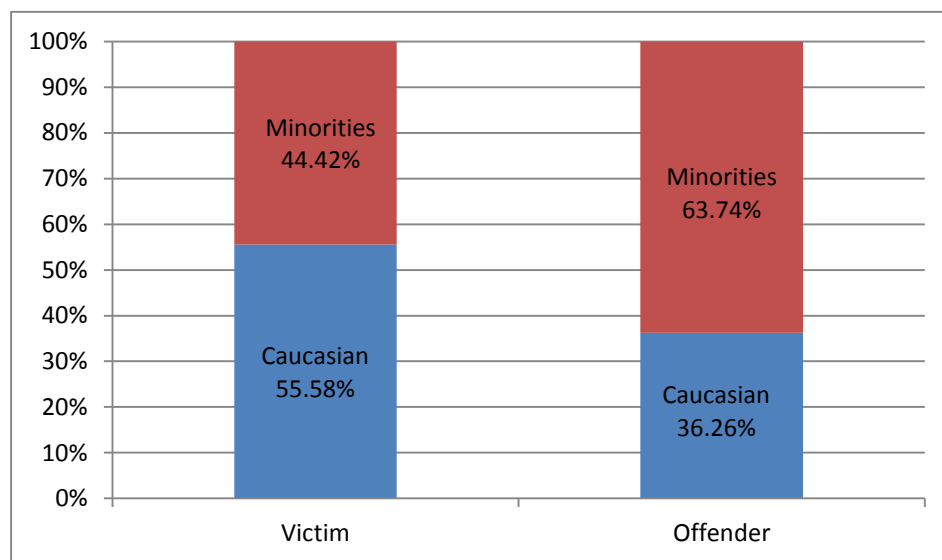


Figure 4: Distribution of Victim and Offender Race, N=2,027.

percent on the population; and finally, attacks from strangers, which represented 1.33 percent of the population. A significant relationship was found when the victim/offender relationship was that of a friend, partner/family/household member, or an acquaintance just met and the case to be determined founded by the police (at the .001 level). Cases where the victim did not know the offender (stranger) were also significantly related to the case being determined founded by the police (at the .01 level). Interestingly, only cases where the victim/offender relationship was that of a friend or acquaintance significantly influenced a case to be reported to the UCR (at the .05 level). Cases where the offender was a stranger or past/present intimate partner or family or household member were not significantly represented in UCR reporting.

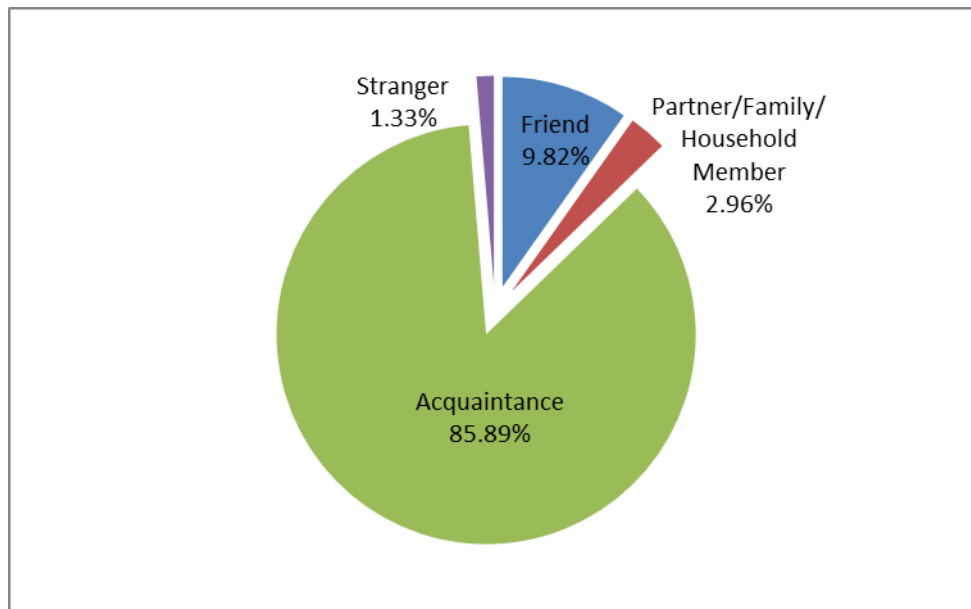


Figure 5: Distribution of Victim Offender Relationship, N=2,027.

Sexual assaults that occurred in hypersexualized environments, depicted in Figure 6, represented 31.82 percent of the population. The likelihood of a case to be determined founded or reported to the UCR by police was not influenced by the sexual assault

occurring in a hypersexualized premises. Sexual assaults that occurred in residences maintained 52.2 percent of the population, followed by assault occurring in hotels, motels, bars, and nightclubs, which represented 20.03 percent. Other premises for assaults held 18.11 percent of the population, and 9.67 percent of the sexual assaults occurred in vehicles, roadways, and alleys. Figure 7 illustrates the distribution for localized premises. No significant relationship was found between the localized premises of the assault and the case being determined founded by the police. A significant relationship was found between sexual assaults that occurred in hotels, motels, bars, and nightclubs and a case being reported to the UCR (at the .01 level). Sexual assaults that occurred in residences were also significantly related to a case being reported to the UCR (at the .05 level). Both cases where the sexual assault occurred in a vehicle, roadway, or alley and ‘other’ locations were not significantly related to the case being labeled an assault for the UCR.

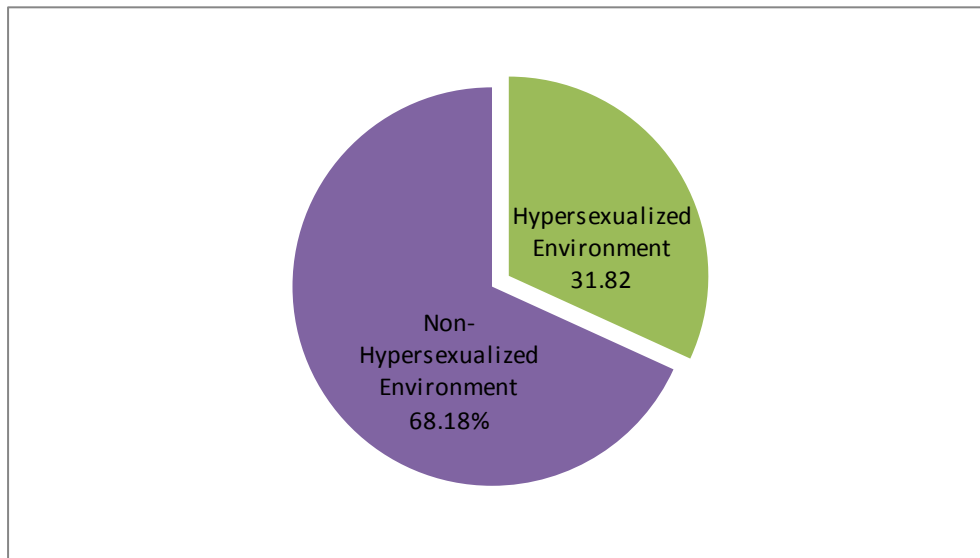


Figure 6: Distribution of Sexual Assaults that Occurred in a Hypersexualized Environments, such as the Las Vegas Strip or Downtown area, N=2.027.

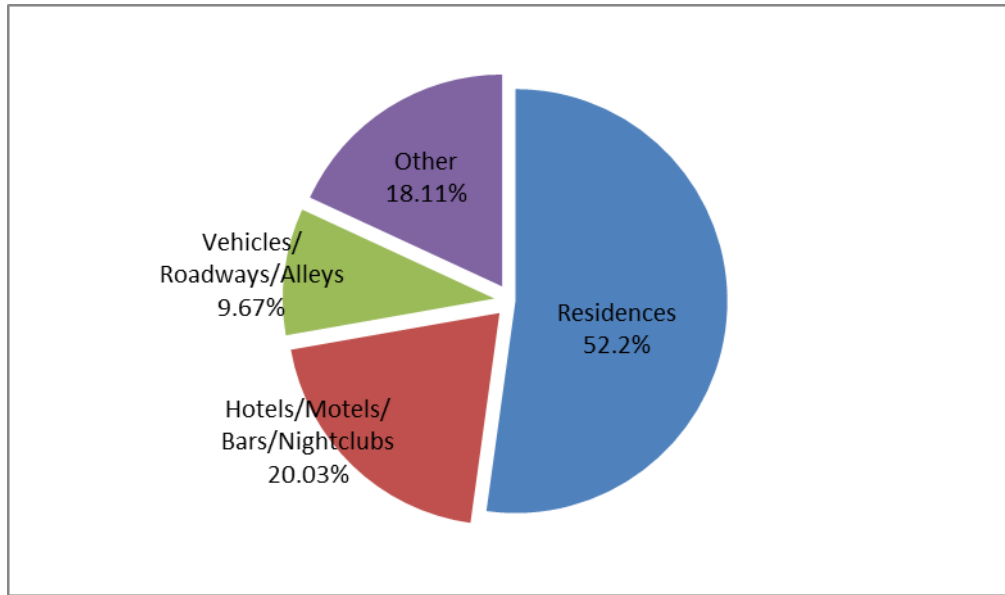


Figure 7: Distribution of the Localized Premises for Sexual Assault Claims, N=2,027.

Figure 8 depicts the five variables that were used to measure overt force. The first, additional crimes present at time of the sexual assault, occurred in 5.92 percent of the cases. Presence of additional crimes did not significantly influence the likelihood of a claim to be determined by the police. However, a significant relationship was found between additional crimes and the case being reported to the UCR (at the .05 level). Cases with multiple offenders occurred in 11.35 percent of the population. The presence of multiple offenders did not significantly influence a claim to be determined founded or reported to the UCR by police. Sexual assaults with multiple types of penetration were represented in 18.15 percent of the population. A significant relationship was found between multiple penetration and a claim to be determined founded (at the .05 level), as well as between multiple penetration and a case to be reported to the UCR (at the .001 level). Use of force by the offender was represented in 48.45 percent of the cases. Furthermore, a significant relationship was found between use of force and both a claim being determined founded and it being reported to the UCR (at the .001 level). Finally,

the use of a weapon during the sexual assault occurred in 8.44 percent of the cases. A significant relationship was found between the use of a weapon and a claim being determined founded by the police (at the .05 level). Additionally, the relationship between a case being reported to the UCR and use of a weapon was also significant (at the .01 level).

Four variables were used to assess victim behavior before and after the offense, as seen in Figure 9. The first variable, victim's use of alcohol before the assault, was represented in 39.62 percent of the cases. Though no significant relationship was found between victim's use of alcohol and a claim being determined founded by the police, a significant relationship was found between the victim's use of alcohol and the assault

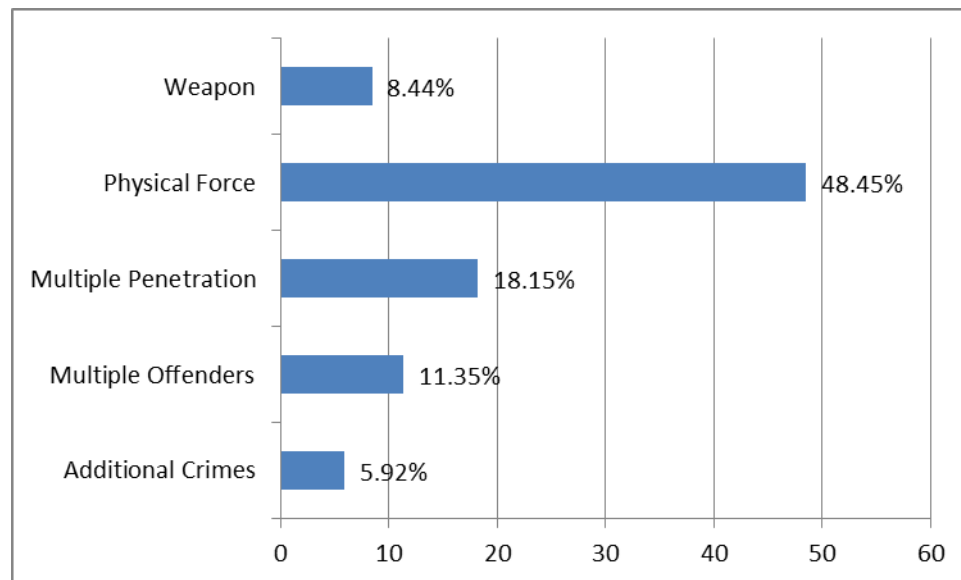


Figure 8: Distribution of Variables Measuring Overt Force, N=2,027.

being reported to the UCR (at the .001 level). The use of drugs by a victim before the assault occurred in 12.78 percent of the cases and was not significantly related to either of the dependent variables. Within the population, 13.47 percent of the victims met the offender at a nightclub. Meeting the offender at a nightclub was significantly related to a

claim being determined founded by the police (though just barely at the .10 level) and to the case being reported to the UCR (at the .001 level). Finally, 39.37 percent of the victims waited 24 hours or more before reporting their sexual assault to the police. A significant relationship between waiting to report and a claim being determined founded by the police was found (at the .10 level). However, no relationship was found between a victim waiting to report an assault and the assault being reported to the UCR.

Figure 10 illustrates the 3 variables that were used to measure the victim’s background. In 27.58 percent of the cases, the victim had criminal priors. A significant relationship between victims with criminal priors and both the likelihood of a case to be founded and reported to the UCR as a sexual assault was found (at the .05 level). Victims

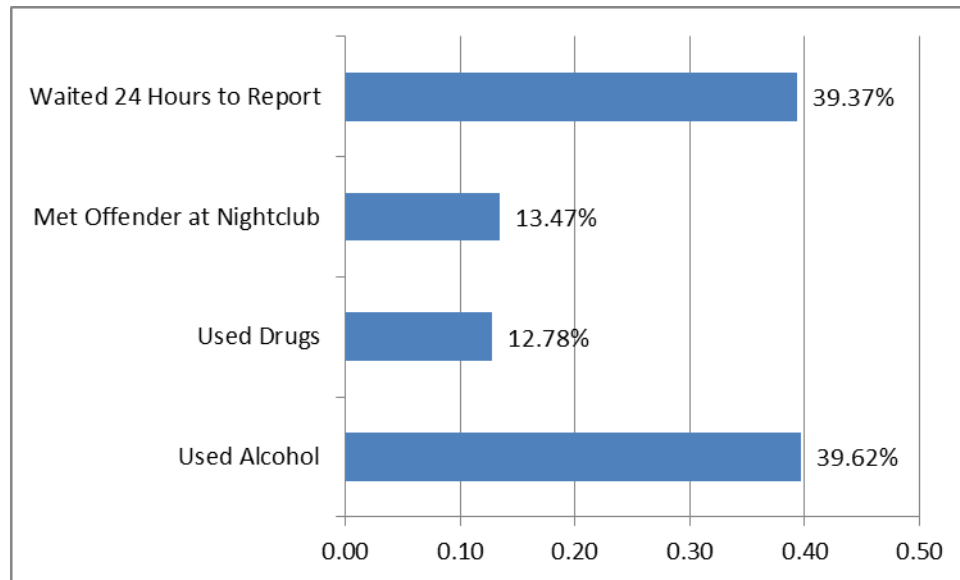


Figure 9: Distribution of Variables Measuring Victims’ Behavior Before and After the Offense, N=2,027.

with a previous sexual assault represented 7.55 percent of the population and victims with a past or present listing as a runaway maintained 18.55 percent of the population. No relationship was found between previous sexual assaults and being listed as a runaway with either of the dependent variables.

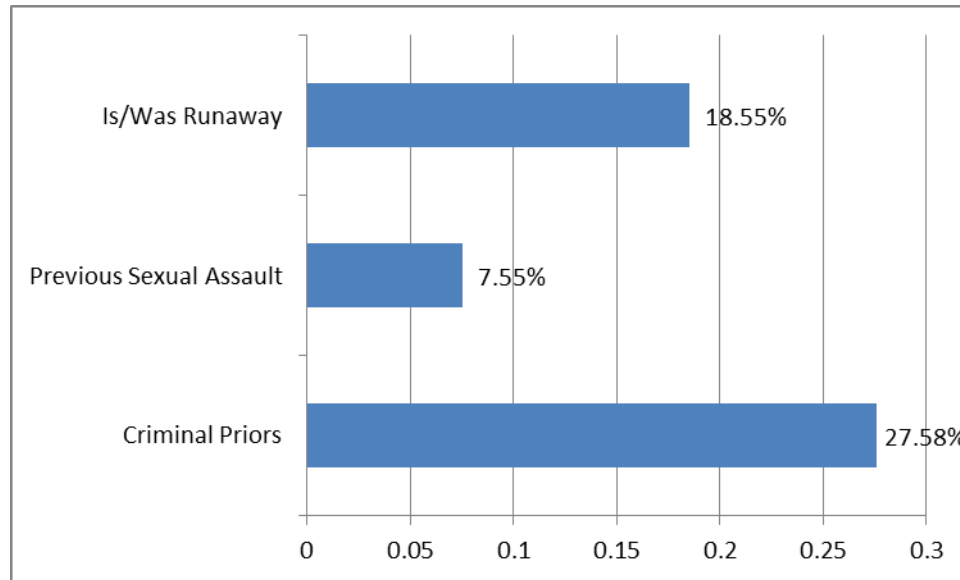


Figure 10: Distribution of Variables Measuring Victims' Background, N=2,027.

Bivariate Relationships

Pearson correlation coefficients, presented in Table 2, indicate the bivariate relationships between the 2 dependent variables and the 24 independent variables. As similarly reflected in the chi-square results in Table 3, a significant relationship was found between victims aged 13-18, victims aged 19-29, all categories of victim/offender relationship, multiple penetration, use of force, use of a weapon, the victim meeting the offender at a nightclub, victims waiting to report the assault, and the victim having criminal priors and the claim being determined founded by the police. Furthermore, the alpha levels between the independent and dependent variables in the Pearson correlation coefficients are to the same significant alpha levels found in the chi-square (with the exception of victims aged 19-29, where the chi-square alpha is .01 and the Pearson coefficient alpha is only .05).

Similarly to the chi-square results presented in Table 3, victim race, victim offender relationship, location of the assault, assaults that occurred with additional crimes, had

multiple offenders, use of physical force, use of a weapon, use of alcohol by the victim before the assault, victims that met the offender at a nightclub, and victims with criminal priors were all significantly related to a case being reported to the UCR. Additionally, I included the founding of a sexual assault claim as an independent variable in the Pearson coefficient matrix. Claims that were determined founded by police officers were significantly related to a case being reported to the UCR (at the .001 level).

	Founded	UCR Report
Age 13-18	-0.04 ^	-0.02
Age 19-29	0.05 *	0.01
Age 30-40	0	0.01
Age 41+	-0.02	0.01
Victim Caucasian	0.02	-0.04 ^
Offender Caucasian	0.01	0.01
Friend	-0.09 ***	-0.04 *
Partner/Family/HH	-0.12 ***	-0.03
Acquaintance Just Met	0.16 ***	0.05 *
Stranger	-0.07 **	0.01
Hypersexualized Premises	0.03	-0.00
Residences	-0.02	0.05 *
Hotels/Motels/Bars/Nightclubs	-0.00	-0.06 **
Vehicles/Roadways/Alleys	0.02	0
Other Location	0.01	-0.00
Additional Crimes	0.01	-0.05 *
Multiple Offenders	0.02	0.02
Multiple Penetration	0.05 *	0.12 ***
Physical Force	0.15 ***	0.31 ***
Weapon	0.05 *	0.07 **
Used Alcohol	-0.03	-0.09 ***
Used Drugs	0.01	-0.03
Met Offender at Nightclub	-0.04 ^	-0.08 ***
Waited to Report	-0.04 ^	0.01
Criminal Priors	0.05 *	0.06 *
Previous Sexual Assault	0.02	-0.00
Is/Was Runaway	-0.01	-0.02
Founded	1	0.15 ***
***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05, (^p<.10)		

Table 2									
Descriptives Table Across Dependent Variables									
		Overall	Founded			UCR			
		N=2027	N=1432	Percentage Among	Chi square	N=1121	Percentage Among	Chi square	
Independent Measures		n/N(%)	n/N(%)	Founded		n/N(%)	UCR Report		
Victim Age	Age 13-18	530/2027 (26.15%)	358/1432 (25.00%)	358/530 (67.55%)	3.32 ^	283/1121 (25.25%)	283/530 (53.40%)	1.06	
	Age 19-29 (reference)	824/2027 (40.65%)	605/1432 (42.25%)	605/824 (73.42%)	5.16 **	460/1121 (41.03%)	460/824 (55.83%)	0.15	
	Age 30-40	369/2027 (18.20%)	261/1432 (18.23%)	261/369 (70.73%)	0.00	207/1121 (18.47%)	207/369 (56.10%)	0.12	
	Age 41+	304/2027 (15.00%)	208/1432 (14.53%)	208/304 (68.42%)	0.85	171/1121 (15.25%)	171/304 (56.25%)	0.13	
Victim Race	Caucasian	1132/2027 (55.85%)	807/1432 (56.35%)	807/1132 (71.29%)	0.51	607/1132 (54.15%)	607/1132 (53.62%)	2.93 ^	
Suspect Race	Caucasian	735/2027 (36.26%)	525/1432 (36.66%)	525/735 (71.43%)	0.34	413/1121 (36.84%)	413/735 (56.19%)	0.37	
	Friend (reference)	199/2027 (9.82%)	115/1432 (8.03%)	115/119 (96.64%)	17.59 ***	91/1121 (8.65%)	91/119 (76.47%)	3.84 *	
Victim/Offender	Partner/Family/HH	60/2027 (2.96%)	23/1432 (1.61%)	23/60 (38.33%)	31.13 ***	28/1121 (2.50%)	28/60 (46.67%)	1.87	
Relationship	Acquaintance Just Met	1741/2027 (85.89%)	1282/1432 (89.53)	1282/1741 (73.63%)	53.18 ***	980/1121 (87.42%)	980/1741 (56.29%)	4.85 *	
	Stranger	27/2027 (1.33%)	12/1432 (0.84%)	12/27 (44.44%)	9.06 **	16/1121 (1.43%)	16/27 (59.26%)	0.17	
Environment	Hypersexualized Premises	645/2027 (31.82%)	469/1432 (32.75%)	469/645 (72.71%)	1.95	356/1121 (31.76%)	356/645 (55.19%)	0.95	
	Residences (reference)	1058/2027 (52.20%)	740/1432 (51.68%)	740/1058 (69.94%)	0.53	609/1121 (54.33%)	609/1058 (57.56%)	4.57 *	
	Hotels/Motels/Bars/Nightclubs	406/2027 (20.03%)	285/1432 (19.90%)	285/406 (70.20%)	0.05	199/1121 (17.75%)	199/406 (49.01%)	8.12 **	
	Vehicles/Roadways/Alleys	196/2027 (9.67%)	143/1432 (9.99%)	143/196 (72.96%)	0.56	111/1121 (9.90%)	111/196 (56.63%)	0.16	
	Other	367/2027 (18.11%)	264/1432 (18.44%)	264/367 (71.93%)	0.36	202/1121 (18.02%)	202/367 (55.04%)	0.01	
Overt Force	Additional Crimes	120/2027 (5.92%)	88/1432 (6.15%)	88/120 (73.30%)	0.44	54/1121 (4.82%)	54/120 (45.00%)	5.48 *	
	Multiple Offenders	230/2027 (11.35%)	169/1432 (11.80%)	169/230 (73.48%)	1.00	136/1121 (12.13%)	136/230 (59.13%)	1.54	
	Multiple Penetration	368/2027 (18.15%)	277/1432 (19.34%)	277/368 (75.27%)	4.64 *	250/1121 (22.30%)	250/368 (67.93%)	29.02 ***	
	Physical Force	982/2027 (48.45%)	763/1432 (53.28%)	763/982 (77.70%)	45.68 ***	700/1121 (62.44%)	700/982 (71.28%)	196.8 ***	
	Weapon	171/2027 (8.44%)	133/1432 (9.29%)	133/171 (77.77%)	4.58 *	114/1121 (10.17%)	114/171 (66.67%)	9.76 **	
Behavior Before/ After Offense	Used Alcohol	803/2027 (39.62%)	554/1432 (38.69%)	554/803 (68.99%)	1.76	399/1121 (35.59%)	399/803 (49.69%)	16.96 ***	
	Used Drugs	259/2027 (12.78%)	187/1432 (13.06%)	187/259 (72.20%)	0.35	133/1121 (11.86%)	133/259 (51.35%)	1.88	
	Met Offender at Nightclub	273/2027 (13.47%)	181/1432 (12.64%)	181/273 (66.30%)	2.87 ^	122/1121 (10.88%)	122/273 (44.69%)	14.38 ***	
	Waited to Report	798/2027 (39.37%)	545/1432 (38.06%)	545/798 (68.30%)	3.51 ^	445/1121 (39.70%)	445/798 (55.76%)	0.11	
Victim's Background	Criminal Priors	559/2027 (27.58%)	416/1432 (29.05%)	416/559 (74.42%)	5.30 *	334/1121 (29.79%)	334/559 (59.75%)	6.17 *	
	Previous Sexual Assault	153/2027 (7.55%)	114/1432 (7.96%)	114/153 (74.51%)	1.19	84/1121 (7.49%)	84/153 (54.90%)	0.01	
	Is/Was Runaway	376/2027 (18.55%)	261/1432 (18.23%)	261/376 (69.41%)	0.34	202/1121 (18.02%)	202/376 (53.72%)	0.47	

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05, (^p<.10)

Multivariate Models: Tests of Hypotheses

I used binary logistic regression in each of the multivariate analyses to test hypotheses. The first hypotheses (victim age and race, as well as suspect race, and the victim/offender relationship will influence the likelihood of a case to be determined founded by the police) is depicted in Model 1 of Table 4. Victims aged 13-18 were 22 percent less likely to have their claims determined founded by the police as compared to victims aged 19-29 (significant at the .05 level). Interestingly, this relationship intensified in Model 1 when compared to the chi-square depicted in Table 3. A significant relationship was found between victims aged 41 and older and their sexual assault claim being determined founded by the police. Specifically, victims aged 41 and older were 23 percent less likely to have their claim determined founded by the police in comparison to victims aged 19-29 (at the .10 level). Though the relationship between victims aged 41 and older and a claim being determined founded by the police was barely significant in the multivariate analysis, it was an interesting finding because no significance between the two variables was found in the chi-square.

Victim/offender relationship also influenced the likelihood of a claim to be founded by the police. Victims whose offender was a past or present intimate partner or family/household member were 54 percent less likely to have their claim determined founded by the police, in comparison to victims who were deemed to be a friend of their offender (at the .05 level). In comparison with the findings from the chi-square, the significant relationship between victims whose offender was labeled an intimate partner or family/household member weakened in the multivariate analysis. In contrast to victims

Table 4

Bivariate Logistic Regression for Founded Sexual Assault. Coefficients (B) and Odds Ratios (Exp B).

		Model 1		Model 2	
		B	Exp (B)	B	Exp (B)
Victim Age	Age 13-18	-0.25 *	0.78	-0.27 *	0.76
	Age 19-29 (reference)	----	----	----	----
	Age 30-40	-0.11	0.90	-0.13	0.88
	Age 41+	-0.27 ^	0.77	-0.31 *	0.73
Victim Race	Caucasian	0.08	1.08	0.08	1.09
Suspect Race	Caucasian	0.07	1.07	0.09	1.09
Victim/Offender Relationship	Friend (reference)	----	----	----	----
	Partner/Family/HH	-0.77 *	0.46	-0.80 **	0.45
	Acquaintance Just Met	0.72 ***	2.05	0.71 ***	2.04
	Stranger	-0.58	0.56	-0.59	0.56
Environment	Hypersexualized Premises			0.20	1.22
Localized Premises	Residences (reference)			----	----
	Hotels/Motels/Bars/Nightclubs			-0.25 ^	0.78
	Vehicles/Roadways/Alleys			-0.00	1.00
	Other			0.03	1.03
-2 Log Likelihood		2453.84		2453.84	
N		2027		2027	

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05, (^p<.10)

who were friends with the offender, victims who were acquaintances or just met the offender were 105 percent more likely to have their claims determined founded by police (significant at the .001 level). Though a significant relationship between victims whose offender was a stranger and their claim being determined founded by the police was found in the chi-square, no significant relationship between these variables was found in the multivariate analysis. Based on these findings, I find support for my hypothesis that age and victim/offender relationship does influence the likelihood of a sexual assault claim to be determined founded by the police. However, I was unable to support the

hypotheses that victim and/or suspect race affect police discretion in determining the legitimacy of a sexual assault claim.

Model 2 in Table 4 tests the H2 (the location of sexual assault will influence the likelihood of a case to be determined founded by the police). Similar to Model 1, I found that both victim age and victim/offender relationship influenced the likelihood of a claim to be determined founded by the police. In fact, some of these relationships intensified slightly with the inclusion of hyper-sexualized and localized premises. No significant relationship was found between hyper-sexualized premises and a claim being determined legitimate. Of all the localized premises, only sexual assaults that occurred in hotels, motels, bars, and nightclubs significantly (though slightly) influenced the likelihood of a claim to be determined founded by the police (at the .10 level). Specifically, sexual assaults that occurred in hotels, motels, bars, and nightclubs were 22 percent less likely to be determined founded by the police. Taking the low level of significance into account, I believe I was unable to find adequate support for H2.

Hypothesis 3 (the likelihood of a case to be determined founded increases when overt force is present in the assault) is tested in Model 3 on Table 5. As in Models 1 and 2, victim age and victim/offender relationship influenced the likelihood of claim to be determined founded by the police when taking into account the variables measuring overt force. Of the five variables that measured overt force, only use of force significantly influenced the likelihood of a claim to be determined founded by the police. Specifically, victims who experienced use of force during their assault were 83 percent more likely to have their claim determined founded by the police. Though results were mixed, I found partial support for H3.

Table 5
 Bivariate Logistic Regression for Founded Sexual Assault. Coefficients (B) and Odds Ratios (Exp B).

		Model 3		Model 4	
		B	Exp (B)	B	Exp (B)
Victim Age	Age 13-18	-0.24 ^	0.78	-0.32 *	0.73
	Age 19-29 (reference)	----	----	----	----
	Age 30-40	-0.16	0.85	-0.15	0.86
	Age 41+	-0.31 *	0.73	-0.34 *	0.71
Victim Race	Caucasian	0.13	1.14	0.08	1.08
Suspect Race	Caucasian	0.09	1.09	0.08	1.08
Victim/Offender Relationship	Friend (reference)	----	----	----	----
	Partner/Family/HH	-0.84 **	0.43	-0.79 **	0.45
	Acquaintance Just Met	0.60 ***	1.81	0.75 ***	2.13
	Stranger	-0.64	0.53	-0.59	0.55
Overt Force	Additional Crimes	0.20	1.22	----	----
	Multiple Offenders	0.03		----	----
	Multiple Penetration	0.15	1.16	----	----
	Physical Force	0.60 ***	1.83	----	----
	Weapon	0.02	1.02	----	----
Behavior Before/ After Offense	Used Alcohol			-0.76	0.93
	Used Drugs			0.23	1.25
	Met Offender at Nightclub			-0.43 **	0.65
	Waited to Report			-0.17	0.85
-2 Log Likelihood		2453.84		2453.84	
N		2027		2027	

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05, (^p<.10)

Hypothesis 4 (claims made by victims whose behaviors are associated with rape myths will less likely be determined founded) is presented in Model 4 on Table 5. After controlling for victim age, victim race, suspect race, and victim/offender relationship, I found that one of the four variables measuring victim behavior before or after the offense significantly influenced the likelihood of a claim to be determined founded by the police. Victims who met their offenders at a nightclub were 35 percent less likely to have their

claim determined founded by the police (at the .01 level). Thus, I found partial support for H4.

Hypothesis 5 (claims made by victims who have had past experience with the police such as a prior criminal record, reported previous sexual assaults, or is/was a runaway will less likely to be determined founded) is tested in Model 5 on Table 6. After controlling for victim age, victims race, suspect race, and victim/offender relationship, I found an unexpected outcome for one of the indicators used to measure victim background. Victims with criminal priors were 128 percent more likely to have case determined founded by the police (at the .05 level). The direction of the relationship

Table 6
Bivariate Logistic Regression for Founded Sexual Assault. Coefficients (B) and Odds Ratios (Exp B).

		Model 5	
		B	Exp (B)
Victim Age	Age 13-18	-0.20	0.82
	Age 19-29 (reference)	-----	-----
	Age 30-40	-0.14	0.87
	Age 41+	-0.31 ^	0.74
Victim Race	Caucasian	0.70	1.07
Suspect Race	Caucasian	0.11	1.12
Victim/Offender Relationship	Friend (reference)	-----	-----
	Partner/Family/HH	-0.79 **	0.46
	Acquaintance Just Met	0.71 ***	2.03
	Stranger	-0.58	0.56
Victim's Background	Criminal Priors	0.25 *	1.28
	Previous Sexual Assault	0.14	1.15
	Is/Was Runaway	-0.06	0.94
-2 Log Likelihood		2453.84	
N		2027	

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05, (^p<.10)

between criminal priors and the founding of a sexual assault claim contrasted my hypothesis, thus, I found no support for H5.

Table 7 depicts the results of H6 and H7. Hypothesis 6 (victim age and race, as well as suspect race and the victim/offender relationship, will influence the likelihood of a case to be officially reported to the UCR) is illustrated in Model 6. Unlike Hypothesis 1, victim age did not influence the likelihood of a sexual assault case to be reported to the UCR. A significant relationship, however, was found between victim race and the claim being reported to the UCR (as depicted in the chi-squares on Table 2). Caucasian victims were 17 percent less likely to have their cases reported in the UCR as non-Caucasian victims (at the .05 level). Victim/offender relationship was also found to influence the likelihood of a case to be reported to the UCR. Cases where the victim/offender relationship was that of an acquaintance or just met were 134 percent more likely to have their cases reported to the UCR (though just slightly at the .10 level). Due to the influence of race and victim/offender relationship on UCR reporting, I claim partial support for H6.

Hypothesis 7 (that the location of sexual assault will influence the likelihood of a case to be officially reported to the UCR) is depicted in Model 7 on Table 7. After controlling for victim age and race and suspect race, neither hyper-sexualized premises nor localized premises influenced the likelihood of the sexual assault to be reported to the UCR. However, adding the premises variables did cause a slight change in the significant control variables in the previous model. Specifically, the alpha level for victim race decreased once I added the premises variables. Furthermore, the alpha level for acquaintance or just met intensified after adding the premises variables. Due to the lack

of a statistically significant relationship between any of the premises variables and the likelihood of a sexual assault to be reported to the UCR, I found statistical support for H7.

Table 7
Bivariate Logistic Regression for UCR Reported Sexual Assault. Coefficients (B) and Odds Ratios (Exp B).

		Model 6		Model 7	
		B	Exp (B)	B	Exp (B)
Victim Age	Age 13-18	-0.10	0.90	-0.17	0.84
	Age 19-29 (reference)	-----	-----	-----	-----
	Age 30-40	0.02	1.02	-0.01	0.99
	Age 41+	0.04	1.04	-0.04	0.96
Victim Race	Caucasian	-0.19 *	0.83	-0.16 ^	0.85
Suspect Race	Caucasian	0.13	1.14	0.13	1.14
Victim/Offender Relationship	Friend (reference)	-----	-----	-----	-----
	Partner/Family/HH	-0.89	0.92	-0.14	0.87
	Acquaintance Just Met	0.29 ^	1.34	0.31 *	1.36
	Stranger	0.41	1.51	0.45	1.57
Environment	Hypersexualized Premises			0.16	1.18
Localized Premises	Residences (reference)			-----	-----
	Hotels/Motels/Bars/Nightclubs			-0.49	0.61
	Vehicles/Roadways/Alleys			-0.11	0.90
	Other			-0.12	0.88
-2 Log Likelihood		2787.17		2787.17	
N		2027		2027	

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05, (^p<.10)

Hypothesis 8 (the likelihood of a case to be reported to the UCR will increase when overt force is present in the assault) is illustrated in Model 8 on Table 8. After controlling for victim age and race, suspect race, and victim/offender relationship, cases where additional crimes were present were 35 percent less likely to be reported to the UCR as a rape or attempted rape (at the .05 level). A significant relationship was also found

between use of force and whether or not a case was reported to the UCR. Specifically, cases presented with use of force were 279 percent more likely to be reported in the UCR (at the .001 level). The presence of multiple offenders, multiple penetration, and use of a weapon did not significantly influence the likelihood of a case to be reported to the UCR. However, a slight significant relationship between suspect race and a case being reported to the UCR was found. In comparison to cases with non-Caucasian suspects, cases with Caucasian suspects were 19 percent more likely to be reported to the UCR. Two of the five indicators measuring overt force significantly influenced the dependent variable UCR report. From this analysis, I conclude that partial support exists for H8.

Hypothesis 9, (cases where victim behaviors are associated with rape myths will influence the likelihood of a case to be reported to the UCR as rape or attempted rape) is depicted in Model 9 on Table 8. Interestingly, with the inclusion of behavior variables, a significant relationship emerged between victim age and the dependent variable. In comparison to victims aged 19-29, victims aged 13-18 were 23 percent less likely to have their cases reported to the UCR (at the .05 level). Thus far, a significant relationship between victim age and the UCR report had not been found. Among all four of the behavior indicators, the only significant relationship found occurred when the victim met the offender at a nightclub. When victims met their offender at a nightclub, their case was 35 percent less likely to be reported to the UCR as a rape or attempted rape by the police (at the .01 level). Due to the mixed results between victim behavior before and after the sexual assault, I posit that partial support exists for H9.

Table 8
 Bivariate Logistic Regression for UCR Reported Sexual Assault. Coefficients (B) and Odds Ratios (Exp B).

		Model 8		Model 9	
		B	Exp (B)	B	Exp (B)
Victim Age	Age 13-18	0.02	1.02	-0.26 *	0.77
	Age 19-29 (reference)	----	----	----	----
	Age 30-40	-0.12	0.90	-0.05	0.95
	Age 41+	-0.6	0.94	-0.06	0.94
Victim Race	Caucasian	-0.10	0.91	-0.15	0.87
Suspect Race	Caucasian	0.17 ^	1.19	0.14	1.15
Victim/Offender Relationship	Friend (reference)	----	----	----	----
	Partner/Family/HH	-0.18	0.84	-0.21	0.81
	Acquaintance Just Met	0.04	1.04	0.23	1.26
	Stranger	0.32	1.38	0.32	1.39
Overt Force	Additional Crimes	-0.43 *	0.65	----	----
	Multiple Offenders	-0.02	0.98	----	----
	Multiple Penetration	-0.00	1.00	----	----
	Physical Force	1.33 ***	3.79	----	----
	Weapon	-0.13	0.88	----	----
Behavior Before/After Offense	Used Alcohol			-0.26	0.77
	Used Drugs			-0.06	0.94
	Met Offender at Nightclub			-0.43 **	0.65
	Waited to Report			-0.00	1.00
-2 Log Likelihood		2787.17		2787.17	
N		2027		2027	

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05, (^p<.10)

Table 9 depicts multivariate regression results for H10 and H11. The results for H10 (a case in which the victim has a past experience with the police such as a prior criminal record, reported previous sexual assaults, or is/was a runaway, will influence the likelihood of a case to be reported to the UCR as rape or attempted rape) are illustrated in Model 10. Similar to past models, victim race, suspect race, and victims whose offender

was an acquaintance significantly influenced if the case was reported to the UCR. Within the three indicators used to measure the victim's background, only one significantly influenced the dependent variable. Victims with criminal priors were 33 percent more likely to be reported to the UCR as a rape or attempted rape by the police. Thus, I found partial support for H10.

Table 9
Bivariate Logistic Regression for UCR Reported Sexual Assault. Coefficients (B) and Odds Ratios (Exp B).

		Model 10		Model 11	
		B	Exp (B)	B	Exp (B)
Victim Age	Age 13-18	-0.03	0.97	-0.07	0.93
	Age 19-29 (reference)	-----	-----	-----	-----
	Age 30-40	-0.02	0.98	0.03	1.03
	Age 41+	-0.00	1.00	0.08 *	1.08
Victim Race	Caucasian	-0.19 *	0.82	-0.21	0.81
Suspect Race	Caucasian	0.16 ^	1.18	0.12	1.13
Victim/Offender Relationship	Friend (reference)	-----	-----	-----	-----
	Partner/Family/HH Acquaintance Just	-0.10	0.91	0.03	1.03
	Met	0.28 ^	1.32	0.20	1.22
	Stranger	0.40	1.50	0.51	1.67
Victim's Background	Criminal Priors Previous Sexual Assault	0.28 **	1.33	-----	-----
	Is/Was Runaway	-0.09	0.92	-----	-----
	Founded			0.63 ***	1.89
-2 Log Likelihood		2787.17		2787.17	
N		2027		2027	

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05, (^p<.10)

Hypothesis 11 (claims that were determined founded will not influence the likelihood of the case to be reported to the UCR as rape or attempted rape) is illustrated in Model 11. A slight positive significant relationship was found between victims aged 41 and

older and a case being reported to the UCR, in comparison to victims aged 19-29 (at the .05 level). Additionally, cases that were determined founded by the police were, significantly, 89 percent more likely to be reported to the UCR (at the .001 level).Based on the statistical evidence illustrated in Model 11, I found substantial support for H11.

In the following chapter, I will discuss the theoretical and political implication s of these findings.

Chapter 5

DISCUSSION

The results indicated mixed support for most of my hypotheses. I found that several variables that seemed to be related to each of the dependent variables though the chi-square test and Pearson correlation matrix did not significantly influence the dependent variables in the multivariate analysis. Additionally, several variables that influenced the likelihood of a sexual assault claim to be determined founded by the police did not influence the likelihood of the sexual assault case to be reported to the UCR as a rape or attempted rape and vice versa.

The test of Hypothesis 1 yielded interesting results concerning victim age and the victim/offender relationship. I found that victims aged between 13 and 18 and those aged 41 and older were less likely to have their cases determined founded by the police than victims aged between 19 and 29. The influence of victim age on police discretion in determining the legitimacy of sexual assault claims may demonstrate police reliance on rape myths. Past literature has found that sexual assault claims made by young victims are less likely to be taken seriously (Parrot and Bechofer 1991; LaFree 1982; Kerstetter 1990; Spohn and Spears 2001), possibly due to the relationship between age and date rape. I was surprised to find that older victims were also less likely to have their claims determined founded, as I expected that the older the respondent, the more likely their claim would be determined founded. A few possible explanations exist for this phenomenon. First, police may be less likely to take serious sexual assault claims from older women, believing that no one would rape an older woman, an indication of the internalization of rape myths regarding who can be a victim of sexual assault. Second, the

police might personally believe the victim's claim but be unable to support it with evidence; therefore, it is filtered out of the system early. The final possibility, though unlikely, is that older women are more likely to report false claims, so police are filtering out these reports appropriately.

Victim/offender relationship also influenced the likelihood of a case to be determined founded. Consistent with the literature, when the offender was a past or present intimate partner, family member, or household member, the victim's sexual assault claim was less likely to be deemed founded than cases when the offender was considered a friend (Langhinrichsen-Rohling and Monson 1989; Spohn and Holleran 2001). In addition, when the offender was an acquaintance or a person the victim just met, their claim was more likely to be deemed founded than cases where the offender was considered a friend. In the chi-square and Pearson correlation matrix, all the variables measuring victim/offender relationship were found to significantly influence the dependent variable. However, once I controlled for victim age and race and suspect race, the relationship between stranger assaults and the founding of sexual assault claims disappeared. In regard to sexual assaults committed by the victim's friend, an acquaintance or a person the victim just met, and an intimate partner, family, or household member it seems that the closer the victim was to the offender, the less likely their claim was deemed founded—a consistent finding in the rape myth literature (Kingsnorth, MacIntosh, and Wentworth 1999; Spohn and Holleran 2001).

I was unable to find support for Hypothesis 2. Neither hypersexualized environments nor location of the sexual assault greatly influenced the likelihood of a sexual assault claim to be determined founded by the police. Sexual assaults that occurred at a hotel,

motel, bar or nightclub were slightly less likely to be founded than attacks that occurred in residences, but no significance was found in the other locations. Sexual assaults that occurred in the main tourist areas of Las Vegas (the strip and downtown areas) did not influence the likelihood of a claim to be determined founded by the police.

The most significant finding in Hypothesis 4 was the influence of physical force and police discretion in determining the legitimacy of sexual assault claims. The significance of physical force has been well cited within the literature (Schulhofer 1998); however, no other overt force variable significantly influenced the founding of a sexual assault claim in the multivariate analysis; this is a surprising finding because a significant relationship between the use of a weapon and multiple penetration and a claim being founded was demonstrated in both bivariate tests. Thus, the addition of the control variables seems to have affected the relationship between some of the overt force variables and the likelihood of a case being deemed founded by the police. The notion that physical force needs to be present to confirm that a sexual assault occurred is both inaccurate and illogical. Whereas use of force implies a type of physical or bodily constraint, literature has demonstrated that victims of sexual assault may 'consent' to being raped to escape further bodily harm (Schulhofer 1998). The fact that use of physical force does influence the likelihood of a case being determined founded may be an indicator of rape myth acceptance.

In the bivariate tests measuring victim behavior before and after the offense, both meeting the offender at a nightclub and waiting 24 hours or more to report the sexual assault influenced police discretion in determining the legitimacy of a claim. However, in the multivariate analysis for Hypothesis 4, I found that the only behavioral variable that

influenced the dependent variable was the victim meeting the offender at a nightclub. Victims that met their offender at a nightclub were significantly less likely to have their case determined founded by the police. The belief that the location where the victim and offender met can be used to indicate the legitimacy of a sexual assault claim may indicate the influence of rape myths and victim credibility by police officers.

The main finding in Hypothesis 5 was that victims with criminal priors were significantly more likely to have their cases founded by the police. Consistent with the literature on the influence of rape myth acceptance in the criminal justice system (Kerstetter 1990; LaFree 1989; Spohn et al. 2001), I expected victims with criminal priors to be less likely to have their cases determined legitimate by the police. After reflecting on this finding, I was able to devise four possible explanations for the relationship between criminal priors and the dependent variable. First, it is possible that victims who have criminal priors are weary of the criminal justice system as a whole and are therefore only likely to report particularly egregious crimes, making it unlikely that police officers will cast doubts on their claim. Another possibility for this relationship is that victims with criminal priors may be more familiar with the criminal justice system in general and are therefore more likely to show persistence both during and after reporting the assault; or that the victim's familiarity with the criminal justice system has taught them how to be a believable victim. Finally, it is also possible that the relationship between criminal priors and the likelihood that a case will be determined founded by the police is influenced by a spurious relationship that is unaccounted for in the analysis.

Hypotheses 6 through 10 tests the influence of the same variables used in Hypotheses 1 through 5 against the dependent variable 'UCR report.' Initially, the bivariate analysis

suggested a correlation between several of the independent variables and whether or not the assault was reported in the UCR; however, many of the relationships shown in the bivariate analyses disappeared once additional variables were added into the models.

Interestingly, the results from Model 6 indicate that victim age and suspect race do not influence the likelihood of a case to be reported to the UCR. The impact of victim age on UCR reporting was less visible than the impact of victim age on the founding of a sexual assault claim. The race of the victim did impact (though slightly) a case being reported to the UCR, in that Caucasian victims were less likely to have their case reported to the UCR than other races. Though this relationship is small, it was consistent in three of the models testing UCR reports. Furthermore, victim race was not shown to influence the likelihood of a sexual assault claim to be deemed founded by the police in any of the previous models. The literature on rape myth acceptance suggests that minorities are less likely to have their claims taken seriously (Valenti 2009) and nonwhite offenders are more likely to be charged with a crime (Bradmilller and Walters 1985; LaFree 1980). I do not believe the relationship between race and UCR report demonstrates a racial bias against Caucasians. The correlation between victim race and UCR report is present in Hypotheses 6, 7, and 10. The absence of the relationship in H8 and H9 suggests that another variable is influencing the relationship between victim race and UCR reporting. Specifically, meeting the offender at a nightclub (H9) and additional crimes occurring at the time of the assault (H8) also decreased the likelihood of a case to be reported as an assault in the UCR. Thus, it is possible that Caucasian victims are more likely have other crimes present during their assault or are more likely to meet their offender at a nightclub, which impacts the likelihood of their claims to be reported as an assault to the UCR.

The relationship between the victim and the offender also influenced UCR reporting. Assaults where the offender was an acquaintance or someone the victim just met were more likely to be reported to the UCR than cases where the offender was a friend of the victim (though only slightly). However, this relationship was only present in H6, H7, and H10, quite similar to the relationship between victim race and UCR report. Thus, it is possible that another variable in H8 and/or H9 is influencing the relationship between victim/offender relationship and the case being reported to the UCR. Interesting, in determining the legitimacy of a sexual assault claim (H1-H5), victims whose offender was a past/present intimate partner, family, or household member were less likely to have their claim deemed founded than victims whose offender was a friend; this finding was unmatched in H6-H11.

The location of the sexual assault did not influence the likelihood of crime analysts to report a case to the UCR. In the bivariate analysis, assaults that occurred in a residence or hotel, motel, bar, or nightclub influenced the likelihood of a case to be reported to the UCR. However, in the multivariate analysis, the relationship between UCR report and location of assault disappeared. Sexual assaults that occurred on the strip or downtown area were just as likely to be reported as the assaults that occurred in non-tourist locations. In addition, the location of the assault (car, hotel, residence, etc.) did not impact the UCR report.

Hypothesis 8 tested the influence of overt force on the likelihood of a sexual assault case to be reported to the UCR. The bivariate analysis indicated a relationship between additional crimes being present at the time of the assault and UCR reporting. The multivariate analysis confirmed this finding. Specifically, cases where other crimes were

present were less likely to be reported as a sexual assault in the UCR—an equally surprising and unsurprising finding. The influence of additional crimes is surprising because the report crime analysts use to inform their decision is a sexual assault report; thus, it would be expected that the case would be labeled a sexual assault in the UCR. Furthermore, literature suggests that sexual assaults that occur with other crimes are more likely to be believed (Warr 1988). However, this finding is also unsurprising because the presence of additional crimes also means there are additional ways to label the case. (Note: All cases where rape or attempted rape occurs should be labeled as such in the UCR. The only crime that should trump sexual assault in the UCR is homicide, which I controlled for in this study.) Thus, the influence of additional crimes on the likelihood of a case to be reported to the UCR as a sexual assault is most likely due to either clerical error by the crime analysts or the crime analysts choosing to not report the sexual assault.

In the bivariate analysis, a correlation also exists between the overt force variables ‘multiple penetration’ and ‘use of a weapon’ and ‘UCR report.’ Though both of these relationships were highly significant in the chi-square and Pearson correlation matrix, the significance for both variables disappeared in the multivariate analysis. Use of force was found to significantly influence UCR report in both the bivariate and multivariate analysis. Specifically when use of physical force was present in the sexual assault report, crime analysts were more likely to report the case as a rape or attempted rape to the UCR. The relationship between use of physical force and UCR report may indicate the influence of rape myths and victim credibility by crime analysts. Sexual assaults where physical force does not occur should be just as likely to be reported to the UCR as sexual assaults where physical force does occur. The assumption that physical force makes a

claim more legitimate (and therefore more likely to be reported to the UCR) may demonstrate an assumption about the nature of sexual assault, tapping into a long standing rape myth that women cannot be raped against their will (Sutherland 1950; Doherty and Anderson 1998).

The variables in H9, measuring victim behavior before and after the offense, showed mixed results in this analysis. In the bivariate analysis, the use of alcohol by the victim significantly influenced the likelihood of a case to be reported to the UCR as a sexual assault. However, in the multivariate analysis, the relationship disappeared. As discussed previously, meeting the offender at a nightclub influenced whether or not the case was reported to the UCR as a sexual assault. Cases in which the victim met the offender at a nightclub were significantly less likely to be reported as a sexual assault to the UCR than case when the victim did not meet the offender at a nightclub. When testing whether the victim met the offender at a nightclub, a significant relationship emerged between victim age and UCR reporting. The analysis indicates that victims aged between 13 to 18 years old are less likely to have their claim reported to the UCR as a rape or attempted rape than victims aged between 19 to 29, when also measuring victim behavior before and after the offense. The influence of where the victim met the offender may signify the influence of rape myths by the UCR crime analysts at LVMPD; –where the victim meets the offender should not influence whether or not a case is labeled as a sexual assault to the UCR. Though alcohol did not significantly influence the dependent variable in this model, based on the strong correlation between UCR report and alcohol use by the victim in the bivariate analysis and the connection between alcohol use and nightclub

attendance, it is possible that influence of alcohol in the bivariate analysis was due to the relationship between the dependent variable and meeting the offender at a nightclub.

Model 10 tested the influence of the victim's background on whether or not the case was reported to the UCR as a rape or attempted rape. Victim's that are/were runaways or had a previous record of being sexually assaulted were not more or less likely to have their cases reported to the UCR. Interestingly, victims with criminal priors were more likely to have their cases reported as a rape or attempted rape to the UCR. Similarly to the relationship between criminal priors and the founding of a sexual assault claims, it is possible the victims with criminal priors 1. only report egregious crimes that cast little doubt on the legitimacy of the crime are more persistent while and after reporting the assault; or 3) the victim's experience in the criminal justice system has taught them how to be a more believable victim, and the initial report created by the police officer that is used by analysts when determining how to report a crime to the UCR reflects the officers opinion of the victim as more believable.

The final model tested the influence of sexual assault claims that were determined founded by the police and whether or not the case was reported to the UCR as a rape or attempted rape. Cases that were labeled legitimate, or founded, by the police, were significantly more likely to be reported as a sexual assault to the UCR. Interestingly, the founding of a sexual assault claim should not be related to how the case is reported in the UCR. As discussed previously, a police officer writes the initial report that is used by the LVMPD crime analysts. When the report is sent to the crime analysts, the event disposition (whether or not the claim has been deemed founded) is often unknown. Thus, the decision to label or not label the case as a sexual assault in the UCR is based solely on

the analyst's interpretation of the initial report; therefore, it should not be influenced by whether or not the claim was deemed founded. Finding a significant relationship between founded claims and UCR reporting maybe evidence of biased narratives created by police officers, which then influence how the case is reported to the UCR.

The results of the multivariate analysis indicate that four variables influenced both the founding of a sexual assault claim and the likelihood of a case to be reported to the UCR as a rape or attempted rape, specifically when the victim/offender relationship was that of an acquaintance or someone the victim just met; when there was evidence of physical force; when the victim met the offender at a nightclub all decreased the likelihood of a claim to be founded and a case to be reported to the UCR as a rape or attempted rape. If the victim had criminal priors, the report was both more likely to be founded and labeled in the UCR as a rape or attempted rape.

The fact that so many variables influenced whether or not a claim was deemed founded by the police or that a case was reported to the UCR, as a rape or attempted rape demonstrates the prevalence of bounded rationality in the criminal justice system. Even though many of the variables responsible for the prevalence of bounded rationality are associated with rape myths and victim credibility, I argue that it is the relationship between rape myths and victim credibility that ultimately influences police discretion.

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

The intent of my research is to gain a better understanding of how sexual assault claims are processed and reported to the UCR in Las Vegas, Nevada and to what extent police and analysts are influenced by the principles of formal and bounded rationality. If formal rationality did exist in the criminal justice system, none of the independent

variables would influence either of the dependent variables. The fact that several of the measures affected both the likelihood of a sexual assault claim to be deemed founded and whether or not the case was reported as a rape or attempted rape to the UCR demonstrates the use of bounded rationality by the LVMPD. Additionally, many of the variables that influenced the dependent variables have been linked to rape myths in the literature (victim age, victim/offender relationship, physical force, where the victim met the offender and the victim's history with law enforcement). Meanwhile, variables like victim race and whether or not additional crimes occurred with the sexual assault influenced the dependent variable 'UCR report' in an unexpected fashion that was inconsistent with the literature (though the direction of these relationships were unexpected, the fact that a relationship was still found supports the influence of bounded rationality).

Hypotheses 1 through 5 tested the principles of bounded rationality by measuring how variables associated with rape myths influence the likelihood of a sexual assault claim to be deemed founded by the police. The prevalence of bounded rationality in H1 through H5 was significant, as expected in my hypotheses: Police discretion in determining the legitimacy of a sexual assault claim is influenced by variables associated with rape myths that are used to discredit victims. However, judgments made about victim credibility may not be due to rape myth acceptance and instead actually demonstrate that police officers have identified with the rules of bureaucracy, determining the legitimacy of a case based on what can be proven in a court of law instead of what actually happened (a hypothesis I discuss in more detail further in this manuscript).

The discretion of crime analysts when determining whether or not to report a sexual assault case as a rape or attempted rape (H6-H11) also appeared to be influenced by variables associated with rape myths. Initially, I expected crime analysts to be more influenced by the principles of bounded rationality. I have developed four explanations to account for the use of bounded rationality by crime analysts. First, though unlikely, it is possible that LVMPD crime analysts often fall victim clerical error. Second, the crime analysts rely on false beliefs about rape and rape victims when determining whether or not to report case to the UCR as a rape or attempted rape. Third, the crime analysts decision on how to report cases to the UCR is based solely on the narrative they receive (written by the intake officer). If this is occurring, it is possible the police officers who write the narrative used by the crime analysts present the data in a way that influences how the crime analysts interrupts the event, stressing certain aspects of the event that might cause the analyst to label the case differently. Interestingly, I found four variables that influenced both UCR reporting and the founding of a claim: the offender was an acquaintance or person the victim just met; physical force was present; the victim met the offender at a nightclub; and the victim had criminal priors. Though it is possible that the officer would not be aware of any of the victim's priors at the time of the report, if the victim is a 'better' victim because of their previous experience with the criminal justice system (as discussed previously), it is possible that narrative would reflect the intake officer's trust in the victim's testimony. Thus, the intake officer may stress some of the attributes in their initial report used by the crime analysts, which may help to explain why all four influence both dependent variables.

Finally, the support for bounded rationality may not be due to rape myth acceptance by any of the parties involved. Instead, the officers who determine the legitimacy of a sexual assault claim and the analysts who decide how to label a case to the UCR may be identifying with the bureaucratic nature of the criminal justice system by putting the needs of the system over the good of the victims, a process of hyper-rationalization.

“Hyper” Rationality

Though many of the models in this analysis demonstrated that key members of the criminal justice system make decisions based on variables associated with rape myths, it may be premature to argue that these key members have internalized rape myths. Additionally, even if police officers and crime analysts have fully internalized rape myths, it is possible that they do not allow their personal beliefs to influence their decisions at work. The internalization of rape myths extends far beyond the members of the criminal justice system. As discussed previously, American media often tells a story of assertive, sometimes aggressive masculinity for males and passive, yet sexually driven femininity for females that often perpetuates cultural stereotypes on what constitutes ‘real’ rape and ‘real’ rape victims (Estrich 1987). The stories of gender are told relentlessly in American culture, causing many members of society to be influenced by rape myths (Freidman and Valenti 2008), including prosecutors, judges, and jurors.

An alternative hypothesis to explain the use of bounded rationality by police officers takes into account the officer’s perception of how successful a sexual assault claim will be in court. Officers may take into account the perception of the prosecutor, the judge, or the jury when determining the legitimacy of a sexual assault claim. Claims in which victim credibility is questioned (possibly due to rape myths) may be deemed unfounded

early by the intake officer only because the officer believes the claim will not be taken seriously by other members of the criminal justice system. Thus, whether or not the officer is influenced by rape myths is irrelevant, because the officer's assumption that others will view the victim non-credible is what ultimately shapes the decision; this is an example of what I call hyper-rationality.

Hyper-rationality is the byproduct of bureaucracy. Whenever a member of the criminal justice system identifies more with the needs of bureaucratic system over the people they are supposed to protect, hyper-rationality occurs. Under the formal rationality perspective, justice is assumed to be blind, and only legally relevant variables are supposed to influence the criminal justice system. Some police officers may realize that the criminal justice system cannot be blind because the system is dependent on the subjective attitudes, opinions, and beliefs of its members. Thus, when police officers determine the legitimacy of a sexual assault claim, they consider the success of that claim a court of law. Assaults consistent with rape myths, where victim credibility is questioned, are deemed unfounded early because the officer suspects that other members of the criminal justice system will not take it seriously. Filtering out 'questionable' sexual assault claims early by labeling them as unfounded saves the police department time and resources, and it also saves the officer's energy, who will no longer have to investigate the claim.

Hyper-rationality offers a unique explanation for police discretion in sexual assault claims, as well as an explanation for understanding how sexual violence is reported to the UCR. Based on national UCR reports in 2008, Nevada was ranked second in the nation for violent crime and ninth for forcible rape (Wagner et al. 2011). My analysis from the

LVSAD indicates that only 55 percent of the sexual assaults reported to LVMPD from January 2008 through March 2010 were reported to the UCR as a rape or attempted rape. If each of the unlisted reports were reported to the UCR, the Nevada violent crime and forcible rape rate (and the Las Vegas violent crime and forcible rape rate) would be much higher. The fact that 45 percent of the cases reported to the police as rape or attempted rape were omitted from the UCR suggests that LVMPD crime analysts may be influenced by something other than the police narrative describing the crime. Hall, Critcher, Jefferson et al. (1978) notes that crime statistics are manipulated for both political and economic purposes. From this perspective, it is possible that some crime analysts may identify with the needs of the criminal justice system and become invested in ensuring that the LVMPD crime statistics do not rise. Therefore, instead of reporting all of the rapes and attempted rapes accurately to the UCR, crime analysts may (on their own or directed by other officials) report many of the sexual assaults under different labels to the UCR in order to mask the real crime rates in Nevada. Alternatively, crime analysts may have developed a system that allows them to work more efficiently, but at the expense of statistical validity.

If police officers and/or crime analysts are placing system efficiency above victim needs, we may be witnessing Weber's fear of the iron cage, an all-encompassing, fully rationalized bureaucracy. The basis of formal rationality is the reliance on universally applied rules; however, Weber argued that rationalization would eventually go too far—that people would stop identifying with each other and instead identify with the goals of a bureaucratic system. "Rational calculation...reduces every worker to a cog in the

bureaucratic machine and, seeing himself in this light, he will merely ask how to transform himself...to a bigger cog” (p. lix Weber 1968).

Weber argued that bureaucracies act in the opposite manner than they are designed to act. For example, the criminal justice system is designed to stop crime and help victims. Due to the process of rationalization, however, victims are denied justice on two fronts: First, based on external criteria (consistent with cultural constructions of ‘real’ rape) causing a victim’s claim to be deemed unfounded in order to maintain bureaucratic efficiency; and second, when a victim’s case is not reported to the UCR, the victim is denied their experience. In this case, crime analysts essentially have the power to rewrite the victim’s assault as something other than rape or attempted rape (the crime the victim reported). Weber (1994) noted that bureaucracies become embedded in organizations, and what is good for the organization triumphs over what is good for society. If police officers and crime analysts have identified with the needs of the criminal justice system, placing goal-oriented behavior and efficiency over the needs of the people they are supposed to help and protect, then Weber’s iron cage prediction has been fully realized.

POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS/CONCLUSION

Although my study provides useful information on which sexual assault claims are more likely to be deemed founded by the police or reported accurately to the UCR, it is also limited in several respects. First, because the data was collected in Las Vegas, the extent to which the findings are generalizable to other areas of the country is unclear. Second, the population used in this research is small (N=2,027), a larger population may have revealed more significant effects. Additional crime data from LVMPD would also have been a useful tool to compare the finding from the present study with other crimes.

Finally, the validity of the data used for this analysis was dependent on two sources: the officer that wrote the report narrative and the officer that pulled variables from the narrative to create the LVSA dataset. Notwithstanding these limitations, the findings from my study have implications for both policy and future research.

Sexual assault is the largest unreported crime in America, affecting thousands of women, men, and children every year. Though there are disagreements on the prevalence of sexual assault (largely due to operational definitions, sample populations, and sampling techniques), even the most conservative estimates suggest an alarming number of victims. The fact that many sexual assaults go unreported means these claims are never investigated, the victims receive limited (if any) support, and offenders are able to assault again. Society's reliance on socially constructed gendered stereotypes for expressing appropriate masculine and feminine behavior has created an environment that is hostile toward reported sexual assault; leading to victim-blaming and the acceptance of rape myths.

My analysis on the founding of sexual assault claims by police officers and the reporting of sexual assaults to the UCR has generated the opportunity for more research. For example, when victims met their offender at a nightclub, their claim was less likely to be deemed founded, but if the offender was an acquaintance or someone the victim just met, the claim was more likely to be deemed founded. I believe this finding is inconsistent and that more research should be conducted to better understand how these variables interact. My analysis also found that cases where physical force was used were more likely to be founded and reported to the UCR as a rape or attempted rape. However, the use of a weapon by the offender did not influence either dependent variable.

Additional research should examine why physical force influenced the dependent variables but the use of a weapon, like a knife or gun, did not.

Ultimately, the findings from my research indicate the use of bounded rationality by criminal justice officials when determining the legitimacy of sexual assault claims and when reporting sexual assault cases to the UCR. I have offered several hypotheses intended to explain the occurrence of bounded rationality by criminal justice officials, including the acceptance of rape myths, the influence of rape myths on victim credibility, and/or hyper-rationality.

Though this research cannot state why bounded rationality occurs in the criminal justice system, it is through the documentation of the prevalence of bounded rationality that steps can be taken to create change. For example, victim age significantly influenced the likelihood of a sexual assault claim to be deemed legitimate by the police. Both the youngest and the oldest victims in the population were less likely to have their claims founded. Similarly, victim/offender relationship, meeting the offender at a nightclub, and use of physical force (all variables associated with rape myths) influenced both the likelihood of a claim to be deemed founded and the likelihood of a case to be reported to the UCR as a rape or attempted rape. The fact that variables associated with culturally constructed notions of ‘real’ sexual assault influence case processing and national reporting should be explored further. In addition, specialized training on rape myths should occur regularly and be mandatory for police officers, crime analysts, prosecutors, and judges.

Because rape myths are spread through America’s media culture, additional law enforcement training is not enough. Only by reconstruction gender roles and fostering

substantial gender egalitarianism can our reliance on rape myths be truly and completely eradicated. An increase in public awareness about sexual assault that does not reify the notion of ‘real’ rape would be a useful tool for trying to implement the large scale change needed for ending sexual violence. Furthermore, the way a society responds to crime is closely linked to how that society conceptualizes and measures it (Brownstein 2000) – thus, not accurately reporting the prevalence of sexual assault in Las Vegas limits the police’s ability to counter it. If what appeared to be the influence of rape myths/victim credibility causing bounded rationality is actually the result of hyper-rationalization, then only through restructuring the nature of the criminal justice system can we bring about change.

Weber (1968) argued that any change in bureaucracy is bureaucratic in nature and often fruitless. Though difficult, it is possible to change the structure and principles of an organization. However, before arguing for a systematic restructuring of how sexual assault claims are handled by the criminal justice system, more research examining why bounded rationality persists is needed. Have police officers internalized rape myths? Is the influence of variables associated with rape myths due to victim credibility? Are we witnessing hyper-rationality (a foreseen consequence of bureaucracy discussed by Weber) occurring in the criminal justice system? Until these questions can be answered, we must tread carefully when trying to initiate and implement reform.

Research addressing the theoretical questions posed by this study is also needed. In-depth interviews that probe for rape myth acceptance among police officers and detectives who determine the legitimacy of sexual assault claims, as well as with the crime analysts responsible for reporting crimes to the UCR would add greatly to these

findings. Likewise, creating a dialogue with police officers and crime analysts about how they make their decisions in sexual assault claims/cases would add valuable insight about the occurrence of hyper-rationality that could be used to help generate more pragmatic policy reform throughout the criminal justice system.

APPENDIX A
DATA CODING AND PROCEDURES IN THE SAS SYSTEM

```
PROC IMPORT OUT= WORK.Brooke
  DATAFILE= "E:\LVMPDSACOMBINED.xls"
  DBMS=EXCEL REPLACE;
  RANGE="Sheet1$";
  GETNAMES=YES;
  MIXED=NO;
  SCANTEXT=YES;
  USEDATE=YES;
  SCANTIME=YES;
RUN;
options pagesize=10000; *this keeps it from creating a page break in the output;

data one; set Brooke;
if victim_gender=1 and 3<=victim_age<=7 and event_disposit<999;

*Victim history, non credible traits 3 variables;
if victim_prior_crim_history=1 then Rprior_crim=1; else Rprior_crim=0;
if victim_runaway=1 then Rrunaway=1; else Rrunaway=0;
if victim_been_prior_sex_assault=1 then Rprior_sa=1; else Rprior_sa=0;

*Overt force 5 variables;
if incident_type=1 then Rother_crime=0; else Rother_crime=1;
if multiple_suspects=1 then Rmulti_sus=1; else Rmulti_sus=0;
if type_penetra=6 then Rmulti_penetra=1; else Rmulti_penetra=0;
if force_used=1 then Rforce=1; else Rforce=0;
if weapon_used=1 then Rweapon=1; else Rweapon=0;

*Victim behavior traits (non-credible) 4 variables;
if victim_consumed_alcohol=1 then Ralcohol=1; else Ralcohol=0;
if victim_consumed_drugs=1 then Rdrugs=1; else Rdrugs=0;
if met_at_ntclub=1 then Rntclub=1; else Rntclub=0;
if victim_wait=1 then Rwait=1; else Rwait=0;

*Hypersexualized Place, 1 variable;
if event_jurisd=6 or event_jurisd=8 then Rhypsex=1; else Rhypsex=0;

*General Premises (GP) 4 dummy coded variables;
*residence;
if general_premises=1 or general_premises=2 or general_premises=3 or
general_premises=18 then Rgpres=1; else Rgpres=0;
*hotel, motel or nightclub;
```

```

if general_premises=6 or general_premises=20 or general_premises=17 or
general_premises=16 then Rgphmnc=1; else Rgphmnc=0;
*vehicle or roadway;
if general_premises=7 or general_premises=14 or general_premises=21 or
general_premises=23 or general_premises=11
then Rgpveh=1; else Rgpveh=0;
*other;
if general_premises=4 or general_premises=5 or general_premises=8 or
general_premises=10 or general_premises=13 or
general_premises=15 or general_premises=19 or general_premises=22 or
general_premises=24 or general_premises=25 or
general_premises=9 or general_premises=12 then Rgpother=1; else Rgpother=0;

*victim age 4 variables;
*victim age 13-18;
if victim_age=3 or victim_age=4 then Rvateen=1; else Rvateen=0;
*victim age 19-29;
if victim_age=5 then Rvatwenties=1; else Rvatwenties=0;
*victim age 30-40;
if victim_age=6 then Rvathirties=1; else Rvathirties=0;
*victim age 41 through 54;
if victim_age=7 then Rvafortyup=1; else Rvafortyup=0;

*victim race 4 variables;
*Caucasian;
if 1<=victim_race<=4 then Rvcauc=1; else Rvcauc=0;
*African American;
if 5<=victim_race<=8 then Rvaa=1; else Rvaa=0;
*Hispanic;
if 9<=victim_race<=12 then Rvhisp=1; else Rvhisp=0;
*other;
if 13<=victim_race<=999 then Rvraceoth=1; else Rvraceoth=0;
*offender age 4 dummy coded variables;
*suspect age 18 or below;
if 1<=suspect_age<=4 then Rsateen=1; else Rsateen=0;
*suspect age 19-29;
if suspect_age=5 then Rsatwenties=1; else Rsatwenties=0;
*suspect age 30-40;
if suspect_age=6 then Rsathirties=1; else Rsathirties=0;
*suspect age is 41 or older;
if 7<=suspect_age then Rsafortyup=1; else Rsafortyup=0;
*Suspect race 4 dummy coded variables;
*Caucasian;
if 1<=suspect_race<=4 then Rscauc=1; else Rscauc=0;
*African American;

```



```

if 5<=suspect_race<=8 then Rsaa=1; else Rsaa=0;
*Hispanic;
if 9<=suspect_race<=12 then Rshisp=1; else Rshisp=0;
*other;
if 13<=suspect_race<=999 then Rsraceoth=1; else Rsraceoth=0;
*victim knew suspect 1 dummy coded variable;
if victim_knew_suspect=1 then Rvknows=1; else Rvknows=0;

*Dependent variable event disposition dummy coded;
if event_disposit=2 or event_disposit=6 or event_disposit=22 or event_disposit=24 or
event_disposit=16 or event_disposit=17 or event_disposit=20 or
event_disposit=8 or event_disposit=15 then Rfounded=0; else Rfounded=1;

*victim race 1 dummy coded;
if 1<=victim_race<=4 then Rvwhite=1; else Rvwhite=0;

*suspect race 1 dummy coded;
if 1<=suspect_race<=4 then Rswhite=1; else Rswhite=0;

*Victim Suspect Relation 5 dummy coded variables- Stranger, Just Met, ACQ/Friend,
Partner, Family/HH (combined partner and family);
if victim_suspect_relation=. then victim_suspect_relation=999;

if pre_incident_contact='stranger' or victim_suspect_relation=77 or
((pre_incident_contact='unfounded' or
pre_incident_contact='unk if sa' or pre_incident_contact='vic accepted
ride' or pre_incident_contact='vic accepted ride'
or pre_incident_contact='unfounded' or pre_incident_contact='unfou') and
(victim_suspect_relation=41 or victim_suspect_relation=999))
then Rstranger=1; else rstranger=0; *Stranger;

justmet1=0;
if victim_suspect_relation=0 or victim_suspect_relation=13 or
victim_suspect_relation=14
or victim_suspect_relation=15 or victim_suspect_relation=25 or
victim_suspect_relation=35
or victim_suspect_relation=42 or victim_suspect_relation=44 or
victim_suspect_relation=48 or
65<=victim_suspect_relation<=68 or 70<=victim_suspect_relation<=72 or
75<=victim_suspect_relation<=76 or victim_suspect_relation=41 or
victim_suspect_relation=999
then justmet1=1;

justmet2=0;
if pre_incident_contact='ACQ' or pre_incident_contact='ACQ vic 408/uics'

```

or pre_incident_contact='Drugged by ACQ' or pre_incident_contact='Met In Bar'
or pre_incident_contact='Met in Bar' or pre_incident_contact='prostitute'
then justmet2=1;

rjustmet=0;

if Rstranger=0 and (justmet1=1 or justmet2=1) then Rjustmet=1;

If (Rstranger=0 and Rjustmet=0) and (victim_suspect_relation=6
or victim_suspect_relation=7 or
victim_suspect_relation=8 or victim_suspect_relation=10 or
victim_suspect_relation=12 or
victim_suspect_relation=16 or victim_suspect_relation=17 or
victim_suspect_relation=19 or
victim_suspect_relation=20 or victim_suspect_relation=22 or
26<=victim_suspect_relation<28 or
victim_suspect_relation=31 or 36<victim_suspect_relation<=38 or
victim_suspect_relation=40 or
victim_suspect_relation=43 or 45<=victim_suspect_relation<=46 or
victim_suspect_relation=47 or
victim_suspect_relation=50 or victim_suspect_relation=54 or
victim_suspect_relation=55 or
victim_suspect_relation=59 or 60<=victim_suspect_relation<=62 or
victim_suspect_relation=64 or victim_suspect_relation=24)
then Rfriend=1; else Rfriend=0; *Acquaintance Known/Friend;

If (rstranger=0 and Rjustmet=0 and Rfriend=0) and
(victim_suspect_relation=9 or victim_suspect_relation=18 or
victim_suspect_relation=34 or
victim_suspect_relation=49 or victim_suspect_relation=56 or
victim_suspect_relation=57 or
victim_suspect_relation=58) then Rpartner=1; else Rpartner=0; *Past/Present Intimate
Partner;

if (Rstranger=0 and Rjustmet=0 and Rfriend=0 and Rpartner=0) and
(1<=victim_suspect_relation<=5 or victim_suspect_relation=11 or
victim_suspect_relation=21 or
victim_suspect_relation=23 or 29<=victim_suspect_relation<=30 or
32<=victim_suspect_relation<=33 or
victim_suspect_relation=39 or 51<=victim_suspect_relation>=53 or
victim_suspect_relation=63 or victim_suspect_relation=69
or 73<=victim_suspect_relation<=74) then Rhhfamily=1; else Rhhfamily=0; *Household
or Family;

Rpartfam=0;

if Rpartner=1 or Rhhfamily=1 then Rpartfam=1;

*Household or Family or past/present intimate partner;

*Recoded UCR Statute;

RUCR=0;

If UCR_STATUTE_NUMERIC=9 or UCR_STATUTE_NUMERIC=10 or
UCR_STATUTE_NUMERIC=11 then RUCR=1;

run;

proc freq; run;

proc format;

*Victim history, non credible traits 3 variables;

value Rprior_crim 1='victim has priors' 0='victim does NOT have priors';

value Rrunaway 1='victim is/was a listed runaway' 0='victim is NOT a listed runaway';

value Rprior_sa 1='victim has a prior SA on record' 0='victim does NOT have a prior SA
on record';

*Overt force 5 variables;

value Rother_crime 0='only SA occurred' 1='SA and other crimes occurred';

value Rmulti_sus 1='multiple suspects committed SA' 0='only one suspect committed
SA';

value Rmulti_penetra 1='multiple types of penetration occurred' 0='only one type of
penetration occurred';

value Rforce 1='use of force occurred' 0='NO force was used';

value Rweapon 1='a weapon was used' 0='NO weapon was used';

Victim behavior traits (non-credible) 4 variables;

value Ralcohol 1='victim consumed alcohol' 0='victim did NOT consume alcohol';

value Rdrugs 1='victim consumed drugs' 0='victim did NOT consume drugs';

value Rntclub 1='victim met offender at a nightclub' 0='victim did NOT meet the
offender at a nightclub';

value Rwait 1='victim waited 24 hours or more to report SA' 0='victime did NOT wait to
report SA';

*Hypersexualized Place, 1 variable;

value Rhypsex 1='hypersexualized location (strip or downtown area command)' 0='non-
hypersexualized location';

*General Premises (GP) 4 dummy coded variables;

value Rgpres 1='general premises is a residence' 0='general premises is NOT a residence';

value Rgphmnc 1='general premises is a hotel, motel or nightclub' 0='gp is NOT a hotel,
motel, or nightclub';

value Rgpveh 1='general premises is a vehicle or roadway' 0='gp is NOT a vehicle or
roadway';

value Rgpother 1='general premises other than residence, hmnc, or vehicle/roadway'
0='gp was a residence, hmnc, or vehicle/roadway';

```

*victim age 4 dummy coded variables;
value Rvateen 1='victim age is 13-18' 0='victim is older than 18';
value Rvatwenties 1='victim age is 19-29' 0='victim age is younger than 19 or older than 29';
value Rvathirties 1='victim age is 30-40' 0='victim age is younger than 30 or older than 40';
value Rvafortyup 1='victim age is 41-54' 0='victim age is younger than 41';
*Victim Race 4 dummy coded variables;
value Rvcauc 1='victim caucasian' 0='victim is not caucasian';
value Rvaa 1='victim is african american' 0='victim is not african american';
value Rvhispan 1='victim is hispanic' 0='victim is not hispanic';
value Rvraceoth 1='victim is other race than w, b, h' 0='victim is w,b,or h';
*Suspect age 4 dummy coded variables;
value Rsateen 1='suspect age is 18 or below' 0='suspect is older than 18';
value Rsatwenties 1='suspect age is 19-29' 0='suspect age is younger than 19 or older than 29';
value Rsathirties 1='suspect age is 30-40' 0='suspect age is younger than 30 or older than 40';
value Rsafortyup 1='suspect age is 41 or older' 0='suspect age is younger than 41';
*Suspect Race 4 dummy coded variables;
value Rsauc 1='suspect caucasian' 0='suspect is not caucasian';
value Rsa 1='suspect is african american' 0='suspect is not african american';
value Rshispan 1='suspect is hispanic' 0='suspect is not hispanic';
value Rsraceoth 1='suspect is other race than w, b, h' 0='suspect is w,b,or h';
*victim knows suspect dummy coded;
value Rvknows 1='victim knows sususpect' 0='victim does NOT know suspect';
*Dv event disposition;
value Rfounded 1='the case was determined founded by the police' 0='the case was determined unfounded by police';

```

```
run;
```

```

data one; set one;
IVS= RSprior_crim + RRunaway + RSprior_sa + RSalcohol + RSdrugs + RSntclub +
Rswait +
RSothcrim + RSmulti_sus + RSmulti_penetra + RSforce + RSweapon;
proc freq; tables IVS;
proc corr alpha; var RSprior_crim RRunaway RSprior_sa RSalcohol RSdrugs RSntclub
Rswait RSothcrim RSmulti_sus RSmulti_penetra RSforce RSweapon; run;

```

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

```

*Founded by Victim and Suspect Demographics- caucasian and twenties are reference groups;
proc logistic data= one;

```

model Rfounded (**event** = '1') = Rvwhite Rswwhite Rvafortyup Rvateen Rvathirties;

* founded by v/s demographics and victim offender relationship (friend reference) general premises (residences reference) and and hypersex;

proc logistic data = one;

model Rfounded (**event** = '1')= Rvwhite Rswwhite Rvafortyup Rvateen Rvathirties Rjustmet Rpartfam Rstranger Rgphmnc Rgpother Rgpveh Rhypsex;

*founded v/s and v/o/r and overt force;

proc logistic data = one;

model Rfounded (**event** = '1')= Rvwhite Rswwhite Rvafortyup Rvateen Rvathirties Rjustmet Rpartfam Rstranger Rforce Rother_crime RSmulti_penetra Rweapon Rmulti_sus;

*founded by demo, v/o relationship behavior before and after;

proc logistic data = one;

model Rfounded (**event** = '1')= Rswwhite Rvwhite Rvafortyup Rvateen Rvathirties Rjustmet Rpartfam Rstranger Ralcohol Rdrugs Rwait Rntclub;

*founded by demo, v/o relationship and victim history;

proc logistic data = one;

model Rfounded (**event** = '1')= Rswwhite Rvwhite Rvafortyup Rvateen Rvathirties Rjustmet Rpartfam Rstranger Rprior_crim Rprior_sa Rrunaway;

*UCR by Victim and Suspect Demographics- caucasian and twenties are reference groups;

proc logistic data= one;

model RUCR (**event** = '1') = Rvwhite Rswwhite Rvafortyup Rvateen Rvathirties;

* UCR by v/s demographics and victim offender relationship (friend reference) general premises (residences reference) and and hypersex;

proc logistic data = one;

model RUCR (**event** = '1')= Rvwhite Rswwhite Rvafortyup Rvateen Rvathirties Rjustmet Rpartfam Rstranger Rgphmnc Rgpother Rgpveh Rhypsex;

*UCR v/s and v/o/r and overt force;

proc logistic data = one;

model RUCR (**event** = '1')= Rvwhite Rswwhite Rvafortyup Rvateen Rvathirties Rjustmet Rpartfam Rstranger Rforce Rother_crime RSmulti_penetra Rweapon Rmulti_sus;

*UCR by demo, v/o relationship behavior before and after;

```

proc logistic data = one;
model RUCR (event = '1')= Rswwhite Rvwhite Rvafortyup Rvateen Rvathirties
Rjustmet Rpartfam Rstranger Ralcohol Rdrugs Rwait Rntclub;

```

*UCR by demo, v/o relationship and victim history;

```

proc logistic data = one;
model RUCR (event = '1')= Rswwhite Rvwhite Rvafortyup Rvateen Rvathirties
Rjustmet Rpartfam Rstranger Rprior_crim Rprior_sa Rrunaway;

```

*UCR by founded;

```

proc logistic data = one;
model RUCR (event = '1')= Rswwhite Rvwhite Rvafortyup Rvateen Rvathirties
Rjustmet Rpartfam Rstranger Rfounded; run;

```

```

proc freq; tables RUCR*Rfounded; run; *this makes a crosstab;

```

```

proc freq; tables Rprior_crim*Rfounded; run;

```

```

proc freq; tables Rprior_sa*Rfounded; run;

```

```

proc freq; tables Rrunaway*Rfounded; run;

```

```

proc freq; tables Ralcohol Rdrugs Rforce Rfounded Rfriend Rgphmnc Rgpother Rgpres
Rgpveh
Rhypsex Rmulti_penetra Rmulti_sus Rntclub Rother_crime Rpartfam Rprior_crim
Rjustmet
Rprior_sa Rrunaway Rstranger Rswwhite Rvwhite Rwait Rweapon Rsmulti_penetra
RUCR;
run;

```

*crosstabs & chisq;

```

proc freq; tables Ralcohol*RUCR Rdrugs*RUCR Rforce*RUCR Rfounded*RUCR
Rfriend*RUCR Rgphmnc*RUCR
Rgpother*RUCR Rgpres*RUCR Rgpveh*RUCR
Rhypsex*RUCR Rmulti_penetra*RUCR Rmulti_sus*RUCR Rntclub*RUCR
Rother_crime*RUCR Rpartfam*RUCR
Rprior_crim*RUCR Rjustmet*RUCR
Rprior_sa*RUCR Rrunaway*RUCR Rsaa*RUCR Rsafortyup*RUCR Rsateen*RUCR
Rsathirties*RUCR
Rsatwenties*RUCR Rscauc*RUCR Rshisp*RUCR
Rsraceoth*RUCR Rstranger*RUCR Rvaa*RUCR Rvafortyup*RUCR Rvateen*RUCR
Rvathirties*RUCR
Rvatwenties*RUCR Rvcauc*RUCR Rvhispc*RUCR
Rvraceoth*RUCR Rwait*RUCR Rweapon*RUCR/chisq; run;

```

```

proc freq; tables RUCR*Rfounded/chisq; run;

```

REFERENCES

- Abbey, Tina. Zawacki, Phillip O. Buck, A. Monique Clinton, and Pam. McAuslan. 2004. "Sexual Assault and Alcohol Consumption: What Do We Know About Their Relationship and What Types of Research Are Still Needed?" Pp. 2, 270-303 in *Aggression and Violent Behavior*. 9(3): 271-303.
- Addington, Lynn A. 2007. "Using NIBRS to Study Methodological Sources of Divergence Between the UCR and NCVS." Pp. 225-250 in *Understanding Crime Statistics*, edited by Lynch, James P. and Lynn A. Addington. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Agnew, R. 1997. "The Nature and Determinants of Strain: Another Look at Durkheim and Merton." Pp. 27-51 in *The Future of Anomie Theory*. edited by Nikos Passas and Robert Agnew. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press.
- Akers, Ronald. 1999. *Criminological Theories*. Chicago, IL. Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers.
- Akers, Ronald. and Christine S. Sellers. 2009. *Criminological Theories: Introduction, Evaluation, and Application*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Albonetti, Celesta.A. 1987. "Prosecutorial Discretion: The Effects of Uncertainty." *Law and Society Review*. 21(2):291-314.
- Allison, J. and L. Wrightsman. 1993. *Rape: The Misunderstood Crime*. Newbury Park, CA. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Altemeyer, Bob. 1988. *Enemies of Freedom: Understanding Right-Wing Authoritarianism*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Amir, Menachem. 1971. "Patterns in Forcible Rape." *Chicago, IL. University of Chicago Press*.

- Anderson, Janet. 2007. "Rape Myths." *Research and Advocacy Digest* 9(3) 1-9.
- Baker, Katherine K. 1997. "Once a Rapist? Motivational Evidence and Relevancy in Rape Law." *Harvard Law Review*: 110(3): 563-624.
- Bargh, John A., Paula Raymond, John B. Pryor, and Fritz. Strack. 1995. "Attractiveness of the Underling: An Automatic Power → Sex Association and Its Consequences for Sexual Harassment and Aggression." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 68(5):768–781.
- Barnett-Ryan, Cynthia. 2007. "Introduction to the Uniform Crime Reporting Program." Pp. 55-89 in *Understanding Crime Statistics*, edited by Lynch, James P. and Lynn A. Addington. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Baron, Larry and Murray A. Straus. 1989. *Four Theories of Rape in American Society: A State-Level Analysis*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Bartol, Curt R. 1998. *Criminal Behavior: A Psychosocial Approach* 5th edition. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Battelle Law and Justice Center. 1978. *Forcible Rape: Police Volume*. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Beccaria, Cesare. 1764. *On Crimes and Punishments*. translated by H. Paolucci. Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merill.
- Becker, Howard. 1964. *Outsiders*. New York: The Free Press.
- . 1974. "Labeling Theory Reconsidered." Pp. 41-66 in *Deviance and Social Control*, edited by P. Rock and McIntosh . London, United Kingdom. Tavistock.
- Belknap, Joanne. 2001. *The Invisible Woman: Gender, Crime and Justice*. Belmont, CA. Wadsworth Publishing Co.

- Benedict, Helen. 1992. *Virgin or Vamp*. Oxford University Press, Inc. New York, NY.
- Benyon, Caryl M., Clare McVeigh, Jim McVeigh, Conan Leavey, and Mark A. Bellis. 2008. "The Involvement of Drugs and Alcohol in Drug-Facilitated Sexual Assault." *Trauma, Violence, and Abuse* 9(3):178-188.
- Bernstein, Ilene N., William R. Kelley, and Patricia A. Doyle. 1977. "Societal Reaction to Deviants: The Case of Criminal Defendants." *American Sociological Review* 42(October): 743-755.
- Bevacqua, Maria. 2000. *Rape on the Public Agenda: Feminism and the Politics of Sexual Assault*. Lebanon, New Hampshire. Northeastern University Press.
- Block, Richard and Carolyn R. Block. 1980. "The Transformation of Robbery Incidents into Official Robbery Statistics." *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*. 71(4) 622-636.
- Blumstein, Alfred, Jacqueline Cohen, and Richard Rosenfeld. 1991. "Trend and Deviation in Crime Rates: A Comparison of UCR and NCS Data for Burglary and Robbery." *Criminology* 29(2): 237-263.
- Boetig, Brian P. 2006. "The Routine Activity Theory: A Model for Addressing Specific Crime Issues." *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin* 75(6):12-19.
- Bondurant, Barrie. 2001. "University Women's Acknowledgment of Rape: Individual, Situational and Social Factors." *Violence Against Women* 7(3): 294-314.
- Botta, Renee A. and Suzanne Pingree. 1997. "Interpersonal Communication and Rape: Women Acknowledge Their Assaults." *Journal of Health Communication* 2(3): 197-212.
- Boumil, Marcia, Stephen C. Hicks. 1992. *Women and the Law*. Buffalo, NY. William S.

- Hein and Company.
- Bowker, Lee. 1983. "Marital Rape: A Distinct Syndrome." *Social Casework* 64(6):347-52.
- Bradmillar, Linda L., and William S. Walters. 1985. "Seriousness of Sexual Assault Charges Influencing Factors." *Criminal Justice and Behavior*. 12(4) 463-484.
- Brecklin, Leanne R. and Sarah E. Ullman. 2002. "The Roles of Victim and Offender Alcohol Use in Sexual Assaults: Results from the National Violence Against Women Survey." *Journal of Studies on Alcohol* 63:57-63.
- Brerenton, Davide and Jonathan Casper. 1982. "Does It Pay to Plead Guilty? Differential Sentencing and the Function of Criminal Courts." *Law and Society Review* 16(1):362-384.
- Bridges, George S. and Sara Steen. 1998. "Racial Disparities in Official Assessments of Juvenile Offenders: Attributional stereotypes as mediating mechanisms." *American Sociological Review* 63(4):554-570.
- Brownmiller, Susan. 1975. *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.
- Brownstein, Henry H. 1999. "The Social Production of Crime Statistics." *Justice and Research Policy*. 2(2)73-89.
- Bryden, David and Sonja Lengnick. 1997. "Rape in the Criminal Justice System." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 87(4):1194-1384.
- Buchwald, Emilie, Pamela Fletcher, and Martha Roth. 1995. *Transforming a Rape Culture*. Minneapolis: MN Milkweed Editions.

- Burgess, Wolbert. and Lynda Lytle Holmstrom. 1978. *The Victim of Rape: Institutional Reactions*. Piscataway, NJ. Transaction Publishers.
- Burt, Martha R. 1980. "Cultural Myths and Support for Rape." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 38(2):217–230.
- Cahill, Ann J. 2001. *Rethinking Rape*. Ithaca, NY. Cornell University Press.
- Campbell, Rebecca and Camille R. Johnson. 1997. "Police Officers' Perceptions of Rape: Is There Consistency Between State Law and Individual Beliefs?" *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 12(2):255.
- Campbell, Rebecca, Sharon M. Wasco, Courtney E. Ahrens, Tracy Sefl, and Holly E. Barnes. 2001. "Preventing the 'Second Rape': Rape Survivors' Experiences with Community Service Providers." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 16(12):1239.
- Carrington, Kerry and Paul Watson. 1996. "Policing Sexual Violence: Feminism, Criminal Justice and Governmentality." *International Journal of the Sociology of Law* 24(3):253-272.
- Catalano, Shanon. 2005. *Criminal Victimization, 2004*. No. NCJ210674. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice.
- . 2007. "Methodological Change in the NCVS and the Effect on Convergence." Pp. 125-155 in *Understanding Crime Statistics*, edited by James P. Lynch and Lynn A. Addington. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Chandler, Susan and Martha Torney. 1981. "The Decisions and the Processing of Rape Victims Through the Criminal Justice System." *California Sociologist*, 4(2):155-168.
- Check, James V. and Neil M. Malamuth. 1983. "Sex Role Stereotyping and Reactions to Depictions of Stranger Versus Acquaintance Rape." *Journal of Personality and*

- Social Psychology* 4(2):344-15.
- Chiricos, Theodore G. and Gordon P. Waldo. 1975. "Socioeconomic Status and Criminal Sentencing: An Empirical Assessment of a Conflict Proposition." *American Sociological Review*. 40(6):753-772.
- Clark, Lorene M. G., and Debra J. Lewis. 1977. *Rape: The Price of Coercive Sexuality*. Toronto, Canada: The Woman's Press.
- Clarke, Stevens H. and Gary G. Koch. 1976. "The Influence of Income and Other Factors on Whether Criminal Defendants Go to Prison." *Law and Society Review* 11(1):57-92.
- Cloward, Richard and Lloyd Ohlin. 1960. *Delinquency and Opportunity*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.
- Cohen, Lawrence E. and Marcus Felson. 1979. "Social Change and Crime Rate Trends: A Routine Activity Approach." *American Sociological Review* 44(4):588-608.
- Combs-Lane, Amy M. and Daniel W. Smith. 2002. "Risk of Sexual Victimization in College Women: The Role of Behavioral Intentions and Risk-Taking Behaviors." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 17(2):165-183
- Comte, Auguste. 1868. *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte. translated by Harriet Martineau*. New York, NY. William Gowans.
- Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43(6):1241-79.
- Criminal Victimization in the United States (CVUS), 2006 *Statistical Tables*. 2008. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice. No. NCJ223436.

- Davis, Kelly Cue, William H. George, and Jeanette Norris. 2004. "Women's Responses to Unwanted Sexual Advances: The Role of Alcohol and Inhibition Conflict." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 28(4):333-343.
- DeKeseredy, Walter and Katharine Kelly. 1993. "The Incidence and Prevalence of Woman Abuse in Canadian University and College Dating Relationships." *The Canadian Journal of Sociology* 18(2):137-159.
- Dixon, Jo. 1995. "The Organizational Context of Criminal Sentencing." *American Journal of Sociology* 100(5):1157-1198.
- Doherty, Kathy and Irina Anderson. 1998. "Talking about rape." *The Psychologist* 11(12):583-586.
- Donovan, Josephine. 1992. *Feminist Theory: The Intellectual Traditions of American Feminism*. London, United Kingdom. Continuum.
- Drieschner, Klaus and Alfred Lange. 1999. "A Review of Cognitive Factors in the Etiology of Rape: Theories, Empirical Studies, and Implications." *Clinical Psychology Review* 19(1):57-77.
- Dworkin, Andrea. 1985. "Against the Male Flood: Censorship, Pornography, and Equality." *Harvard Journal of Law and Gender* 8(1)1-30.
- Easton, Alyssa N., Jodi Summers, Joanne Tribble, Patricia B. Wallace, and Robyn Lock. 1997. "College Women's Perceptions Regarding Resistance to Sexual Assault." *Journal of American College Health* 46(3):127-131.
- Edwards, A. 1987. "Male Violence in Feminist Theory: an Analysis of the Changing Conceptions of Sex/Gender Violence and Male Dominance." In Hanmer and Maynard's *Women, Violence, and Social Control*. London, United Kingdom.

- Hutchinson.
- Elliott, Diana M., Doris S. Mok, and John Briere. 2004. "Adult Sexual Assault; Prevalence, Symptomatology, And Sex Differences in the General Population." *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 17(3):203-211.
- Ellis, Lee. 1989. *Theories of Rape: Inquiries into the Causes of Sexual Aggression*. New York, NY. Hemisphere.
- Estrich, Susan. 1987. *Real Rape*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Federal Bureau of Investigation. 1997. "Uniform Crime Report." Washington, DC: Department of Justice.
- . 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008. *Crime in the United States: Uniform Crime Reports*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice.
- Feild, Hubert S. 1978. "Attitudes Toward Rape: A Comparative Analysis of Police, Rapists, Crisis Counselors, and Citizens." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 36(2)156-179.
- Feldman-Summers, Shirley and Gayle C. Palmer. 1980. "Rape as Viewed by Judges, Prosecutors, and Police Officers." *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 7(1):19.
- Feild, Hubert, and Leigh. Bienen. 1980. *Jurors and Rape*. Lexington, MA: Heath.
- Feldman-Summers, Shirley and Karen Lindner. 1976. "Perceptions of Victims and Defendants in Criminal Assault Cases." *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 3(2):135-149.
- Felson, Marcus. 1998. *Crime and Everyday Life*, 2nd Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Fine, Gary A. 1993. "The Sad Demise, Mysterious Disappearance, and Glorious Triumph of Symbolic Interactionism." *Annual Review of Sociology*, 19: 61-87.

- Finkelhor, David and Kersti Yllo. 1985. *License to Rape*. New York, NY: The Free Press.
- Fisher, Bonnie S., Francis T. Cullen, and Michael G. Turner. 2000. *The Sexual Victimization of College Women*. No. NCJ182369. Washington DC: U.S. Department of Justice.
- Fisher, Bonnie S., Leah E. Diagle, Francis T. Cullen, and Michael G. Turner. 2003. "Acknowledging Sexual Victimization as Rape: Results from a National-Level Study." *Justice Quarterly* 20(3):535-574.
- Fisher, Bonnie S., John J. Sloan, Francis T. Cullen, and Chunmeng Lu. 1998. "Crime in the Ivory Tower: The Level and Sources of Student Victimization." *Criminology* 36(3):671-710.
- Friedman, Joel, Marcia M. Boumil, and Barbara E. Taylor. 1992. *Date Rape: What it Is, What it Isn't, What it Does to You, What You Can Do about it*. Deerfield Beach, FL: Health Communications.
- Friedman, Jaclyn and Jessica Valenti. 2008. *Yes Means Yes!: Visions of Female Sexual Power and a World without Rape*. Berkeley, CA: Seal Press.
- Gagnon, John and Willima Simon. 2005. *Sexual Conduct: The Social Sources of Human Sexuality*. Chicago, IL: Aldine Publishing Co.
- Galvin, Jim and Kenneth Polk. 1983. "NCCD Research Review: Attrition in Case Processing: Is Rape Unique?" *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 20(1):126-154.
- Garfinkel, Harold. 1949. "Research Note on Inter-and-Intra-Racial Homicide." *Social Forces* 27(5):370-381.

- Garland, Tammy. 2009. "An Overview of Sexual Assault and Sexual Assault Myths." Pp. 3-24 in *Sexual Assault: The Victims, the Perpetrators, and the Criminal Justice System*, edited by Frances P. Reddington and Betsy Wright Kreisel. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.
- Gebhard, Paul H., John H. Gagnon, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Cornelia V. Christenson. 1965. *Sex Offenders: An Analysis of Types*. New York, NY: Harper and Row.
- Gilbert, Neil. 1992. "Realities and Mythologies of Rape." *Society*, 29(4): 4-10.
- Girard, April L. and Charlene Y. Senn. 2008. "The Role of the New 'Date Rape Drugs' in Attributions about Date Rape." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 23(1):3.
- Goff, Colin H. 1997. *Criminal Justice in Canada*. Toronto, Canada: Nelson Thomson Learning..
- Gottfredson, Michael R. and Travis Hirschi. 1990. *A General Theory of Crime*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Gove, Walter R., Hughes, Michael, and Michael Geerken. 1985. "Are Uniform Crime Reports
A Valid Indicator of the Index Crimes? An Affirmative Answer with Minor Qualifications." *Criminology*. 23(3) 451-501.
- Greendlinger, Virginia and Donn Byrne. 1987. "Coercive Sexual Fantasies of College Men as Predictors of Self-Reported Likelihood of Rape and Overt Sexual Aggression." *Journal of Sex Research* 23(1):1-11.

- Greenfield, Lawrence. 1997. *Sex Offenses and Offenders: An Analysis of Data on Rape and Sexual Assault*. No. NCJ 163392. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice.
- Greenwood, Peter. Jan M. Chaiken, Joan Petersilia. 1975. *The Criminal Investigation Process*. Lexington, MASS: C.C. Health.
- Griffithm Curt T. and Simon N. Verdun-Jones. 1994. *Canadian Criminal Justice*. Toronto, Canada: Harcourt Brace.
- Gross, Alan M. Andrea Winslett, Miguel Roberts, and Carol L. Gohm. 2006. "An Examination of Sexual Violence against College Women." *Violence Against Women* 12(3):288-300.
- Groth, A. Nicholas and H. Jean Birnbaum. 1979. *Men Who rape: The Psychology of the Offender*. New York, NY: Plenum Press.
- Gunn, Rita and Candice Minch. 1988. *Sexual Assault: The Dilemma of Disclosure, the Question of Conviction*. Winnipeg, Canada: University of Manitoba Press.
- Gutmann, Stephanie. 1991. "It Sounds Like I Raped You!' How Date Rape Re-education Fosters Confusion, Undermines Personal Responsibility, and Trivializes Sexual Violence." Pp. 217-221 in *Human Sexuality*, 16th Edition, edited by Ollie Pocs. Guilford, CT: Dushkin Publishing Group.
- Gylys, Julius A. and John R. McNamara. 1996. "A Further Examination of Validity for the Sexual Experiences Survey." *Behavioral Sciences and the Law* 14(2):245-260.
- Hall, Eleanor R., Judith A. Howard, and Sherrie L. Boezio. 1986. "Tolerance of Rape: A Sexist or Antisocial Attitude?" *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 10(2):101-117.

- Hall, Stuart. 2006. "The Rediscovery of Ideology: Return of the Repressed in Media Studies." Pp. 124-155 in *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: A Reader*, edited by John Storey. Harlow, England: New York: Pearson/Prentice Hall.
- Hall, Stuart, Chas Critcher, Tony Jefferson, John N. Clarke, and Brian Roberts. 1978. *Policing the Crisis: 'Mugging', the state, and Law and Order*. London, England: Macmillan.
- Hanen, Marsha and Kai Nielsen. 1987. *Science, Morality, and Feminist Theory, Canadian Journal of Philosophy, Supplementary Volume 13*. Calgary, Alta: University of Calgary Press.
- Hanser, R. 2009. "Sexual Assault Definitions." Pp. 27-53 in *Sexual Assault: The Victims, the Perpetrators, and the Criminal Justice System*. Edited by Frances P. Reddington and Betsy Wright Kreisel. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.
- Harrington, Nicole T. and Harold Leitenberg. 1994. "Relationship between Alcohol Consumption and Victim Behaviors Immediately Preceding Sexual Aggression by an Acquaintance." *Violence and Victims* 9(4):315-324.
- Hazelwood, Robert and Ann W. Burgess. 1987. "An introduction to the serial rapist: Research by the FBI." *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin* 56(9):16-24.
- Herman, Dianne F. 1984. "The Rape Culture." Pp. 45-53 in *Women: A Feminist Perspective*, edited by Jo Freeman. Palo Alto, CA: Mayfield Publishing Co.
- Hirshi, Travis. 1969. *Causes of Delinquency*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Hobbes, Thomas. 1651. *Leviathan*, in *Leviathan, with selected variants from the Latin edition of 1668*, edited by Edwin Curley (1994). Indianapolis, IN: Hackett.

- Hulsman, Louk H. C. 1986. "Critical Criminology and the Concept of Crime." *Contemporary Crisis* 10(1):63-80.
- Hursh, Carolyn. 1977. *The Trouble with Rape*. Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall.
- Jaggar, Allison. 1987. "Sex inequality and bias in sex differences research." In *Science, Morality, and Feminist Theory, Canadian Journal of Philosophy, Supplementary Volume 13*, edited by Marsha Hanen and Kai Nielsen. Calgary, Alta: University of Calgary Press.
- Jensen, Robert. 2007. *Getting Off: Pornography and the End of Masculinity*. Cambridge, MA. South End Press.
- Johnson, Ida M. and Robert T. Sigler. 1997. *Forced Sexual Intercourse in Intimate Relationships*. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate.
- Kahlor, LeeAnn and Dan Morrison. 2007. "Television Viewing and Rape Myth Acceptance among College Women." *Sex Roles* 56(11-12):729-739.
- Kalof, Linda. 2000. "Vulnerability to Sexual Coercion among College Women: A Longitudinal Study." *Gender Issues* 18(4):47-58.
- Karmen, Andrew. 2009. *Crime Victims: An Introduction to Victimology*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Katz, Jackson. 2006. *The Macho Paradox: Why Some Men Hurt Women and How All Men Can Help*. Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks, Inc.
- Kerstetter, Wayne. 1990. "Gateway to Justice: Police and Prosecutorial Response to Sexual Assault against Women." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 81(2):267-313.

- Krebs, Christopher, Christine Lindquist, Tara Warner, Bonnie S. Fisher, and Sandra Martin. 2007. *The Campus Sexual Assault (CSA) Study: Final Report*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice.
- Kilpatrick, Dean G., Christine Edmunds and Anne Seymour. .1992. *Rape in America: A Report to the Nation*. Arlington VA: National Victim Center and Charleston, SC: Crime Victims Research and Treatment Center.
- Kilpatrick, Dean G., Ron Acierno, Hedi S. Resnick, Benjamin E. Saunders, and Connie L. Best. 1997. "A Two-Year Longitudinal Analysis of the Relationships between Violent Assault and Alcohol and Drug Use in Women." *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 65(5):834-847.
- Kilpatrick, Dean G., and Jenna McCauley. 2009. *Understanding National Rape Statistics*. Applied Research Forum. VAWnet: National Online Resource Center on Violence against Women. Retrieved April 2, 2010
(http://new.vawnet.org/Assoc_Files_VAWnet/AR_RapeStatistics.pdf)
- Kilpatrick, Dean G., Heidi S. Resnick, Kenneth J. Ruggiero, Lauren M. Conoscenti, and Jenna McCauley. 2007. *Drug Facilitated, Incapacitated, and Forcible Rape: A National Study*. Charleston, SC: Medical University of South Carolina, National Crime Victims Research and Treatment Center.
- Kingsnorth, Rodney F., RRandal C. MacIntosh, and Jennifer Wentworth. 1999. "Sexual Assault: The Role of Prior Relationship and Victim Characteristics in Case Processing." *Justice Quarterly* 16(2):275-302.

- Koss, Mary P. 1988. "Hidden Rape: Sexual Aggression and Victimization in a National Sample of Students in Higher Education." Pp. 3-25 in, *Rape and Sexual Assault II*, edited by Ann Wolber Burges. New York, NY: Garland Press.
- , 2005. "More Data Have Accumulated Supporting Data and Acquaintance Rape as Significant Problems for Women." Pp. 97-116 in *Current Controversies on Family Violence*, 2nd Edition, edited by Donileen R. Loseke, Richard J. Gelles, and Mary M. Cavanaugh. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Koss, Mary P., Christine A. Gidycz, and Nadine Wisniewski. 1987. "The Scope of Rape: Incidence and Prevalence of Sexual Aggression and Victimization in a National Sample of Higher Education Students." *Journal of Clinical and Consulting Psychology* 55(2):162-170.
- Koss, Mary P. and Cheryl J. Oros. 1982. "Sexual Experiences Survey: A Research Instrument Investigating Sexual Aggression and Victimization." *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 50(3):455-457.
- Krafka, Carol, Daniel Linz, Edward Donnerstein, and Steven Penrod. 1997. "Women's Reactions to Sexually Aggressive Mass Media Depictions." *Violence Against Women* 3(2):149-181.
- Kreisel, Betsy Wright. 2009. "Police and Victims of Sexual Assault." Pp. 337-357 in *Sexual Assault: The Victims, the Perpetrators, and the Criminal Justice System*, edited by Frances P. Reddington and Betsy Wright Kreisel. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.
- Kubrin, Charis E., Thomas D. Stucky, and Marvin D. Krohn. 2008. *Researching Theories of Crime and Deviance*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

- LaFree, Gary. 1980. "The Effect of Sexual Stratification by Race on Official Reactions to Rape." *American Sociological Review* 45(10):842-854.
- , 1981. "Official Reactions to Social Problems: Police Decisions in Sexual Assault Cases." *Social Problems* 28(5):582-594.
- , 1989. *Rape and Criminal Justice: The Social Construction of Sexual Assault*. Belmont, CA:Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Langhinrichsen-Rohling, Jennifer and Candice Monson. 1998. "Marital Rape: Is the Crime Taken Seriously without Co-Occurring Physical Abuse?" *Journal of Family Violence* 13(4):433-443.
- Laufersweiler-Dwyer, Deborah L. and R. Gregg Dwyer. 2009. "Sex offenders and child molesters." Pp. 230-265 in *Sexual assault: The Victims, the Perpetrators, and the Criminal Justice System*, edited by Frances P. Reddington and Betsy Wright Kreisel. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.
- Laumann, Edward L., John H. Gagnon, Robert T. Michael, and Stuart Michaels. 1994. *The Social Organization of Sexuality: Sexual Practices in the United States*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- LeDoux, John C. and Robert R. Hazelwood. 1985. "Police Attitudes and Beliefs toward Rape." *Journal of Police Science and Administration* 13(3):211-220.
- Lilly, J. Robert, Francis T. Cullen, and Richard Ball. 2007. *Criminological Theory: Context and Consequences*. Newbury Park:Sage Publications, Inc.
- Lipton, David N., Elizabeth C. McDonel, and Richard M. McFall. 1987. "HeteroSocial Perceptions in Rapists." *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 55(1):17-21.

- Locke, John. 1847. *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Pittsburgh, PA: C.H. Kay.
- Loiselle, Marci and Wayne R. Fuqua. 2007. "Alcohol's Effects on Women's Risk Detection in a Date-Rape Vignette." *Journal of American College Health* 55(5):261-266.
- Lombroso, Ceasar. 1886. "L'Uomo Delinquente (Criminal Man)." *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 13(4-5):274.
- Lonsway, Kimberly and Louise F. Fitzgerald. 1994). "Rape Myths in Review." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 18(2):133-133.
- Lynch, James P. and John P. Jarvis. 2008. "Missing Data and Imputation in the Uniform Crime Report and that Effects of National Estimates." *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*. 24(1)69-85.
- MacDonald, John and David L. Michaud. 1995. "Rape: Controversial Issues." Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas.
- MacKinnon, Catherine. 1984. "Not a Moral Issue." *Yale Law and Policy Review* 2(2):321-345.
- Malamuth, Neil M. 1986. "Predictors of Naturalistic Sexual Aggression." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 50(5):953-962.
- , 1989. "The Attraction to Sexual Aggression Scale: Part One." *Journal of Sex Research* 26:26-49.
- Malamuth, Neil M., and Lisa M. Brown. 1994. "Sexually Aggressive Men's Perceptions of Women's Communications: Testing Three Explanations." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 67(4):699-712.

- Malamuth, Neil M., Robert J. Sockloskie, Mary P. Koss, and J.S. Tanaka. 1991. "Characteristics of Aggressors against Women: Testing A Model Using a National Sample of College Students." *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 59(5):670-681.
- Martin, Susan E. and Ronet Bachman. 1998. "The Contribution of Alcohol to the Likelihood of Completion and Severity of Injury in Rape Incidents." *Violence against Women* 4(6):694-712.
- Marx, Brian P. and Jose .M. Soler-Baillo. 2005. "The Relationships among Risk Recognition, Autonomic and Self-Reported Arousal, and Posttraumatic Stress Symptomatology in Acknowledged and Unacknowledged Victims of Sexual Assault." *Psychosomatic Medicine* 67(4):618-624.
- Masho, Saba W., Rebecca K. Odor, and Tilahun Adera. 2005. "Sexual Assault in Virginia: A Population-Based Study." *Women's Health Issues* 15(4):157-166.
- McCahill, Thomas W., Linda C. Meyer, and Arthur M. Fischman. 1979. *The Aftermath of Rape*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.
- McDonel, Elizabeth C. and Richard M. McFall. 1991. "Construct Validity of Two Heterosocial Perception Skill Measures for Assessing Rape Proclivity." *Violence and Victims* 6(1):17-30.
- Melossi, Dario 1985. "Overcoming the Crisis in Critical Criminology: Toward a Grounded Labeling Theory." *Criminology* 23(2):193-208.
- Merrill, William F. 1995. "Art of Interrogating Rapists." *Polygraph* 24(1):7.
- Merton, Robert K. 1938. "Social Structure and Anomie." *American Sociological Review* 3(5):672-682.

- Messerschmidt, James. 1995. "Managing to Kill: Masculinities and the Space Shuttle Challenger Explosion." *Masculinities* 3(4):1-22.
- Messner, Steven F. and Judith R. Blau. 1987. "Routine Leisure Activities and Rates of Crime: A Macro-Level Analysis." *Social Forces* 65(4):1035-1052.
- Miethe, Terance D. and Richard McCorkle. 1998. *Crime Profiles: The Anatomy of Dangerous Persons, Places, and Situations*. Las Angeles: Roxbury Publishing Company.
- Miethe, Terance D. and Richard Meier. 1994. *Crime and Its Social Context: Toward an Integrated Theory of Offenders, Victims, and Situations*. New York, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Minch, Candice, Rick Linden, and Stuart Johnson. 1987. "Attrition in the Processing of Rape Cases." *Canadian Journal of Criminology* 29(4):389-404.
- Morgan, Robin. 1977. *Going Too Far: The Personal Chronicle of a Feminist*. New York, NY: Random House.
- . 1980. "Theory and Practice: Pornography and Rape." Pp. 134-140 in *Take Back the Night: Women on Pornography*. edited by Laura Lederer. New York, NY: William Morrow.
- Muehlenhard, Charlene L. and Polly L. Falcon. 1990. "Men's Heterosexual Skills and Attitudes toward Women as Predictors of Verbal Sexual Coercion and Forceful Rape." *Sex Roles* 23(5-6):241-259.
- Muehlenhard, Charlene L. and Melaney A. Linton. 1987. "Date Rape and Sexual Aggression in Dating Situations: Incidence and Risk Factors." *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 34(2):186-196.

- Murphy, William D., Emily M. Coleman, and Mary R. Haynes. 1986. "Factors Related to Coercive Sexual Behavior in a Nonclinical Sample of Males." *Violence and Victims* 1(4):255-278.
- Myers, Martha and Gary D. LaFree. 1982. "Sexual Assault and Its Prosecution: A Comparison with Other Crimes." *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 73(3):1282-1305.
- Nagel, Barbara, Hisako Matsuo, Kevin P. McIntyre, and Nancy Morrison. 2005. "Attitudes toward Victims of Rape." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 20(6):725-737.
- Nardulli, Peter F. 1979. "The Caseload Controversy and the Study of Criminal Courts." *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 70(1):89-101.
- Nasta, A., B. Shah, S. Brahmanandam, K. Richman, K. Wittels, J. Allsworth, and L. Boardman. 2005. "Sexual Victimization: Incidence, Knowledge and Resource Use Among a Population of College Women." *Journal of Pediatric and Adolescent Gynecology* 18(2):91-96.
- National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). 1998. "Criminal Victimization in the United States, 1998, Statistical Tables, May 2000." Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.
- Negrusz, Adam, Mathew Juhascik, and R. E. Faenssen. 2005. "Estimate of the Incidence of Drug-Facilitated Sexual Assault in the U.S." Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice.

- Overholser, James C. and Steven Beck. 1986. "Multimethod Assessment of Rapists, Child Molesters, and Three Control Groups on Behavioral And Psychological Measures." *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 54(5):682-687.
- Parrot, Adrea and Laurie Bechhofer. 1991. "Acquaintance Rape: The Hidden Crime." *New York, NY: Wiley*.
- Perkins, T.E. 1979. "Rethinking Stereotypes." Pp. 135-159 in *Ideology and Cultural Production*. edited by Michele Barrett and the British Sociological Association. London, England: Croom Helm.
- Polk, Kenneth. 1985. "Rape Reform and Criminal Justice Processing." *Crime and Delinquency* 31(2):191-205.
- Pollard, Paul. 1994. "Sexual Violence against Women: Characteristics of Typical Perpetrators." Pp. 170-194 in *Male Violence*, edited by John Archer. London, England: Routledge.
- Post, Lori A., Nancy J. Mezey, Chrisopher Maxwell, and Wilam Novales Wibert. 2002. "The Rape Tax: Tangible and Intangible Costs of Sexual Violence." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 17(7):773-782.
- Pryor, John B. and Lynnette M. Stoller. 1994. "Sexual Cognition Processes in Men High in the Likelihood to Sexually Harass." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 20(2):163-169.
- Quinsey, Vernon L. and Martin L. Lalumière. 1995. "Evolutionary Perspectives on Sexual Offending." *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment* 7(4):301.
- Rand, Michael and Shanon Catalano. 2007. *Criminal Victimization in the United States, 2006*. Washington DC: U.S. Department of Justice. No. NCJ219413.

- Randall, Melanie and Lori Haskell. 1995. "Sexual Violence in Women's Lives: Findings from the Women's Safety Project, a Community-Based Survey." *Violence against Women* 1(1): 6-31.
- Rapaport, Karen and Barry R. Burkhart. 1984. "Personality and Attitudinal Characteristics of Sexually Coercive College Males." *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* 93(2):216-221.
- Reckless, Walter C. 1961. "A New Theory of Delinquency and Crime." 25 *Fed. Probation*.4: 42-46.
- Reddington, Frances P. and Betsy Wright Kreisel. 2005. *Sexual Assault: The Victims, the Perpetrators, and the Criminal Justice System*. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.
- Reskin, Barbara F. and Christy A. Visher. 1986. "The Impacts of Evidence and Extralegal Factors in Jurors' Decisions." *Law and Society Review* 20(3):423-438.
- Ritzer, George. 2004. *The Globalization of Nothing*. London, England: Sage.
- Roiphe, Katie. 1993. *The Morning After: Sex, Fear, and Feminism on Campus*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company.
- Russell, Diana E. 1982. "The Prevalence and Incidence of Forcible Rape and Attempted Rape of Females." *Victimology: An International Journal* 7(1-4):81-93.
- . 1984. *Sexual Exploitation: Rape, Child Sexual Abuse, and Workplace Harassment*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- . 1990. *Rape in Marriage, (Expanded and Revised Edition)*. Bloomngtons, IN: Indiana University Press.

- Sanday, Peggy Reeves. 2003. "Rape-Free Versus Rape-Prone: How Culture Makes a Difference." Pp. 337-362 in *Evolution, Gender, and Rape*, edited by Cheryl Brown Travis.: Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Schoenberg, Nara and Sam Roe. 1993. "Rape: The Making of an Epidemic." *Toledo Blade*, October 10, pt. 1, pp.1,8.
- Schulhofer, Stephen J. 1998. *Unwanted Sex: The Culture of Intimidation and the Failure of Law*. Cambridge, MA. Harvard University Press.
- Schwartz, Martin D. and Walter S. DeKeseredy. 1997. *Sexual Assault on the College Campus: The Role of Male Peer Support*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Schwartz, Martin D., Walter S. DeKeseredy, David Tait, and Shahid Alvi. 2001. "Male Peer Support and a Feminist Routing Activities Theory: Understanding Sexual Assault on the College Campus." *Justice Quarterly* 18(3):623-649.
- Scully, Diana. 1994. *Understanding Sexual violence: A Study of Convicted Rapists*. Boston, MA: Unwin Hyman.
- Scully, Diana. and Joseph Marolla. 1984. "Convicted Rapist's Vocabulary of Motive: Excuses and Justifications." *Social Problems* 31(5):530-544.
- . 1985. "Riding the Bull at Gilley's: Convicted Rapists Describe the Rewards of Rape." *Social Problems* 32(3):251-263.
- Segal, Z.V. and L.E. Stermac. 1984. "A Measure of Rapists' Attitudes towards Women." *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry* 7:437-440.
- Seidman, Steven. 2003. *The Social Construction of Sexuality*. New York, NY: Norton.
- Shaw, Clifford R. and Henry D. McKay. 1969. *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas:*

- A Study of Rates of Delinquency in Relation to Differential Characteristics of Local Communities in American Cities*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Shotland, R. Lance. 1992. "A Theory of the Causes of Courtship Rape: Part 2." *Journal of Social Issues* 48(1):127-143.
- Simon, William. and John Gagnon. 1986. "Sexual Scripts: Permanence and change." *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 15(2):97-120.
- Soulliere, Danielle M. 2005. "Pathways to Attrition: A Qualitative Comparative Analysis of Justifications for Police Designations of Sexual Assault Complaints." *The Qualitative Report* 10(3):416-438.
- Spohn, Cassia, Dawn Beichner, and Erika Davis-Frenzel. 2001. "Prosecutorial Justifications for Sexual Assault Case Rejection: Guarding the 'Gateway to Justice'." *Social Problems*. 48(2):206-235.
- Spohn, Cassia, John Gruhl, and Susan. Welch. 1982. "The Effect of Race on Sentencing: A Re-Examination of an Unsettled Question." *Law and Society Review* 16(1):71-88.
- Spohn, Cassia-, and Jeffrey Spears. 1996. "The Effect of Offender and Victim Characteristics on Sexual Assault Case Processing Decisions." *Justice Quarterly* 13(4):649-679.
- Spohn, Cassia, and David Holleran. 2001. "Prosecuting Sexual Assault: A Comparison of Charging Decisions in Sexual Assault Cases Involving Strangers, Acquaintances and Intimate Partners." *Justice Quarterly* 18(3):651-88.
- South Scott J. and Richard B. Felson. 1990. "The Racial Patterning of Rape." *Social Forces* 69(1):71-93.

- Stiglmayer, Alexandra. 1994. *Mass Rape: The War Against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Stratton, Jon. 1996. *The Desirable Body: Cultural Fetishism and the Erotics of Consumption*. New York, NY: Manchester University Press.
- Suarez, Eliana and Tahany M. Gadalla. 2010. "Stop Blaming the Victim: A Meta-Analysis of Rape Myths." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 25(11):2010-2035.
- Sundberg, S.L., Howard E. Barbaree, and William L. Marshall. 1991. "Victim Blame and the Disinhibition of Sexual Arousal to Rape Vignettes." *Violence and Victims* 6:103-120.
- Sutherland, Edwin H. 1950. "The Sexual Psychopath Laws." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*. 40(5). 543-554.
- Sutherland, Edwin and Donald Cressey. 1947. "Differential Association." Pp. 194-196 in *Social Deviance: Readings in Theory and Research, 1999*, edited by Henry N. Pontell. Upper Saddle River: NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Sykes, Gresham M. 1974. "The Rise of Critical Criminology." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 65(2):206-213.
- Symons, Donald. 1979. *The Evolution of Human Sexuality*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Synovitz, Linda B. and T.Jean Byrne. 1998. "Antecedents of Sexual Victimization: Factors Discriminating Victims from Nonvictims." *Journal of American College Health* 46(4):151-158.
- Tannenbaum, Frank. 1938. *Crime and the Community*. New York, NY: Ginn and Co.

- Testa, Maria, Carol VanZile-Tamsen, and Jennifer A. Livingston. 2004. "The Role of Victim and Perpetrator Intoxication on Sexual Assault Outcomes." *Journal of Studies on Alcohol* 65(3):320-329.
- Thomson, Randall J. and Matthew T. Zingraff. 1981. "Detecting Sentencing Disparity: Some Problems and Evidence." *American Journal of Sociology* 86(4):869-880.
- Thornhill, Randy, Nancy Thornhill, and Gerard A. Dizinno. 1986. "The Biology of Rape." *Pp.* 102-121 in *Rape*, edited by Sylvana Tomaselli and Roy Porter. New York, NY: Blackwell.
- Tjaden, Patrica and Nancy Thoennes. 1998. *Prevalence, Incidence, and Consequences of Violence against Women: Findings from the National Violence Against Women Survey (Research in Brief, NCJ 172837)*. Washington DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, and U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.
- . 2006. *Extent, Nature, and Consequences of Rape Victimization: Findings from the National Violence Against Women Survey*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice. No. NCJ210346.
- Travis, Cheryl Brown. 2003. *Evolution, Gender, and Rape*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Tewksbury, Richard, Elizabeth Mustain, and Kenneth M. Stengel. 2008. "Examining Rates of Sexual Offenses from a Routines Activity Perspective." *Victims and Offenders* 3(1):75-85.
- Ullman, Sarah E. and Judith M. Siegel. 1993. "Victim/Offender Relationship and Sexual Assault." *Violence and Victims* 8(2):121-134.

- Valenti, Jessica. 2009. *The Purity Myth: How America's Obsession with Virginity Is Hurting Young Women*. Berkeley, CA: Seal Press.
- Wagner, Brooke M., Andrew L. Spivak, Stephanie L. Kent, and Deborah Koetzle Shaffer. 2012. "Crime and Delinquency in Nevada." in *The Social Health of Nevada: Leading Indicators and Quality of Life in the Silver State*. Edited by Dmitri N. Shalin. Las Vegas, NV: UNLV Center for Democratic Culture. Accessed 2-22-2012. (<http://cdclv.unlv.edu>).
- Walker, William D., Robert C. Rowe, and Vernon L. Quinsey. 1993. "Authoritarianism and Sexual Aggression." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 65(5):1036-1045.
- Warr, Mark. 1988. "Rape, Burglary, and Opportunity." *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*. 4(3) 275-288.
- Warshaw, Robin, and Mary P. Koss. (1988). *I Never Called it Rape: The Ms. Report on Recognizing, Fighting, and Surviving Date and Acquaintance Rape*. New York, NY: Harper and Row.
- Weber, Max. 1968. *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Weber, Max. 1994 *Weber: Political Writings (Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought)*. Edited by Peter Lassman. Translated by Ronald Speirs. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Wiehe, Vernon R. and Ann L. Richards. 1995. *Intimate Betrayal: Understanding and Responding to the Trauma of Acquaintance Rape*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

- Wilson, Edward. 1975. *Sociobiology: The New Synthesis*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wolf, Naomi. 1991. *The Beauty Myth: How images of beauty are used against women*. New York: William Morrow and Company.
- Wood, Linda A. and Heather Rennie. 1994. "Formulating Rape: The Discursive Construction of Victims and Villains." *Discourse & Society* 5(1):125-48.
- Woods, Timothy . 2001. "First Response to Victims of Crime: A Handbook for Law Enforcement Officers on How to Approach and Help Elderly Victims, Victims of Sexual Assault, Child Victims, Victims of Domestic Violence, Survivors of Homicide Victims." U.S. Department of Justice. Office of Justice Programs. Office for Victims of Crime. Retrieved November 15, 2009. (<http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/ovc/publications/infores/firstrep/2001/NCJ189631.pdf>).
- World Health Organization. 2000. "Violence Against Women." Retrieved March 15, 2007. (<http://www.who.int/inf-fs/en/fact239.html>).
- Yalom, Marilyn. 2002. *A History of the Wife*. New York, NY: HarperCollins.
- Zillmann, Dolf and Jennings Bryant. 1989. *Pornography: Research Advances and Policy Considerations*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Brooke M. Wagner
Doctoral Candidate, University of Nevada, Las Vegas
4505 Maryland Parkway, Box 455033. (Bldg: CBC, Room B213)
Las Vegas, NV 89154-3322. (702) 895-0370 Wagnerb3@unlv.nevada.edu

EDUCATION

- Ph.D. University of Nevada, Las Vegas May 2012
Sociology
Dissertation: *Formal, Bounded, and “Hyper” Rationality in Police Processing of Sexual Assault Claims: Case Dispositions and UCR Reporting*
- M.A. University of Nevada, Las Vegas May 2007
Sociology,
Thesis: *‘Good Girl/Bad Girl’ Understanding Intimacy Constructions*
- B.A. Indiana University Northwest, Gary Dec.
2004
Liberal Arts, Concentration in Criminal Justice
Minors in Sociology, Psychology, & Creative Writing

AREAS OF SPECIALIZATION

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| Criminology/Deviance | Social Theory/Social Psychology |
| Gender & Sexuality | Research Methods |

PEER-REVIEWED JOURNAL PUBLICATIONS

- Wagner, B. (2010) “The Purity Myth. How American Obsession with Virginity is Hurting Young Women” Book Review in *Spaces for Difference*. 2:1: p 56-58.
- Wagner, B. (2009) “Sexuell warden: Vom Überwinden der Grenzen weiblicher Sexualität” *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* (Journal of Sex Research) 22 *Jahrgang* 2009:p 297-317.
- Wagner, B. (2009) “‘Becoming a Sexual Being’ Overcoming Constraints on Female Sexuality.” *Sexualities* 12:3: p 289-311.

GOVERNMENT & TECHNICAL REPORTS

Sousa, W., Spivak, A. L., Pace, S., and B. M. Wagner. (2010) “An Analysis of Factors Associated with Known Incidents of Sexual Assault Reported to Police” Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department.

Wagner, B. M., Spivak, A. L., Kent, S. and D. Koetzle Shaffer. (2011) “Crime and

Delinquency in Nevada.” In *The Social Health of Nevada: Leading Indicators and Quality of Life in the Silver State*, edited by Dmitri N. Shalin. Las Vegas, NV: UNLV Center for Democratic Culture.

<http://cdclv.unlv.edu/mission/index.html>

MANUSCRIPTS UNDER REVIEW

Spivak, A., Wagner, B., Whitmer, J. & C. Charish. “Gender and Juvenile Justice Processing Outcomes for Status Offenders.” Under review at *Justice Quarterly*.

Wagner, B. “Sex, Self & Interviewing: A performance text.” Under review at *Creative Approaches to Research*.

Wagner, B., Chandler, R., & S. Pace. “An Analysis of Factors Associated with Delayed Reporting in Sexual Assault Claims.” Under review at *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*.

INVITED PRESENTATIONS

Wagner, B. (2010) “The Social Psychology of Sexual Assault” Las Vegas: Metropolitan Police Department.

Wagner, B. (2010) “Preventing Sexual Assault in Downtown Area Command.” A Community Symposium on the Prevention of Sexual Assault in Las Vegas. Las Vegas: Metropolitan Police Department

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Wagner, B. (2011) “Rape in the Age of the Iron Cage: A Weberian view of sexual assault attrition.” American Sociological Association. Las Vegas, NV

Wagner, B. Spivak, A. (2011) “Real Rape in Las Vegas” Society for the Study of Social Problems. Las Vegas, NV

Wagner, B. (2011) “What Happens in Vegas? The Symbolic Use of Sex and Identity in the Marketing of Las Vegas” Couch Stone Symposium. Las Vegas, NV

Wagner, B., Pace, S. (2011) “Male Sexual Assault and Official Reporting Rates in Las Vegas” Southwestern Social Science Association. Las Vegas, NV

Wagner, B., Spivak A (2011) “Gender, Judicial Paternalism and Juvenile Justice Processing Outcomes” Southwestern Social Science Association. Las Vegas, NV

Wagner, B., Pace, S. (2011) “Factors Associated with the Likelihood of Delay Sexual Assault Reporting” Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences. Toronto, Ontario, Canada

- Wagner, B., Whitmer, J., Spivak, A., (2010) "Gender and Juvenile Justice Processing Outcomes for Status Offenders." American Society of Criminology. San Francisco, CA
- Wagner, B. (2009) "Virtual Interactions" Society for the Study of Symbolic Interactionism. San Francisco, CA
- Wagner, B. (2007) "Exploring Myself with Dee,' Negotiating Power During an Interview" Couch Stone Symposium. Champaign, IL
- Wagner, B. (2007) "Sex, Hot-tubs, & Constructions of Intimacy" Graduate Research Conference in Sociology. Las Vegas, NV
- Wagner, B (2006) "If Weber Knew Voldermort:' A Sociological Interpretation of Authority in Harry Potter" The Society for the Interdisciplinary Study of Social Imagery (SISSI). Boulder, CO

PUBLIC MEDIA IMPACT

- 2011 KNPR's State of Nevada. Panel Discussion with host Dave Becker on October 5, 2011 featured on air at 10:00am and 9:05pm in report "Domestic Violence and Men Murdering Women."

GRANTS & AWARDS

- | | |
|--|--|
| Competitive Award | 2012 UNLV GPSA Merit Award \$300.00. |
| Presidential Graduate Fellow grant funded stipend. | 2011 University of Nevada, Las Vegas \$25,000.00 |
| Competitive Award | 2011 UNLV GPSA Service Award \$300.00. |
| Competitive Award | 2011 Graduate Student of the Year, Department of Sociology \$50.00. |
| Competitive Research Grant | 2010 UNLV Graduate College Summer Session Scholarship \$2,000. |
| Competitive Research Grant | 2010 College of Liberal Arts Dean's Graduate Student Stipend \$2,000. |
| ASA Paper Nominee | 2010 Outstanding Graduate Student Paper in Sexualities. |
| Competitive Research Grant | 2009 Department of Sociology at UNLV \$2,500 for independent research. |
| Travel Grant | 2007, 2009 Department of Sociology at UNLV \$200 for travel to annual SSSI conference & Couch Stone Symposium. |
| Travel Grant | 2007, 2009 Society of the Study of Symbolic Interactionism \$200 for travel to annual SSSI conference & Couch Stone Symposium. |

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

Sexual Assault Attrition in Hypersexualized Places

Primary Investigator, University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Las Vegas, NV

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

2010-current *Commercially Sexually Exploited Children Project (CSEC)* grant funded through OJJDP

Research Assistant/Associate Project Coordinator

Primary Researcher Andrew P. Spivak, University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Las Vegas, NV

2006-2008 *Sex & Tourism*

Research Assistant

Primary Researcher Barb Brents, University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Las Vegas, NV

2005-2006 *Economy of Fascination: Dubai and Las Vegas as Examples of Themed Urban Landscapes*

Research Assistant

Primary Researcher Heiko Schmitt, University of Heidelberg. Heidelberg, Germany

2003-2004 *Bonds Created through Reading*

Primary Researcher, Indiana University NW. Gary, IN

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Spring 2012 Sociology 101 (Distant Learning) Introduction to Sociology at Nevada State College, Henderson NV- Autonomous Teaching

Fall 2011 Sociology 101 (Distant Learning) Introduction to Sociology at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas- Autonomous Teaching

Fall 2011 Sociology 101 (Distant Learning) Introduction to Sociology at Nevada State College, Henderson NV- Autonomous Teaching

Summer 2011 Sociology 101 (Distant Learning) Introduction to Sociology at Nevada State College, Henderson NV- Autonomous Teaching

Spring 2011 Sociology 403 (2 sections) Research Methods at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas-Autonomous Teaching
Sociology 101 (2 sections) Introduction to Sociology at the College of Southern Nevada, Las Vegas- Autonomous Teaching

Fall 2010 Sociology 403, (1 section) Research Methods & Sociology 101, (1 section) Introduction to Sociology at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas- Autonomous Teaching
Sociology 101, (2 sections) Introduction to Sociology at the College of Southern Nevada, Las Vegas- Autonomous Teaching

Spring 2010 Sociology 403, (1 section) Research Methods at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas-Autonomous Teaching

- Fall 2009 Sociology 403, (1 section) Research Methods at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas-Autonomous Teaching
Sociology 101, (2 sections) Introduction to Sociology at the College of Southern, NV- Autonomous Teaching
- Spring 2009 Sociology 403, (1 section) Research Methods at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas- Autonomous Teaching
Sociology 101, (1 section) Introduction to Sociology at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas- Autonomous Teaching
- Fall 2008 Sociology 403, (1 section) Research Methods at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas- Autonomous Teaching
- Fall 2007 Laboratory Requirement for Sociology, 404 Introduction to Statistics at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas- GA requirement
- Spring 2007 Laboratory Requirement for Sociology, 404 Introduction to Statistics at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas- GA requirement
- Fall 2006 Laboratory Requirement for Sociology, 404 Introduction to Statistics at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas- GA requirement

SERVICE AND DEVELOPMENT

Journal Manuscript Peer Review

- Deviant Behavior (2010)
Interpersonal Violence (2011)

Publisher Book Review

- Left Coast Press (2010) *Innovative Ethnographies Series*

University/Department Service

- Graduate Student Faculty Representative (2011-2012)
Library Committee Member (2009, 2010, 2011)
SWS Conference Organizer (2007)

Workshops Attended

- Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department Volunteer Program Orientation. September 25, 2010.
Las Vegas Rape Crisis Center Volunteer Training. Fall 2009
St. Jude House Volunteer Training. Fall 2001

VOLUNTEER EXPERIENCE

- | | | |
|--------------|--|---------------|
| 2011-current | Jean Nidetch Women's Center
CARE Line Operator (Rape Response Unit) | Las Vegas, NV |
| 2010-current | Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department
ACIO Sexual Assault Research Assistant | Las Vegas, NV |

2009-2010	Rape Crisis Center Research Assistant on Elderly Abuse Project	Las Vegas, NV
2008	Society for Women Sociologists Student Organizer for Annual Conference	Las Vegas, NV
2005	Camp Summit Boot Camp Exit Strategy Counselor	South Bend, IN
2001-2004	St. Jude House Project Organizer and Rape Response Team Member	Crown Point, IN

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

American Sociological Association (ASA)
 Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences (ACJS)
 American Society for Criminology (ASC)
 Society for the Study of Social Problems (SSSP)
 Southwestern Social Science Association (SSSA)
 Society for the Study of Symbolic Interactionism (SSSI)

REFERENCES

Andrew L. Spivak, Ph.D.
 Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology
 University of Nevada, Las Vegas
 4505 Maryland Parkway, Box 455033
 Las Vegas, NV 89154-5033
 Office 702.895.0257
 andrew.spivak@unlv.edu

Barb Brents Ph.D.
 Department of Sociology
 University of Nevada, Las Vegas
 Las Vegas, NV 89154-5033
 Office: 702-895-0261
 barb.brents@unlv.edu

Simon Gottschalk, Ph.D.
 Associate Professor
 Director of Graduate Studies
 Department of Sociology
 University of Nevada, Las Vegas
 4505 Maryland Parkway
 Las Vegas, NV 89154-5033

Office: 702-895-0266
simon.gottschalk@unlv.edu