

MOTIVES OF SOCIAL RAPISTS

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the self-reported accounts of 61 incarcerated criminals who admit to serial rape. Respondents were interviewed using a methodology employing other convicted felons as interviewers. Results show that lust and "righteous rape" were the most salient objectives of these experienced rapists. These findings reveal, too, that physical violence was selective and used sparingly. In light of these findings, additional research should be conducted addressing rape avoidance.

INTRODUCTION

Controversy continues about why men sexually assault strangers - often referred to as serial rape. Are all men potential rapists and is the primary motive of a predator sexual or a need for domination and control? While most jurisdictions view rape as a crime of sexual misconduct sometimes involving passion, rape is also typically reported and examined as a crime of violence. Largely predatory rape may include descriptions about vaginal and anal penetration, cunnilingus, ejaculation, and fellatio, thus sexual offenders exhibiting those actions are classified as sexually dangerous (Cohen, Garofalo, Boucher, Seghorn 1971). A number of theorists claim that predatory rape includes domination, force, and coercion indicating motivation factors such as violence and the need to gain control over a victim (Brownmiller 1975). Other researchers describe neurological disturbances as motivators or the arousal perspective (Quinsey, Chaplin, Upford 1984). My study examines the question of "primary" motivation for predatory rape as women are as often attacked by strangers as often as they are by individuals they know (U.S. Department of Justice 1994). For the purpose of this research, predatory or serial rape refers to sexual intimacy between strangers without the knowing consent of the victim. This definition is consistent with other definitions of stranger rape (Cohen et al 1971; Groth 1979).

COMPETING MODELS OF PREDATORY RAPE MOTIVES

Susan Brownmiller (1975) argues that since antiquity motivation leading to rape involves males wanting to keep women "in their place." This orientation suggests that the "real" motive of rape is to preserve sexual role inequality through violence. Consistent with this view, Bedard (1992) contends that rape is used to keep women from gaining independence and autonomy, i.e., rape demonstrates

that women are really the property of men. Sanday (1981) views the American rapist as part of a traditional perspective which focuses on interpersonal violence, male dominance, and sexual separation. In addition, Sanday views sexual violence as indicators of men's contempt for female qualities and suggests that rape is part of a culture of male violence. Supporting her view is data from preindustrial societies which suggest the existence of rape-free cultures (Sanday 1981). Julia Schwendinger and Herman Schwendinger (1982) suggest that rape is a form of exploitation of the politically weaker sex since men have and want to retain dominance. The Schwendingers say that since law determines rape's parameters, and men control the law, men control the sexuality of women.

Related to male domination and control motivators, Nicholas Groth (1979) examines the psychological and the emotional factors that predispose a person to react to situational and life events with sexual violence. Groth suggests that there may be three patterns of behavior represented by rapists: power rape, anger rape, and sadistic rape, one being dominant in every instance. Groth concludes that there are few rapes where sex is the chief motivator. That is, sex is largely instrumental to the service of nonsexual needs. Using this psychological model of motivation, a rapist is a person who has serious psychological difficulties that hinder his relationship with others. In sadistic rape too, where the offender relishes physical harm to the victim, control is the primary motivating force for the offender. This model proposes that a rapist discharges his feelings of rejection and anger through sexual acting-out. Also, sexual assaults are acts of retaliation, expressions of power, and assertions of manhood (Groth, Burgess 1980).

Another group of theorists argue that while attitudes of rapists may not be particularly unusual, rapists display specific attitudes and behavioral patterns of sexual arousal as

compared to non-sexual offenders (Quinsey et al 1984). This view suggests that coercion by violence is itself sexually arousing, therefore, the motivation for rape apparently has to do with personality flaws inherited at birth (Eysenck, Gudjonsson 1989). This view seems to be support Groth's (1979) predisposition perspective to rape and relates to personality disturbances.

A specific example of psychological motivation acquired in part through operant conditioning suggests that rapists are motivated by a sex drive for erotic experiences, and a drive to possess and control one or more sex partners (Ellis 1989). Many males cross a theoretical point called the forced copulation threshold due to neurological activities which are intimately linked with the effects of sex hormones upon brain functioning (Denno 1990; Ellis 1989; Eysenck, Gudjonsson 1989). Specifically, Ellis (1989) states, "The basic blue print is substantially influenced by DNA molecules." Also, lower status males move beyond the forced copulation threshold more than other males. Ellis argues in part that the actual technique in committing rape is learned through operant conditioning consistent with Bandura's (1973) social learning process.

Operant conditioning or social learning views rape as resulting from the joint influences of cultural and experiential factors mediated by attitudes, sex role scripts, and other thought processes that link physical aggression and sexuality in the minds of males (Ellis 1989). In this view, aggression is instrumental rather than an end in itself (Bandura 1973). Thus, some rapists can have a genuine appetite for sex with their victims despite the popular belief that rape is a power trip. However, since cultural tradition such as male dominance is linked with interpersonal aggression and sexuality, it is possible that there are elements of the social learning perspective employed in the feminist view (Ellis 1989).

Amir's (1971) review of police reports in Philadelphia led to the view that predatory rape is motivated by a subculture theory of violence, but 87 percent of the time, a rapist uses only verbal coercion to subdue his victim. Although Amir's study is dated and examines a crime between individuals who had been intimate prior to an attack, he argues that victims are as responsible as offenders - a highly suspect position. However, other writers who interviewed rapists argue that the rapists they interviewed use sexual violence as

a method of revenge and punishment while other rapists attack others to gain access to unwilling women (Scully, Marolla 1985, 1984). Rapists exhibit compulsive masculinity, a common characteristic of some subcultures, and hold stereotypical beliefs about rape. Thus, these advocates conclude that the motivators of predatory rape are predisposed factors. Also, other writers suggest that while sex could be the main motivation in date-rape, domination and control motivates most predatory rapes (Kanin 1984).

In summary, a variety of theories explain predatory rape motivation using a variety of theoretical concepts. A continuum exists with motivating factors ranging from cultural aspects of inequality and exploitation to social learning theories showing violence as instrumental as opposed to an objective. Others more biologically inclined, argue that violence and anger are behavioral objectives with DNA markers and neurohormonal factors as major motivators. Lastly, some writers postulate that a subculture perspective buttresses revenge, punishment, and compulsive masculinity leading to serial rape.

CURRENT STUDY: HYPOTHESIS

In an effort to fill the gap in the "rape motivational" literature with "expert" data about sexual assaults, my study examines the attitudes and personal beliefs of incarcerated offenders who admit to committing serial rape. It is predicted that predatory rape offenders will disclose attitudes that support both a sexual model of rape-motivation and a "righteous rape" model for predatory rape. Maintaining social role inequality seems inadequate an explanation for career criminals who are unlikely to follow laws much less cultural norms and ideals. Violence, too, seems less likely a primary motivator or for that matter an objective or predatory rapists as most predatory victims (both attempted and completed) are not physically injured during an assault (US Department of Justice 1994).

Furthermore, since many rapists report sexual dysfunctions during their assaults, it is hard to imagine that rapists are primarily driven by neurohormonal factors beyond control of an offender (Amir 1971; Groth 1979). It is also expected that predatory rapists are self-serving, demand instant gratification, care little about the needs of others, and as such exhibit little self-control. Recent researchers are suggesting further that sexual pleasure

can be a primary motive for predatory rapists (MacKinnon 1987; Scully 1990; Stevens 1994c). The attitudinal and behavioral patterns for career criminals spring from the studies of Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990), Hazelwood and Warren (1990), and Stevens (1995a, 1995b). Understanding offender motives for predatory rape could contribute to reduced victimization and improved offender rehabilitation.

METHODOLOGY

Taking Goldstein's (1990) advise that a greater understanding about crime can be produced by calling on the experts-by-experience, I trained 13 incarcerated violent offenders at a maximum custody prison enrolled in a Sociology of Crime course as student-interviewers. The students attended several lectures and participated in many course discussions on predators, researcher bias, and interviewing techniques using Gibbons (1992) and Becker and Geer (1957) as guides over a fifteen week period. Each student-interviewer recruited and interviewed 5 volunteers from their cell-block to discuss "hypothetically" predatory rape prior to incarceration. A typical interview lasted over an hour and was conducted in various cells throughout the prison. Neither the student-interviewers nor the participants received any monetary gain for their participation in this study. However, the student-interviewers received 3 university credit hours for completion of the course.

In addition, the author interviewed 12 volunteer participant inmates recruited through assistance provided by a correctional officer. To insure confidentiality, interviews were conducted in a private office in the prison's educational area. The data obtained by the author and the student-interviewers were similar. Thus, a total of 77 informants were interviewed in the spring of 1992. Of the 77 total interviews - only 61 interviews were considered to be reliable. One student-interviewer, for instance, allegedly interviewed 5 inmates, but his interviews were challenged by his peers, 3 other inmates were interviewed twice, 2 informants admitted to only male rape, 1 inmate raped only children, and 5 informants would not talk about their experiences after admitting to serial rape. The informants who served as participants in this study include individual male prisoners convicted or not convicted of sexual misconduct (rape), but who "hypothetically" admitted to predatory rape. In part, due to plea

bargaining and in part, due to the failures of the criminal justice system, serial rapists are rarely apprehended and when they are, they are rarely convicted of sexual misconduct (Holmes 1991; Reiman 1995). Thus, my sample consists of convicted felons who admit to committing the crime of serial rape regardless of their conviction.

Validity is a special methodological concern in prison because criminals often lie, often leading or forcing researchers to check their survey/interview data with prison files (Scully, Marolla 1984). But, this process violates the confidentiality of participants and hinders their candor (Stevens 1995b). Thus, it is not always clear that informants will tell researchers what they told police, classification workers, and case workers. Moreover, many researchers argue that most inmates including rapists present realistic perspectives about their crimes (Athens 1980; Petersilia 1977). Nonetheless, to enhance validity, participant descriptions (names used are fictitious) were discussed with other criminally violent offenders and professionals in other prisons. For example, accounts offered of serial rape by inmates at CCI in South Carolina were reviewed by other convicted felons and correctional officers at Attica Corrections in New York. These individuals indicate that the data appear to be realistic, and they were able to relate the findings of my study to their experiences.

Demographic characteristics of respondents were not collected due to the methodology used which maximized confidentiality of the respondents and the safety of the student-interviewers and me. A general description of the sample interviewed, however, shows that the typical respondent was black, reported raping more white females than black females, was educated below high school levels, was serving a minimum of seven years in prison, and averaged 32 years of age at the time of the interview. Also, many respondents report employment in menial type jobs and girl friends or spouses before incarceration. In addition, many participants reveal few family ties as adults and perceive themselves as loners during childhood. Only 2 of the subjects report that they were first-time offenders. The student-interviewers argue that most incarcerated rape offenders are perceived by the other prisoners as "weaklings and disgusting creatures."

As Table 1 shows, 3 percent (2) of the

Table 1: Admitting Predatory Rape (N=61)

Question: "Ain't sa'en you did nothing, but in your dreams about how many times might you of raped a girl you didn't know!"*

The respondents were given the following ranges.

Not Sure	Never/Denied	Never/Mistaken Identity	Once	Twice	10/more	25/more	50/more
3%	5%	5%	40%	26%	13%	5%	3%

*Question worded for safety of both respondents and researchers and in language understood by both.

Table 2: Topology of Motivational Perspectives (N=61)

Lust	Righteous	Peer	Control	Supremacy	Fantasy	Other
41%	15%	3%	8%	13%	16%	3%

Percents rounded.

subjects admit to at least 50 rapes each or 100, 5 percent (3) respondents admit to at least 25 rapes each or 75, 13 percent (8) respondents admit to 10 each or 80, 26 percent (16) admit to 2 or 32, and 40 percent (24) subjects admit 1 each or 24 rapes. The remaining 13 percent (8) subjects say that either they are not sure, deny it, or say it was mistaken identity, however, all eight respondents were convicted of sexual assault. Based on the responses of 61 respondents, the sample committed at least 319 serial rapes or an average of 5.4 rapes each. After a closer review of the data, it became clear that their rape-frequency indication is low. I would guess that these respondents were responsible for double the rape-frequency suggested.

Data collection and analysis proceeded simultaneously in keeping with Glaser and Strauss (1967) perspectives of "grounded theory." Both the process and products of research were shaped from the data. For example, the respondents were asked to describe concrete situations and give examples about serial rape from a "hypothetical" perspective especially when they offered generalities. Follow-up questions were asked relative to their responses. Questions changed with each interview depending upon the response of the participant. That is, fresh theoretical interpretation was sought from the data. Groth's (1979) "Protocol for the Clinical Assessment of the Offender's Sexual Behavior" was used as a question-topic guide (see Appendix 1). Therefore, instead of forcing the data from a standardized set of questions within a questionnaire or through a series of hypotheses tests, theory emerged from the data. Also, responses were evaluated and

categorized into a "topology of motive" (see Table 2).

FINDINGS

When the statements of 61 apprehended criminals were examined for motive leading to predatory attacks, clear patterns emerged. As Table 2 shows, 41 percent (25) of the sexual offenders suggest that their primary mission for their criminal attacks was to have sexual contact with a female or what I will call lust. Fifteen percent (9) of the offenders reveal that serial rape was encouraged by the victims themselves or what the participants call "righteous rape," while 3 percent (2) of the offenders blame friends or peers as reasons for their attacks. Another 8 percent (5) of the offenders suggest control and anger as their motivating force bringing them to serial rape, while 13 percent (8) of the rapists describe a god-like supremacy over their victims as their goal. Sixteen percent (10) describe fantasy as the motivating force behind their attacks, and 3 percent (2) offenders' motives were unclear.

Lust

Specifically, 41 percent (25) of the descriptions of rape characterized lust as the self-reported primary motive for predatory rape. To determine lust as a primary goal, the statements of the participants were carefully examined for indicators of desire. For instance, some of the typical remarks leading to this finding include the following:

I watched her ass... and I watched her eyes... I got this chill running down my legs to the accelerator.

There was something about the way she looked. I wanted to see if she looked the same way when her ol'e man was humping her. It's simple, man, I love pussy.

Furthermore, typical descriptions offered by the participants suggesting lust as their primary mission follow:

I was watching this babe peddling her bike. She looks good, and I was hungry. She's real young. I wanted that cunt. I knew she couldn't stop me. I ran along and ask if she saw my little sis (offender was a stranger). She stops, and I smell her sweat. I want'a taste it. We walked together talk'en 'bout my sis till we pass a field. So I took that little cunt and made her chew my dick. She da'ten fight or not'en. But she made me so horny, I went home and screws my ol'e lade to death. Trumen.

This tight look'en girl was fumbling with her keys, tr'en to get into her fal'en down shed [in her yard]. I saw her from the street. She wore a nightie that I could almost see through. The way she moved made my rocks shake. I had to have her. So I pretended to look for my dog. Benny

Watching this cunt walk at the pool, stoked my insides. A itch the size of a horse licked my dick. I followed her when she left and waited my chance with her. I said hay, but she just looked like she smelled something bad and kept walk'en. I couldn't wait. The first chance I got - I took. She was so good that I jammed her ass [anal rape], too. Bowman

Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990), too, imply that predatory rapists are driven by their desire to have immediate sexual intimacy with helpless women.

"Righteous Rape"

Of the predatory rapes described, 15 percent (9) of them characterize "righteous rape" as a motive. These respondents claim that the victims produced "the circumstances and the conditions" for rape by striking a "silent deal" with the offenders. That is, informants blame victims furthering Amir's (1971) theory of victim precipitation. But Amir's theory is founded on rape between intimates, not strangers. Nonetheless, several examples of righteous rape motivation are illustrated by Wild Bill and Nixon.

I was mind'en my own friggen business, do'en some real good shit [drugs] near the swings, when this sweet white babe shots her parts my way and smiles. Ya' give me some blow [she asks for drugs], and I'll show ya' a good time, she says. She looks good, real nice. See, man, I wanted this babe, so I let her help herself. She did'em and walked, laughing—telling her friends she made me. I catch her later on a back street and lay the hole [girl] down [rape]. I knew she'd be sweet. How'd I know tha' hole was twelve! But I had the right to that snatch. She gets exactly what she asks for... Wild Bill

When I was in college, I placed ads in different campus newspapers for models. If they refused sex and I really wanted them, I'd get'em high and take'em. I'd take pictures [Polaroid] in different positions. Later, if they'd say anything, I'd show'em the pictures. I liked the pictures sometimes more than sex with them. Sometimes I'd look at'em when I was hump'en one. But I do believe that most of'em had it [rape] coming cause they were just asking for it. Hell, if they hadn't been there in the first place, I couldn't of had'em. I never really broke the law. Nixon

Many of the participants like Wild Bill and Nixon reveal that violence was rarely used during their assaults. In fact, aggravated force or violence was reported in less than 30 percent of all the admitted cases, confirming the U.S. Department of Justice (1985; 1994) data. Most respondents who used force or a weapon in serial rape report that these actions were used initially to shock their victims into submission. That is, violence or weapons served a fundamental purpose to promote the main objective - sexual intercourse. This finding is congruent with Hazelwood and Warren's (1990) indication that minimal, if any, force was used in majority of the stranger-to-stranger crimes such as serial rape.

Peer

Three percent of the cases (2) report that peer pressure or camaraderie was their principle motivator. In these cases, both respondents describe situations whereby their friend or "partner" lead them to crime. For example, the student-interviewers reports that

Bernard and his partner went camping. A woman was hiking along the trail. Bernard's friend told him that this was the opportunity he was waiting for. He grabbed the woman. He tore off her

clothes and told him to take his off. Then he forced her into oral sex with Bernard. When Bernard hesitated, he called him a chicken-shit. Bernard noticed that his partner was not hard, but had sex with her anyways. She was skinny and didn't turn Bernard on. He was shaking and afraid of getting caught. His partner whispered that we should kill her. Bernard said no. Having a partner is like being drunk, you feel braver and stronger. Note: they didn't kill the victim.

Explaining peer pressures as a rape motive is similar to the above discussion about righteous rape — peer pressure is an excuse. This thought is somewhat consistent with Felson, Baccaglini, and Ribner (1985) who argue that offenders when they are arrested, attempt to excuse their behavior by not mentioning their own verbal actions suggesting their criminal intent and that offenders justify their behavior by claiming the victim physically attacked them. Additionally, a safe bet, is that sexual desire played a major role in their decisions to comply with the request of their friend. Perhaps, it was convenient that their friends "forced" them into sex with an unknown female. Would they have committed rape if their friends were absent?

Control and Anger

Eight percent (6) of the accounts characterize control and anger as a primary motive leading to serial rape. In these accounts, more violence is described by the respondents than necessary to accomplish rape. That is, violence was used even after the victim submitted and during the entire encounter, illustrating the use of violence for its own sake. The individuals who pursued violence report great degrees of anger, too. In these cases, the rapes are described as incidental activity secondary to the violence powered by their anger. For example

I was pissed with my wife.....looking for some action. But I didn't want a fuck, and I didn't want to hear screams. So, if I found some bitch who was dead or unconscious even, hypothetically that is, then she can't scream and sure as hell can't say no like my friggen wife. I saw this fine looking broad in the parking lot carrying a load of food with a little kid handing on to her dress. I pushed her into the car and grabbed the kid by the throat. I slid in on top of her and said to the bitch, if you ain't a good little girl, I'd kill your kid. She said something to me that I didn't

understand so I slammed her with my free hand. I told her, I want you to suck my cock. She started to but the kid won't shut up so I shook it. And she was crying really loud. I ran. Jake. Note: never arrested for this crime.

Control and anger seem to flow from each word Jake offers. But, Jake tends to use minimal force in comparison to Bones who offers a typical control and anger perspective.

I picked up this chick at some rat hol'e [bar]. We got in my car and started petting and petting. She stopped said she should'a been with her husband. Imagine, she's go'en down [oral sex] on me, and now I'm not good enough for her. Fuck her! I pulled her hair almost off her skull and shove my beer bottle in her pussy as far as it could go. You should'a seen her face, when I pulled her out of the car with her hair in one hand and the bottle in t'a other! She found out who was in charge, and it ain't her. I pulled the bottle out of her cunt and slammed her a homer [rape] while I held her by the hair. I think she was off the ground the whole time. She was sort of not with it, but I made her finish me off in her mouth. Bones

Control and anger seem to be related in these narratives. This interpretation is consistent with Groth's (1979) perspective that sexuality is only the means of expressing the aggressive needs and feelings that operate in the offender and underlie his assault.

Supremacy

Thirteen percent (8) of the participants describe their forcible rape attacks with an emphasize upon unnecessary violence before, during, and after their sexual assaults. I refer to these individuals as ultimate-supremacy rapists. Fact is, these respondents characterize anger in their chronicles wailing into a storm of rage to gain victim submission. Sadly, their rage continues long past victim subjugation and in some cases, long past a victim's demise. Rage blinds their violence and sex is their alibi to exercise it. They seem to have little interest in sex itself as evidenced by the extreme example of Barney.

She was carrying a lot of packages and shit and really looked like she had no idea what day it was. She dropped a package by my van. I got out pretending not to notice her and pick it up. This guy yells at me, that's hers. She hears it and

walks towards me. Mister, she yelling. I open my van. The guys gone now and bamm, I hand her the package, my gun's look'en at her tits. She gets in telling me I can have all her packages. She hands me her money. From my rape case, I take out handcuffs and told her to put them on. I took a cord from my case and tied her ankles pulling it up to her wrists. Stuffed her frigg'en mouth with rags and taped it shut. I had to check in at home so I left her in the van.

If Barney pursued sexual contact, the question begging inquiry is why had he waited to complete the act? Continuing his narration, Barney's true mission materializes.

In the middle of the night I left my warm bed and had anal sex with her. I choked her until she past out, and did it several more times. In the morning I had to take my daughters to school, so I used my wife's car. When I got back, I went for a ride in my van. Out at the city dump, I had intercourse with her and choked her again till she past out. I repeated that in between messing with her. I shaved her pussy clean and shoved my new hamper inside her. I got the handle into her rectum and moved it around a lot like a joy stick. It was nice enjoying an afternoon without hearing a bitch yell.

Barney shows that sexual contact was a significant part of the abduction of his victim, but what seems more important to him, is the punishment he inflicts on his victim. He demonstrates no regard for his victim as a human being. Like other violence fiends, he is able to transcend humanity — especially the humanity of his victims. His victim is a punching bag designed to absorb the rage and the urges of this offender. My finding is consistent with Groth and Burgess (1980) who argue that individuals who commit the crime of rape do so as an effort to deal with unresolved and conflictual aspects of their lives. Also, rape is an expression of power and assertion of their strength and manhood, these writers claim. My findings are also consistent with Les Sussman and Sally Bordwell (1981) who suggest that rapists are people who have taken woman-hating to its furthest possible point — the actual acting out of the body that other men do only in fantasy. However, my thoughts could reach a congruence with Hazelwood, Reboussin, and Warren (1989) who argue that when the victim resists with some rapists, their self-reported amount of pleasure is greater

and the duration of the rape is longer. Does that suggest that in a final analysis, lust is an ultimate goal, one might ask?

Fantasy

Sixteen percent (10) of the accounts suggest that the respondents were attempting to fulfill imaginary goals bordering unreality or invented scenarios. That is, these individuals were primarily trying to regain some imaginary goal that had been part of their past, or so they claim. Sexual contact is described as an event that helps fulfill those goals. Therefore, would it be prudent to suggest that sex may not be a goal and in many cases, unnecessary. For example, Martin says,

In my head I think about women in precarious positions. I devise shit like spreading her legs on a rack. I think about hurting'em and tak'en in their cries for help. But I don't do any of that shit. I tell'em once—okay, bitch you know what I want. This could go hard or easy on you. It's up to you. Most of the time, they put out that fast and usually say shit like, don't kill me. Please, don't kill me! Hell, I don't want'a kill'em, I just want'a screw'em."

Martin conveys that he is motivated by his ideas that he had created. However, other accounts describe more than visions and characterize behavior showing how the participant turns his thoughts into criminally violent behavior to fulfill his objectives. For instance, Henry, in the following account, explains his illusion:

When I was little, my uncle used to baby sit me. I used to spy on him and his girlfriend when they had sex. The way they went through the motions was perfect. I wanted to be just like them.

However, as Henry reveals more of his experiences, his thoughts led to behavior suggesting that he was attempting to bring those illusions to reality.

So when I was with girls I pretend I was him and they were her. I'd tell'em how I wanted them to lay or form their body. I'd masturbate on'em. When I was a punk, I'd break into homes and force old fuck'en folks there into various positions and masturbate.

Unfortunately, the behavior described by Henry takes violent turns and we are left

with the idea that Henry wants to pursue his goal no matter the cost as the benefits of his deed far outweigh the consequences of his crime. There is a congruency here with Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) who indicate that career criminals weigh the benefits of their crimes as opposed to the consequences of their behavior. Apparently, criminals like Henry have a finite plan. Moreover, this idea finds congruence in earlier research suggesting that criminals are rarely deterred by the threat of apprehension let alone by their own destruction (Stevens 1994a, 1992a, 1992b).

"Other" Rape

"Other" or unclear motives are suggested by 3 percent (2) of the participants, however, the example given seems to complement Groth's (1979) power perspective and/or Brownmiller's (1975) inequality view.

My guy says he sees a check in the parking lot that he knows will love his ass once they're together. Inside, he goes up to her and if she own a certain car and gives her the tag number. He says that there babes always sound like they're doing him a favor by talking to him, but he always has a upper hand because he's smarter. He describes something on the seat, and asks about the small animal locked inside that looks sick. She runs to the car. Inside looking for the cat, he goes, I own your ass, bitch. You can get hurt or it will be over soon. He seats on her chest and pulls his meat [masturbates] in her face. He wants to start quick and end quick. When he shots, it goes in her mouth. He splits.

Does a closer review of the data suggest that the description can characterize lustful intentions on the part of the rapist?

In summary, the data suggest that 62 percent (38) of the respondents (lust, righteous rape, peer, and other) who admit committing serial rape characterize lustful intentions as their primary goal leading to their sexual attacks. For some, their lust led them to believe that their victims promoted the circumstances and the conditions for rape. Less often than expected, offenders raped in order to gain control or fewer yet, raped for total domination over their victims. Perhaps, those participants who characterized fantasy rape were also fueled by lustful imaginations. Nonetheless, violence or weapons served a fundamental purpose to promote the main objective - sex. This finding supports Medea and

Thompson's (1974) study where 42 percent of the rapists were described by the victim as calm, 22 percent acted righteous, and 13 percent seemed frightened.

However, it is also clear that no single pattern of rape represents all serial rapists. Allison and Wrightsman (1993) also argue that when we think of rape, many people visualize a sex-starved madman waiting with a weapon for his prey. Despite the consistency in the stereotype, the writers say, characterizing stranger rape requires diversity. There is no one type of stranger rapist just as there is no one type of stranger rape victim.

CONCLUSION

The theory that most accurately predicts the greatest number of empirical observations is deemed a more elegant theory. This thought is consistent with Lee Ellis (1989) who also argues that the best empirical predictions are those centered on the greatest numbers of observations. Therefore, while lust is an unpopular indicator with most theorists, it is the best predictor of self-reported motives for predatory rape. My attitudinal research suggests that neither social roles, violence, nor DNA markers are as dominant a motivator in serial rape as previous researchers assume. Of course, maybe rapists rationalize or cover-up those motives with more socially normative reasons for their attacks, and maybe inmates like theorists have orientations that guide their rationalizations as Becker and Geer (1957) argue. However, to ignore what offenders say, could enhance the frequency of their mission as most popular perspectives on serial rape suggest that fighting back or careless resistance leads to an escalation of offender violence producing greater injury or even death to victims. For a greater understanding of this notion, see my earlier research on rape victim techniques (Stevens 1994c). Nonetheless, this absurd notion is not fully supported by my data, nor is it advised! Should someone attack me, I'd fight like hell and feel good about it even if I lost. I suggest that rape victims do the same. Pauline Bart (1981) supports my fighting back position indicating that it is both necessary to end an attack and one way for a victim to feel good about herself, regardless of the outcome of the attack.

Furthermore, reality suggests that predators do not value cultural norms such as social roles or social attitudes as most are loners, reject traditional ideals, and break the laws

and norms of society as often as it benefits them. Also, criminality is an attitude toward life resulting in a career of crime with origins in early childhood (Gottfredson, Hirschi 1990; Samenow 1984; Schmalleger 1979; Stevens 1994b). Clearly, if there were parity between the sexes, rape would not be eliminated. Also, learning favorable attitudes about rape does not automatically lend itself to a causal relationship as social learning experts imply. For some rapists, sexual intimacy is somehow offered as an unavoidable event in their lives that must be performed somewhere along their road of dreams. Other times, their dreams are bazaar and take shape from orientations that make some of us wonder why God's hand rests.

It is clear that most predatory rapists are selective with violence and use it sparingly. They spend more time on the selection process since it makes their assault easier. The younger or older the victim, the more helpless. The less alert, the more in harms way. Thus, serial rapists take the easy way in committing crime confirming the idea of other felons that rapists are weaklings and cowards. Furthermore, predatory rape is not spontaneous as serial rapists have decided prior to committing the act long before it happens and seek only an "easy" mark. Also, "in the heat of passion" arguments are not supported by this data.

One limitation of this study relates to its small sample while the "more successful" predatory rapist who has not been apprehended for any crime, is unavailable for an interview. Also, since only female stranger rape was evaluated, caution of the findings is suggested as many other factors may motive other varieties of rape. Yes, self-reports or subjective data has its limitations, but the need to add this paper to the literature is urgently required to further an understanding of this abominable violation against others. The differences in this study as compared to other studies on the subject of serial rape are that the findings come from the "experts-by-experience" or those who have been there as opposed to criminal files, police records, or other secondary sources. Moreover, this study is not clouded by the political orientations of some theorists who neglect both the merits and the professionalism of their task as my theories emerges from the data as opposed to being centered in a personal or political agenda.

If we accept the sanctioned notion that every man is a potential rapist, can we assume

that every woman is a potential whore? Clearly, there is something different, both attitudinally and behaviorally, about men who rape as compared to men don't despite learned and genetic influences. Turning predatory rape upside down, a basic question arises: why do some men learn appropriate ways to obtain sex and others don't? Many men want sex, but only certain men are rapists. One answer could be that following the appropriate cultural guidelines or norms of obtaining sex demonstrates various levels of individual self-control and more importantly, self-respect. These men would care about the needs of others, are willing to delay their own personal gratification and happiness, are less concerned with their own welfare than the welfare of others, and many believe that eventually they will meet their makers.

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APPENDIX 1 TYPE OF QUESTIONS

Some of the questions asked using Groth's (1979) "Protocol for the Clinical Assessment of the Offender's Sexual Behavior" as a guide used question prefixes like "If rape happened." Topics included were Premeditation: to what extent did you plan the offense? Did you set in search of a victim with a deliberate intent to commit sexual assault? Did the idea suddenly come to mind when an opportunity presented itself? In terms of importance before a rapist attacks a female he doesn't know, what should he do first? Rank order the following if 1 is the first thing and 6 the last or just say you don't know: be sure she's alone, old enough, going to like it, drunk/stoned, not a fighter, pretty. Victim selection: what were the descriptive characteristics (age, race, sex, situation, physical characteristics) of the victim, and what part did each play in the your selection?

Was there a relationship with the victim prior to the incident? What was it about the physical characteristics of the victim that made her the victim? Could you have had sex with anyone else at the time? Can you describe the victim? Do you recall what she looked like? Style of Attack: how did you gain control over your victim? Did you use description and entrapment, threat or intimidation, physical force or violence, or some combination of those techniques? How did you gain sexual access to your victim? Did you render your victim helpless through drugs or alcohol? Did you make promises to the victim that you couldn't keep? Accompanying Fantasies: What were you fantasizing during the attack? Was the victim in your fantasies identifiable? Did the attack go as you dreamt it? When did these fantasies first begin? Often did they repeat themselves? Role of Aggression: How seriously did you want to hurt your victim? Under what conditions would you resort to physical force during the rape? How exciting was the physical force that you used? Did it turn you on? Sexual Behavior: what was going on sexually during the rape (kissing, fondling, masturbating, breast sucking, digital penetration, vaginal intercourse, oral intercourse, oral-anal contact, etc.) Did you tie the victim? Did you ask the victim to act out any role or get into various sexual positions? Did you get off? Did she please you? Were you frustrated or disappointed after the rape? How long did it last? How did you think she felt during and after the offense? Contributing Factors: what triggered the rape? Responsibility: are you admitting to the rape? Recidivism: ain't sa'en you did nothing, but in your dreams about how many times might you of raped a girl you didn't know? Deterrence: what could the victim do to stop rape from happening Marital Relations: when you were a free man, how was your sex at home?